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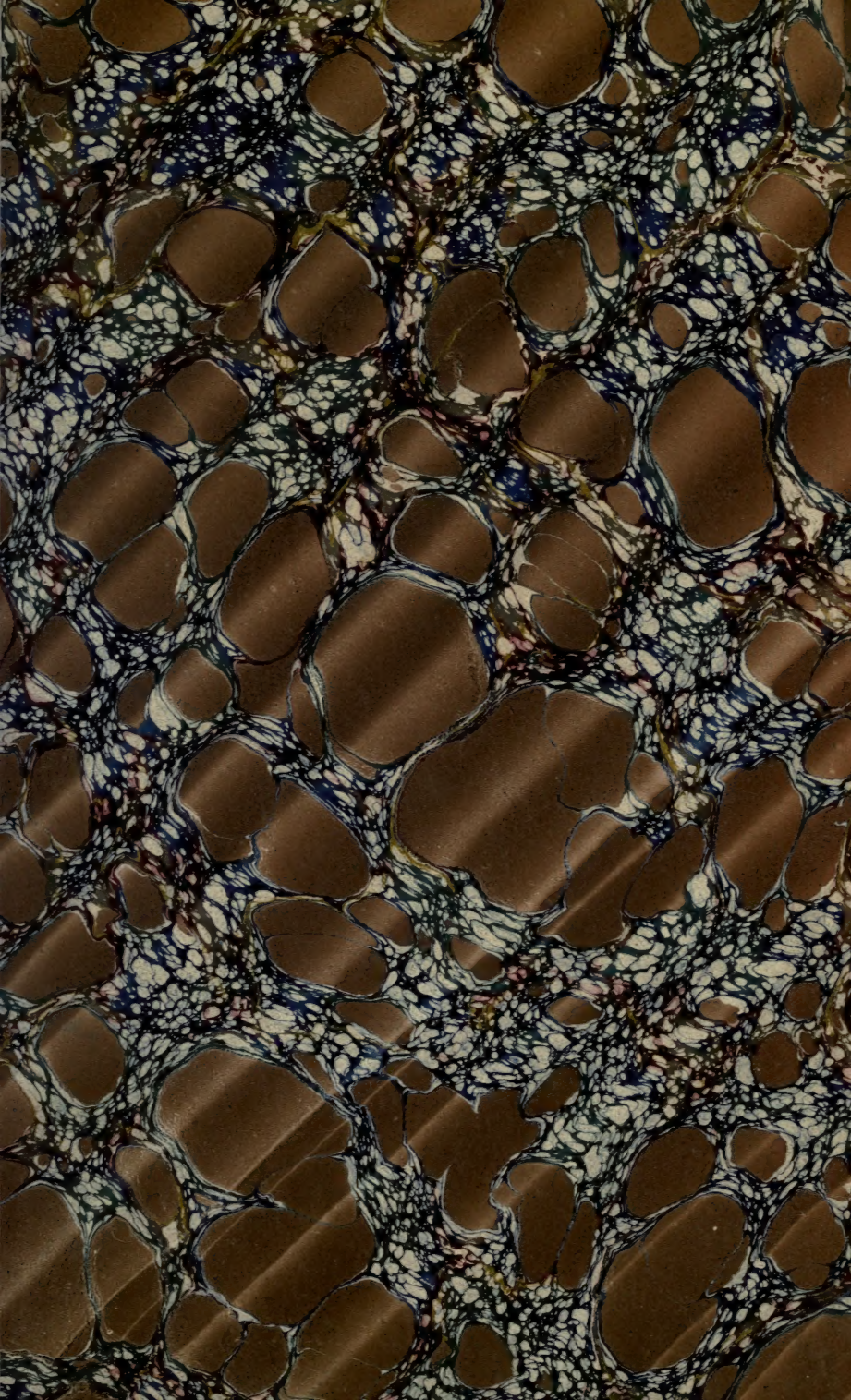


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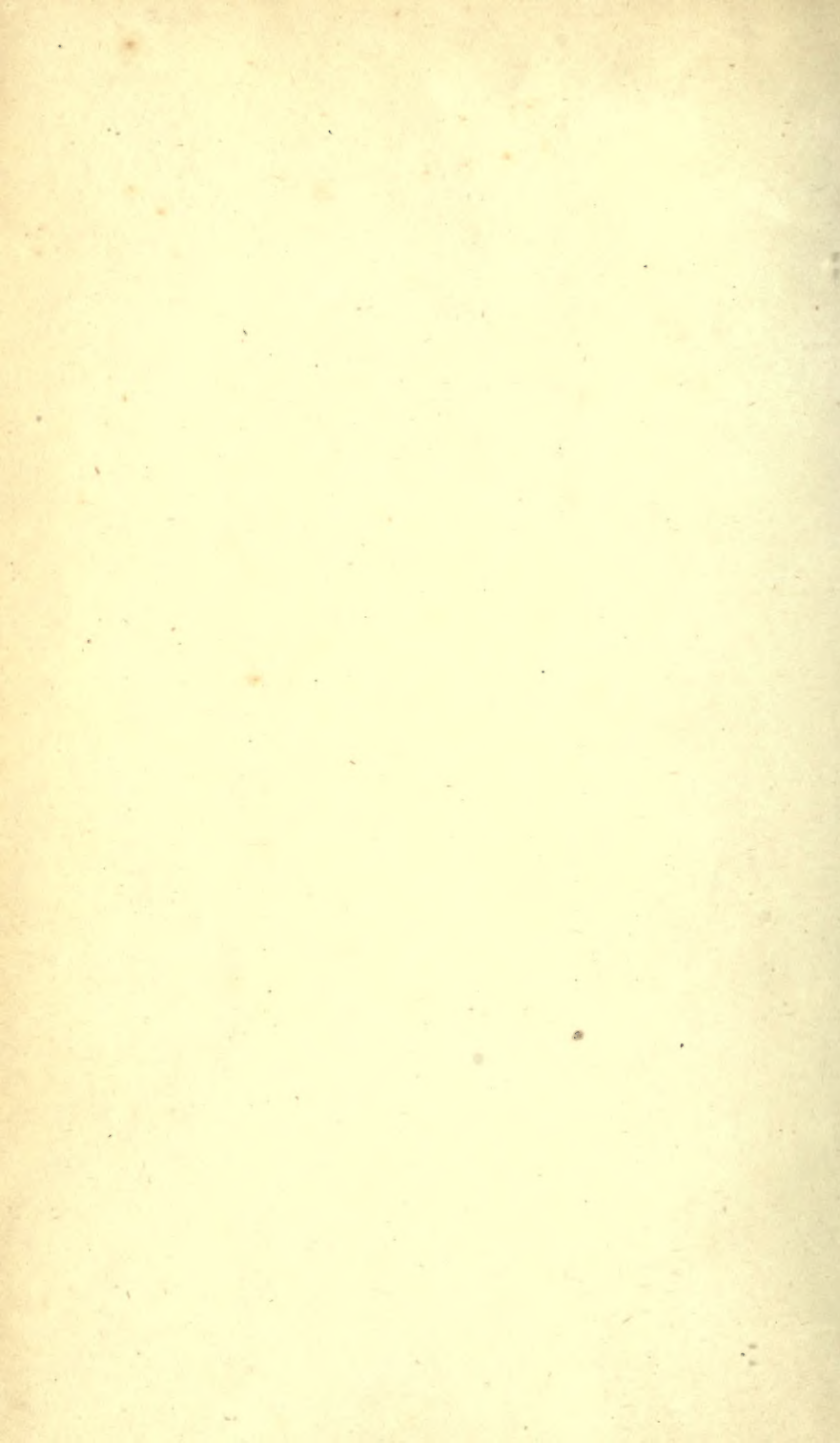












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- ART. I.—1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in October 1842.* By Charles James, Lord Bishop of London.
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THE religious horizon is too big with portentous forebodings, not to make the smallest speck that comes to settle on it worthy of attention, as the possible harbinger of a general commotion among the discordant elements with which it is charged; and this observation appears to us preeminently to apply to those tiny publications with which we have headed our article, and which figure under so many dignified and learned names; as if the weight of authority under which they are presented to the world were to make amends for the scantiness of their pages, and the meagre quality of their contents. The main and professed object of most, is the Oxford controversy. Fully and completely impressed as we are, with the immeasurable importance of this most interesting discussion, we must own that our surprise

and disappointment were great, when we saw it generally treated with such shallow logic, and dismissed with such a flippant confidence that the task was done. For it does appear to us to savour somewhat of presumption, to imagine that a course of doctrines, which had long heretofore been held and maintained by those whom we have ever been accustomed to consider as the standard divines of the Anglican Church (to use a favourite and familiar expression of its advocates), which for a season reigned triumphant in her, and has never altogether ceased to hold its ground among some of the more earnest of her followers; which is now revived with a weight of learning and acuteness of research, backed by a most edifying zeal and piety; and which carries conviction throughout her ranks to an extent which threatens almost universal adherence to this winning interpretation of her articles; should be so easily abashed and refuted, and so readily disposed of. We have conceived too high an opinion of the intrinsic merit of these doctrines, even defective as they are, and have formed too favourable a judgment of the superior virtues of their professors, to believe that either the one or the other are to be so summarily mastered.

Yet it is not in this sense that we mean to deal with these publications. We have too abundant occupation in our own, to think of labouring in another's vineyard; and while we merely record, in passing, the general verdict, as in our humble judgment it appears to stand between the respective combatants, we propose strictly to confine ourselves to those items of the controversy which more immediately bear upon ourselves.

To take then the first in dignity, as in repute and importance—the charge of the Lord Bishop of London; we cannot but acquiesce in the propriety of the principle laid down in the exordium, that “it will be his endeavour, in humble reliance upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit, not to enter into a polemical discussion on the truth of the doctrines or the propriety of the rites and ceremonies, which will come under consideration, *but to act as an interpreter of the Church's sense as to the one, and of her will as to the other.*” As an exemplification of the method of working this rule, and as an accessory to it, we must continually bear in mind the following very just observation,—“It is our duty,” adds the right rev. prelate, a little later, “in searching those inspired records, to avail ourselves of all the helps to a right understanding of them, placed within our reach; to ascertain, when it is possible,

the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large." For if once we lose sight of this we shall not fail to be led astray, and seduced, it may be, into some of those numerous and contradictory interpretations (perhaps into the very doctrines advocated by the right. rev. prelate), into which a departure from this wise injunction has caused so many to fall, in common with himself; every one of which interpretations is far enough removed from the interpretation of the early Church.\* But when in proceeding with his judicious preliminary observations, the right rev. prelate goes on to say, "If the view which I have taken of the subject be correct, it follows as a necessary inference, that in this country the clergy of the national Church, and *they alone*, are entitled to the respect and obedience of the people, as their lawful guides and governors in spiritual things: that *they alone* are *duly commissioned* to preach the word of God, and to minister his holy sacraments,"—we must beg leave, at the outset, to demur upon the assertion, and to take the fullest advantage of the very edifying hesitation with which this otherwise consoling "inference" is

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\* As a passing proof of the prescriptive rights which this method of testing the truth has obtained from ancient usage, we will note an early instance of its application, which we extract from Döllinger, p. 172. vol. I.

"In the early part of the third century, an unknown author confuted the errors of Artemon; fragments of his work have been preserved by Eusebius, who, on the authority of Photius, ascribes it to Caius, a priest of Rome. The Artemonites defended their errors by their pretended antiquity and apostolicity. Their doctrines, they maintained, had been universal down to the time of Pope Victor: his successor, Zephyrinus, corrupted the truth, and introduced the modern doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. Caius, or whoever was the author of the work against these heretics, *appealed to the writings of Justin, Miltiades, Fabian, Clement, Irenæus, Melito, and many others*, in all of which Christ is spoken of as God, (*θεολογεῖται*) and to the *hymns and canticles which, from the beginning of the Church, had been composed by faithful brethren*, which proclaim Christ as the Logos of God, and celebrate his Divine nature. With regard to Pope Victor, he declares, that he had excommunicated Theodotus, the first of their false teachers; he could not therefore have participated in his heresy."

This rule, it must be observed, has the priority by many centuries, over that mixed and modified method, prescribed by the Canon of the Church of England, of 1571, which, when it comes to be analyzed and applied, is altogether unavailable to its purpose, for it excludes half the doctrines of the Articles. That only is to be taught, it says, which "has been *collected out of the Old and New Testament*, by the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops." Bishop Bloomfield may also mean to qualify *his* rule by this same injunction of the Canon. But if so, he is thrown at once into a dilemma;—if he take Catholic evidence for Catholic doctrine, he must take it in its integrity; if he picks and chuses, instead of the doctrine of the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops, he takes his own.



heralded forth. For IF this position be tenable (and that is admitted to be the question), *we* are driven out of the field at once, much quicker indeed than we are disposed to go: for, convincing as the case may appear to some, it does but put *us* upon our mettle to maintain *our* rights, and assert *our* claim to the very honours here so exclusively adjudged to others, and those others our rivals. And it is this which we propose to do, by the blessing of God, though as succinctly as possible, relying rather upon the force than the number of our arguments. We shall indeed, like the right rev. prelate, allow the Church and her standard divines to speak for themselves, and to be their own interpreters of their own doctrines; and if by this course we shall make it appear, as we confidently trust we shall, that the priority of right belongs to *us*, we shall then briefly show that such rights are never forfeited but by schism or apostacy, and that these are crimes of which *we* at least are wholly innocent. Let us then consider for a moment the true meaning of THE CHURCH; her attributes; her authority; her destiny; as propounded to us by the great fathers and doctors of the Church—those witnesses and interpreters of her teaching, the Jewells, the Hookers, the Andrewses, the Bramhalls, the Hammonds, the Taylors, the Bulls of primitive antiquity. And if all this can be clearly ascertained, we can have no further difficulty; for be it remembered, that Christianity is matter of fact and matter of history,—by no means matter of opinion. It was a sacred deposit once (for all) delivered to the saints, to be by them dogmatically delivered to others unto the end of time. What was delivered and believed at *first*—THAT is the true doctrine and the true faith.

St. Justin Martyr, who suffered at Rome about the year 167, writing on authority, what argument does he put forth to combat the pretensions of the Jews? “The Scriptures teach us,” says he, “that there shall be another and an eternal law, dependant upon a sovereign authority, which all those who aspire to an everlasting inheritance must thenceforth obey. That law is the law of Jesus Christ.”\* He afterwards exemplifies his meaning in this same Dialogue with Tryphon, who had observed that many of those who were called Christians eat without scruple of the meats immolated to idols, by replying, “I admit the fact, but we hold no communion with this sort of Christians, who only confess Christ with their

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\* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 30. Edit. 1730. Paris.



lips. We do not even commonly give them the name of Christians, but we call some Marcionites, others Valentinians, or Basilidians, after the author of their respective sects. As to those who are really Christians, they are so far from contaminating themselves by partaking of meats offered to idols, that they would sooner suffer death than do so.”\* All this was drawing “practical inferences” from his premises, somewhat distinct, we opine, from the latitudinarian opinions of modern times. And speaking of the converted Jews, he proceeds to say: “If through weakness there are those who in part observe the law of Moses, believing also in Jesus Christ, and observing his commandments, without making any difficulty about living with other Christians, nor obliging them to these observances, my opinion is that they should be received as brethren. But if their object is to compel the Gentile converts to the same observances, under pain of breaking communion with them, then do I disown them.”† He then passes on to another exemplification of this his doctrine, of the paramount authority of the new law, which he every where identifies with *the Church*, and of the *exclusiveness* of her inheritance. “It is the same with those,” says he, “of the race of Abraham, who live by their own law; if they believe not in Jesus Christ before death, they shall not be saved, *more especially those who pronounce anathema in the synagogues and persecute such as believe in him.*” Let us observe, for a moment, how this evidence is corroborated and enlarged by his contemporary, St. Irenæus, who was raised to the bishopric of Lyons in 177, and suffered martyrdom in 202. In his third book against the heresies of his times, to bring the full force of tradition to bear upon the controversy, he took it for granted that if the apostles had held back from the public any mysterious doctrines, to teach them merely to the more perfect, they certainly were bound above all to communicate them to the bishops, as to those whom they destined for their successors in the government of the faithful. “Nevertheless,” he adds, “not one of these bishops has taught anything but what we teach and believe at this day; we know it from those who have succeeded each other from the beginning, without interruption, and whom we recognise so perfectly that we can here give an exact list of them. But not to stop to enumerate them all, let us confine ourselves to the Church of Rome, the most renowned and the

\* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 32.

† Ibid. p. 33.

most ancient; known to the whole world, and founded by the glorious apostles, Peter and Paul. We know that these two chose Linus to govern this Church after them. To Linus succeeded Anacletus; then followed Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, who suffered a glorious martyrdom, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and lastly Eleutherius, who is at this day the twelfth bishop of Rome. It is by the tradition of this Church, and by the faith preached and preserved down to us by these worthy successors of the apostles, of whom we have just spoken, that we confound all those who dare to form themselves into unlawful assemblies; whether it be by self-love, or by vain-glory, or by a blind delusion, or by whatever other motive; because it is to this Church, as to the chief, that the universal Church, that is to say, all the faithful are obliged to *unite* themselves, because she has ever inviolably preserved the traditions of the apostles.”\*

\* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 156.

“Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potiore principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio.—Iren. lib. iii. c. 3.

“Things being thus made plain, (the descent of doctrine from the apostles,) it is not from others that truth is to be sought, *which may be readily learned from the Church*. For to this Church, as into a rich repository, the apostles committed whatever is of divine truth, that each one, if so inclined, might thence draw the drink of life. This is the way to life: all other teachers must be shunned as thieves and robbers. For what? should there be any dispute on a point of small moment, must not recourse be had to the most ancient Churches, where the apostles resided, and from them collect the truth?” Adv. Hæreses. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 178. Ed. Ben.

“It is a duty to obey the priests of the Church, who hold their succession from the apostles, and who, with that succession, received, agreeably to the will of the Father, the sure pledge of truth. But as to those who belong not to that leading succession in whatever place they may be united, they should be suspected, either as heretics, or as schismatics, proudly extolling, and pleasing themselves, or as hypocrites, actuated by vain glory or the love of lucre. But they who impugn the truth, and excite others to oppose the Church of God, their fate is with Dathan and Abiron; while schismatics, *who violate the Church's unity*, experience the punishment which fell on King Jeroboam.” Ibid. L. iv. c. xxvi. p. 262.

“The teaching of the Church is true and stable, showing to all men *the same one path of salvation*; for to her has been committed the light and the wisdom of God. As the wise man says: (Prov. c. i.) “*she uttereth her voice in the streets, she crieth on the highest walls, she speaketh without ceasing in the city gates. Everywhere the Church proclaims the truth*; she is the candlestick with the seven lamps; (Exod. xxv.) bearing the light of Christ.” Adv. Hæreses L. v. c. xx. p. 317. Faith of Catholics of the five first Centuries, &c. pp. 11, 52.

Confined, as we are within a short and given space, it is impossible to gratify the reader by many original quotations. We have, therefore, generally preferred merely to note their sense, which we have chiefly taken from Ceillier's

“This same tradition had not been preserved with less precision in the East; in witness whereof, we have all the Churches of Asia, and that great man Polycarp, much more worthy of credit than Valentinian or Marcion.” In conclusion, he affirms that one cannot seek the truth otherwise than in the Church, where the apostles placed it as in deposit; “for at last,” says he,\* “if there arise any dispute concerning faith, to whom should we have recourse if not to those most ancient Churches, where the apostles themselves taught? And how should it be now, supposing they had left us nothing in writing? Should we not follow the order of tradition which they confided to those to whom they gave the government of their Churches? It is what is done at this day by many barbarous nations, who believe in Christ Jesus without either ink or paper, having the doctrine of salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, &c.”†

In book v. c. 19, St. Irenæus recapitulates all the heretics whom he had refuted in the body of his works. He shows that their heresies only began long after the early bishops to whom the apostles entrusted the care of their Churches; from which he draws this consequence, “*that it is to the Church that we must have recourse for instruction in the true faith*, because she is the seven-branch candlestick that enlightens the whole world: whereas the heretics, pretending to surpass that which they had learnt from the ancients, departed from the truth. These are the blind and the leaders of the blind, whom we must shun, as well as their doctrine, to throw ourselves into the arms of the Church, that we may be brought up within her bosom, and be there nourished with the Holy Scriptures; for she is the terrestrial paradise whose fruits are to serve for our food, as it is written in Scripture: *You shall eat of every fruit which grows in Paradise*. These fruits are all the writings inspired of God, but that which it is not even permitted us to touch, is that spirit of pride and of discord *which ever reigns amongst heretics*.”‡

In another work, of which only certain passages have been preserved by Eusebius, speaking of the doctrines of some

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standard work, in 25 vols., 4to, entitled “*Histoire Générale des Auteurs sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, &c. Paris, Ed. 1725. Still it is impossible to do more than glance even at these; our object is only to draw the attention of the sincere enquirer to the subject, pledging ourselves that he will be amply repaid for every step by which he advances in the task.

\* Iren. lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 156, et seq.

‡ Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 171.



heretics, he says : "That doctrine is not sound ; it is contrary to that which the Church teaches," &c.\* Again, "The marks of the true Church," says he, "are, that though dispersed throughout the world, she ever teaches the same faith, firmly resting it upon the tradition of the apostles, maintaining everywhere a uniformity of government, and ever pointing to the same road to salvation. To the Church is securely entrusted the safe-keeping of the truth : while those who separate from the main body, and set up for themselves, must at once be suspected of heresy or of schism. . . . It is in the Church alone that the grace of the Holy Ghost resides, maintaining her in the spirit of truth, and nourishing her with the bread of life," &c.†

After these few citations from the scanty portions of his writings which have been preserved to us, if St. Irenæus were summoned again to this troubled world of ours, from the blessed abodes which he now inhabits, and were questioned as to the mode of discovering the true faith amidst the jarring elements of contradiction which he would behold around him, surely it cannot be doubted in which direction he would turn. Would he not close his ears (as he declares his friend Polycarp would have done to the heresies of *his* time) against the strange innovations which his true and penetrating spirit would discover, in an instant, in the singular phraseology of the Thirty-nine Articles ; exclaiming, "O Lord, to what times am I reserved that I should suffer such things !"‡ And would he not point to Rome, and to her eternal destinies and everlasting doctrines, and proclaim that, "By her you shall be judged, and by her you shall be confounded ?"§

Advancing in our researches amongst the scanty remnants of ecclesiastical lore, which the devouring hand of time hath spared, we cannot but be struck with the clear and distinct terms in which the latitudinarian opinions of modern Churchmen are combated and overcome by the very arguments which were employed by the doctors of the early Church to defeat and counteract the heresies of their age, when Christianity was yet in its infancy, and, as it were, struggling for its very existence. For even then was it assailed by heresy, as subtle, multifarious, and obstinate, as in any later period ;

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\* Ceillier, vol. ii. p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 183.

‡ See p. 174, vol. ii.

§ See the original, quoted in Ceillier, and in the "Faith of Catholics, on certain points of controversy, confirmed by Scripture, and attested by the Fathers of the five first centuries of the Church," etc.



and when she might have been presumed to require the exertion of her whole united strength to carry her forward on her perilous course, and seat her triumphantly beyond the reach both of Jew and Gentile; above the hatred and the envy of her rivals; above the powers of darkness and the principalities of the world. But no! She was ever destined by her divine founder to be a Church militant in the most enlarged sense of the term. The time of trial and of conflict, which began with her infancy, was not even to cease with her age; her laurels were to be all won upon the battle-field; her conquests were to be achieved by her untiring powers of resistance; her whole history was to be but one course of contention against the persecutions of her declared enemies, the corruptions of her own sons, the wiles and stratagems of her own inconstant and rebellious children.

But to pursue our course of evidence. St. Clement of Alexandria, who flourished towards the end of the second century, what is *his* opinion of the objects and attributes of the Church? "There is but one true Church," says he; "that ancient assembly of the faithful of God. Heresies are posterior to her, and rend and divide her. In her alone is the precise truth, bearing an exact conformity to the inspired writings."\*

But it is his contemporary, Tertullian, who furnishes us with a mass of argument as well as evidence to substantiate the true doctrines of the Church. In the first place he warns us not to be scandalized or astonished at the prevalence of heresies, since they happen only in conformity with the predictions of heaven. They are sometimes even advantageous to the Church; for, like persecution, they serve to separate the false from the true Christian: while *their very name indicates the perversity of the deed, for it signifies a determination to resist authority, and to choose for yourselves.* This, indeed, is the root and origin of all heresies, and that which stamps them with their true character. For the rule of faith requires, that if there be any diversity of opinion, we seek for the solution of the difficulty *within the Church, and not without her.* For which reason he also tells us that heretics should not even be permitted to dispute against faith upon the pretended authority of the scriptures; for the scriptures are not their property,—because the apostle himself has deprived them of the right of disputation, in commanding us to fly a heretic when once he has been

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\* P. 203. vol. ii. Ceillier.

admonished ; and because such disputes can be of no advantage, seeing that heretics either reject portions of the scripture, or receive them not in their integrity, adding or retrenching as it becomes necessary to accommodate them to their system : or if perchance they do receive them whole and entire, they explain them in their own way ; so that, instead of gaining anything by such disputations, they only become a stumbling block to the weak and ignorant. Should they, however, act otherwise, our first duty is to examine where is the deposit of faith, and to whom the scriptures, *of right*, belong ; from whom, through whom, when, and to whom those doctrines are come, the belief in which constitutes a Christian ; for where these doctrines and this faith are united, there also is the truth of scripture and the interpretation of tradition. It was only to his apostles that Christ revealed the doctrine he had received from his heavenly Father ; *we*, therefore, have no other means of ascertaining this doctrine but from the Churches which they founded, and instructed either by word or writing. It then follows as an incontestible truth, that *that* is the true doctrine which accords with that of the apostolic Churches, as being that which these Churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. *Our* belief is that of the apostolic Churches,—*the proof is that we are in communion with them*,—THEREFORE *ours* is the true doctrine.\* Such was the argument of Tertullian against the heresies of his days, and who would not suppose him to be arguing against those of ours ? Circumstances are no way changed, —neither the tactics of heretics, nor the principles of truth, nor the rule of faith : and can it be doubted, whether, if Tertullian were alive now (supposing him to have remained true to his own principles, from which unfortunately he swerved in his latter days, and became in his own person what he had so strongly reprobated in others, a lamentable example of the pride of the human intellect and of the frailties of man), can it be doubted, whether, when questioned upon the true method of discovering the faith of Christ, he would have pointed to Canterbury or to Rome ? To Canterbury indeed he might have appealed as to an apostolic Church, but it would have been to the Canterbury of St. Augustine, and not of Archbishop Parker. Down to Archbishop Parker, he would have said, “Canterbury is in communion with Rome, *therefore* is she of the true stock.” But

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\* See p. 396, vol. ii. Ceillier.

the moment that he perceived the communion with Rome and the apostolic Churches to be cut off—all alliance with her repudiated as unlawful and contaminating—the English branch of the Catholic Church (which had hitherto been exemplary in her unity and in her dutiful submission to the Holy See), not only severing herself by a simple act of schism, but soon putting herself at variance upon doctrines which had hitherto been common to both; setting up a symbol of faith for herself, and withdrawing from all allegiance to the Church, because the *ancient* Church, which the Fathers so revered, and to which they ever clung as to the bark of Peter, had no longer any authority to teach her!—would he not have immediately put his anathema upon her, and have condemned her as a prevaricator?—would he not have placed her in the same category with the sectaries of *his* days, and demanded her to show her credentials? He would have said, “I will not enter into disputation with you, for you have no right to be heard; you are no longer in communion with the apostolic Churches; you have abandoned the faith of your fathers, and with it have forfeited the rights of your inheritance.” That short argument would have been conclusive on the *whole* question. He would not have stopped at particulars, but would have declared that the Church of Christ was *indivisible*, that they had presumed to separate from her, and had therefore no longer any part with her. Her title as an apostolic Church was forfeited—she was now but a withered branch, instead of a living member of the parent stock.

Would he not also have pursued the argument, saying to the priests and prelates of Canterbury,—“Show me your pedigree,—let me see the connecting link which brings you up to the apostolic age, and unites you to the apostolic Churches; for I hear of a chasm which still remains to be filled up, before you can be entitled to prosecute your commission, and promulgate the doctrines once delivered to the saints.\* History tells me that the ancient hierarchy of the country,—that which had been derived from, and had constantly communicated with the apostolic Churches,—was long since swept away, and that a new race was appointed in their stead, professing to derive their rights from other sources, even from a lay authority, and totally unconnected with him to whom Christ said—“Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail

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\* See the Extract from the original in Ceillier, p. 400, vol. ii.



against it. To thee will I give the keys (the emblems of authority and government) of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven." (St. Matt. xvi.)—"Feed my sheep, feed my lambs." (St. John xxi.)

Strangers to that great community which not only can prove its descent, but also its mission, from the apostles and their legitimate successors, still held together by one continuous line of close and mysterious compact, of which the successor of St. Peter is the necessary connecting bond, is it not clear that these men of the new principles are intruders into the fold? that they have come over the fence instead of finding their way through the door? "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep." (St. John x. 1, 2.)

Cranmer, I find, (he would have said), had a short and very efficient method of settling these matters. He propounded, that "all Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the *whole* cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political, and civil governance."

This, of course, made the crown the depository and administrator of *all* power, both spiritual and temporal. But still more explicitly to meet every difficulty *in limine*, and to crush every possible objection which might eventually arise on the score of the commonly-received opinion, that bishops—that is, they who had hitherto been considered as the spiritual governors of the Church—required both the sacrament of ordination, to confer upon them a spiritual character—distinguishing them, and separating them thereby, from the rest of men—as well as jurisdiction from some competent and recognized authority, before they could duly enter upon their episcopal functions, Cranmer,—to satisfy by anticipation all scruples on these points, thus laid down the law, clearly foreseeing it would soon become necessary for the times. "In the admission, says he, of many of these officers (such as bishops, parsons, vicars, &c.) be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed: and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of



the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office." But as if this were not sufficient to meet the whole case, he goes on to say,—“A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governours also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election.” And still further, to prevent any possibility of mistake as to his meaning, he thus proceeds with his commentary: “In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, *needeth no consecration* by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.”

Being furthermore asked whether Christian princes could, without the intervention of ecclesiastics, *make and constitute priests or no?* He boldly avers the affirmative. And whether all the bishops and priests of a region being dead, the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same? He replies,—“It is not forbidden by God’s law.”

Is it surprising, then, that this doctrine prepared the ground for what followed, and that in a few short years, when these very necessities arose, we find the hireling unable to enter by the door, climbing up another way, and sinking the spiritual in the temporal power, for the attainment of his object?\*

No wonder that Burnet should observe, that “Cranmer had some singular opinions about ecclesiastical functions and offices which he *seemed* to make wholly dependent on the magistrate, as much as the civil were:”† and no wonder that doubts should have been raised upon the validity of the ordinations of men who had been tutored in such a school.‡

Receiving their mission, as they condescended to do, from the secular power, it was not surprising that they should be negligent on other essential points, as we know to have been the case at the ordination of Sampson, when Cranmer dispensed with the rites and ceremonies, to which he, with his puritanical notions, even then objected.

\* See these opinions of Cranmer in Burnet, Record No. xxi. vol. ii. Ed. 1840,

† Vol. i. p. 270.

‡ Whether Cranmer, in this, as well as in other points, wavered, changed, and *conformed* his opinion to suit circumstances, is but little or nothing to the argument as it is here used: for it is clear that such opinions not only prevailed extensively abroad, but in England also. Burnet, referring again to the matter, observes, “In Cranmer’s paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of Ecclesiastical offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the doctrine of the Church, but laid aside as particular conceits of his own. And it seems, that afterwards he changed his opinion; for he subscribed the book that was soon after set out, which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in these papers.”—p. 447. vol. i. 1540.

No sooner had Parker, the first of the intruders, been *elected* by Queen Elizabeth to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury,—that same see where these doctrines had been so fondly cherished,—than we find him, in a most solemn and deliberate deed, making his public profession of faith in entire conformity with these principles, acknowledging and confessing to have and to hold the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the possession of the same entirely, as well the SPIRITUALITIES as Temporalities thereof,—only of her majesty and crown royal of these her realms.\* But there was a remnant of the old orthodox principles, and a remembrance of ancient usage, still left in the country.

“Immediately after Archbishop Parker and his fellow Protestant bishops had assumed their titles, their consecration was called in question by the Catholic clergy. ‘Objections,’ says the Rev. D. Neal, ‘being frequently thrown in the way of the new bishops by the papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the validity of their consecrations, or at least of their legal title to their bishoprics. The affair was at length brought before Parliament, and to silence all future clamours, Parker’s consecration, and those of his brethren, were confirmed by the two Houses, about seven years after they had filled their chairs.’†

“Now what was the natural course to be pursued under such accusations as were made against the *new bishops*? When told publicly, frequently, and by a numerous class of learned men, that their consecration was ‘counterfeit’ and invalid, would not common-sense prompt them, if they really believed episcopal ordination and apostolical succession necessary for the valid exercise of their episcopal functions,—would not common-sense prompt them to publish the register of their consecration,—the form by which they were consecrated,—and the bishops by whom they were consecrated? But if the form of their consecration was called in question; if the persons who imposed hands upon them, were declared, upon good grounds, to be no bishops; what would prudent men, with the sentiments we have just mentioned, have done in this case? Why, if it had been possible, they would have called in some lawfully and validly consecrated bishops, and they would have received from them, either absolutely or conditionally, as circumstances required, a consecration which would have allayed all doubts, and silenced the objections of their opponents.

“But not one of these prudent steps was taken. Hence we may

\* Arch. Parker’s homage to Queen Elizabeth. Apud West, die Feb. 1559, Collier Eccles. Coll. of Records, p. 93.

† Hist. of Purit. vol. i. c. iv. p. 134, and likewise Camden’s Life of Elizabeth, Anno 9.

conjecture that Parker and his colleagues were of the same opinion with Cranmer and Barlow, and the foreign divines. With them the appointment of their prince was sufficient. They make, therefore, an appeal to the queen, their mistress and their head, and to the parliament, their lawgiver, to protect them from further insult; to throw the mantle of this high authority over their shoulders, and to declare to the world that they were legally bishops of the New Church established by law in this country. The act drawn up for the purpose, and passed 1566, shall speak for itself. The preamble sets forth:

“ ‘Forasmuch as divers questions, by overmuch boldness of speech and talk amongst many of the common sort of people, being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm,—whether the same were and be duly and orderly done, according to the law or not, &c. Therefore, for the avoiding of such slanderous speech.....it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as doth allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done, according to the laws of this realm.....

“ ‘First, it is very well known to all degrees of this realm, that the late king, Henry VIII, as well as all the clergy then of this realm,’ [this is untrue] ‘in their several convocations, as also by all the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons assembled in divers of his parliaments, was justly and rightfully acknowledged to have the supreme power, jurisdiction, &c. over all the state ecclesiastical of the realm, and the same power, jurisdiction, and authority, did use accordingly. And that the late King Edward VI did lawfully succeed the late King Henry VIII in his imperial crown,.....and did justly possess and enjoy all the same power, jurisdiction, and authority before mentioned.....And that also King Edward VI, by authority of Parliament, caused a godly and virtuous book, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments, &c.* to be made and set forth,.....but did also add to the same book, a very good and godly order of the manner and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, &c. should from time to time be consecrated, made, and ordered.....[Moreover] at the parliament holden at Westminster in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lady, the queen’s majesty that now is, by one other act and statute there made, all such jurisdictions, &c. spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be used over the ecclesiastical state of this realm, and the order, reformation, and correction of the same, is fully and absolutely, by the authority of the same parliament, united.....to the imperial crown of this realm. And by the same act,.....there is also given to the queen’s highness, her heirs and successors,.....full power and authority by letters patent,.....



from time to time, to assign, name, and authorise such person or persons as she or they may think meet and convenient, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under her highness, all manner of jurisdictions, &c. in any wise touching or concerning any *spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction* within this realm ;.....thereupon, our said sovereign lady, being most justly and lawfully invested in the imperial crown of this realm,.....hath, by her supreme authority, at divers times, sithence the beginning of her majesty's reign, caused divers grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops, &c.....according to such order and form, and with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations, as were allowed by the said acts.....And further, for the avoiding all ambiguities, and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said archbishops, &c.....hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by Henry VIII and Edward VI, but also hath used and put in her majesty's said letters patent, divers other general words and sentences, whereby her highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that can or may, in any ways be objected against the same : [from which] it may be very evident.....that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, consecrations, &c. Thus far the preamble. Then it is enacted : ' That all consecrations, confirmations, &c. made by virtue of the queen's letters patent or commission since the beginning of her reign, shall be judged good and perfect, to all respects and purposes. And all persons that have been, or that shall be, consecrated archbishops and bishops, &c. pursuant to the form or ordinal [of Edward VI] are declared and enacted to be rightly consecrated and ordained, any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.'\*

" This is the sole authority upon which the ordination of the ministers of the Church of England rests. The parliament gave Henry VIII supreme spiritual jurisdiction in his own dominions, with the power to elect bishops, to command them to be consecrated, to appoint what number of bishops should be necessary to consecrate them, to institute the form and ceremony of their consecration, and to allow them, according to his good pleasure, to exercise their episcopal functions. Edward VI inherited, with his father's crown, the same privileges. Elizabeth had consigned to her by parliament whatever spiritual power and authority were exercised and claimed by her father and brother. When in possession of this power, she ' caused divers grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops, bishops, &c.,

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\* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. book iv. p. 509.



according to the laws of Henry VIII and Edward VI ; and she dispensed with all causes, or doubts of imperfection, or disability in the same.

“ They were therefore as good bishops as the queen and parliament could possibly make them. They were made by law,—bishops of a church established by law. In this there was consistency. For they who looked up to the queen as their head, and to the parliament as their lawgiver, would necessarily be satisfied when both the queen and the parliament declared them bishops duly elected, duly made, duly authorised. After this memorable act of parliament, Archbishop Parker and his associates set at defiance all the ambiguities, objections, and cavils of the papists. The queen had elected them,—had commanded certain persons to consecrate them,—had appointed the form of their consecration,—had dispensed with every ‘*imperfection and disability*,’—and had given them jurisdiction to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments : she had done all these things with the solemn sanction of parliament ; they were satisfied,—completely satisfied ; and they justly submitted to be taunted with the appellation of either the *Queen’s Bishops*, or *Parliament Bishops*.”\*

All this (Tertullian would have continued) satisfies me that the chain is broken, that the Anglican Church no longer derives from the apostles, but that she has set herself up as an intruder and a stranger in the land, upon principles at utter variance with those which governed the ancient bishops and rulers of the Church, and that she thereby forfeits all claim to apostolical succession or jurisdiction. And we must confess, on our part, that Tertullian would have reasoned rightly and consistently, and we are convinced that he would have been as forward as we are, in demurring to that strange and illogical “inference” of the Lord Bishop of London, “that in this country, the clergy of the National Church, and *they alone*, are entitled to the respect and obedience of the people, as their lawful guides and governors in spiritual things : that *they alone* are DULY COMMISSIONED to preach the Word of God, and to minister his holy sacraments.”

Having thus concisely put forth some few of the grounds upon which we venture to question this bold assertion,—a “pious and salutary doctrine,” no doubt, “and very necessary for these times,” as the articles would express it,—we will state but one single argument in defence of our counterclaim, drawn also from that well-furnished armoury of Tertullian, whose language and sentiments are as analogous to

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\* Prot. Ord. Examined, by the Rev. H. Smith ; as a Sequel to his Short Hist. of the Prot. Reformation. Dolman, 1842.

these times as they were to *his* ; and for this simple reason, that truth is immutable,—by the same principles by which she was vindicated sixteen hundred years ago, she must be vindicated to-day ;—she must be scrutinized by the same tests, and by those tests must she stand or fall. I have examined your pedigree, would he say to us, I see by the order and succession of your bishops, as long as you enjoyed them, that you descended in a right line from the apostles ; I find you still in communion with all the apostolic Churches ; you still look to Rome as to the spiritual mother and mistress of the world ; you have neither diversity nor contrariety of doctrine among you, but are bound together in one uniform belief, under one sovereign and supreme authority. If this be your condition, he would add, humiliated as you may be in the eyes of the world, driven from your temporal possessions, reviled and contemned, tormented and persecuted, (as it often becomes true members of a Church militant to be), for these are but additional tokens of the disciples of a crucified Master,—rely upon it, the title-deeds are yours ; and though you have inherited, with your spiritual patrimony, but scorns and buffets in these latter times, to *you* does it belong to promulgate the law of your divine original, to *you* has the commission descended :—“ All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world ” (St. Matt. xxviii.), AND TO NO OTHER. Your rights can no more be alienated than the law of God can be rescinded ; your office may be usurped, but your inherent privileges remain unattainted. *They* are the schismatics, not you.

Such, doubtless, would have been the verdict of Tertullian, and such is ours. In reading the history of those times, could we doubt for an instant but that Pole was a true and legitimate successor of St. Augustine, and could we believe that Parker was anything but an intruder ? When this latter held the last of the ancient hierarchy, the venerable Tunstal, a prisoner of state in his palace of Lambeth, could any one question which was the martyr, and which the persecutor,—which was the true apostle of the ancient faith ; he who, like St. Peter the prince of the apostles, was in chains, or he who was ministering to the tyrannical will of an apostate sovereign, who now presumed to exercise the authority which in all former times had been confided to the

supreme head of the Christian world, by right of its delegation to him to whom Christ said—"thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;—feed my sheep, feed my lambs"? Doubtless, then, the right reverend prelate has done well to put it hypothetically. If the view he has taken be correct, then indeed his inference might be drawn; but it happens that this his view is not only incorrect, but is diametrically opposed to all ancient principle, and to the well-established and universally-recognized usages of the primitive Church, as manifestly appears from those *helps to a right understanding* of these matters to which the right reverend prelate refers us,—“the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large;” so that we may conclude with Tertullian, and with all the learned and saintly doctors of the Church, that they who are unable to prove their succession, are incapacitated from the exercise of their functions, and are lawfully cut off from the communion of the faithful, and from all the true and apostolic Churches.\*

Having, then, by these few but convincing arguments (and it is a course of reasoning which we might pursue throughout a hundred ramifications, and through the entire history of the Christian Church) sufficiently shown, that the people of this country are not only absolved from their allegiance to pastors who have betrayed them, but are legally bound in obedience to others, who, few and mean as they are in the eyes of those whose spiritual perceptions are, alas! so fatally governed by the worldly interests which surround them, are, nevertheless, the representatives of the ancient hierarchy of the country, still drawing their commission, (yet more directly and immediately, indeed, as if to put all cavil out of the question), from the very same power and authority which sent Augustine into England to propagate the religion of Rome amongst our Saxon ancestors;—we will now proceed in our defence against the gratuitous attacks of the right reverend prelate. “We hold,” says he, “in opposition to the Church of Rome, that the offering of a propitiatory sacrifice to God, is not one of the functions and privileges of the Christian ministry. Jesus Christ *by one offering*

\* We have, for the sake of brevity, purposely abstained from giving the solemnly expressed *sense and will of the Church* upon the doctrines impugned by the right reverend prelate, because these are very easy of access to the reader, who, when interested in the question, will not fail to have recourse to them.



*hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*;\* and we derogate from the absolute worthiness and sufficiency of that offering, if we suppose that any supplementary sacrifices are required for the purpose of propitiation. If *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself*,† we need no other reconciler. We have indeed *our* sacrifice, and *our* altar, and *our* priesthood, to offer the one, and to minister at the other. But the sacrifice is a spiritual sacrifice, and the altar is figuratively an altar. We slay no victim, we offer no victim slain," &c.—(p. 10.)

Treating this point in the same manner as we have done the last, we might speedily fill our pages with the most apt and convincing quotations from the fathers of the four first centuries of the Church, in proof of the doctrines which prevailed in *their* days upon the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; but as we have much to compress within a short compass, and as the evidence we could adduce is readily discovered by those who might perchance require more ample details than we have space to allot to them, we shall content ourselves with a few only.

"Inflamed," says St. Justin, "by the word of his calling, as it were by fire, truly we are the sacerdotal offspring of God; as he himself attests, saying that, in every place among the nations, *we offer to him well pleasing and clean victims*. These victims he accepts from his own priests alone. Wherefore, showing preference to all those who through his name, *offered the sacrifices which God ordained to be offered, that is, the Eucharist of bread and the chalice*, which, in all places of the earth, are celebrated by the Christian people, God declares that they are well pleasing to him. But the sacrifices of you Jews, and of your priests, he rejects, saying: 'I will accept no offering from your hands; because, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles, but ye have profaned it.'—*Malach. i.* But I myself say, that those prayers and thanksgivings are alone perfect, and the victims pleasing to God, which are offered by good men. These, Christians alone have learned to offer, in the commemoration of *their dry and liquid food* (bread and wine), in which commemoration they are reminded of the passion which Christ suffered."—*Dial. cum Tryphon. Judæo*, p. 209.

"Giving advice," says St. Irenæus, "to his disciples to offer their first fruits to God, not as if he stood in need of them, but that they might not seem ungrateful, he took bread into his hands, and giving thanks, said: *This is my body*. Likewise he declared the cup to be his blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Testament, *which oblation* the Church receiving from the apostles, *offers it to God over all the earth*—to him who grants us food—

\* Heb. x. 14.

† 2 Cor. v. 19.

the first fruits of his gifts in the New Testament, of which the prophet Malachias spoke : ‘I will not accept offerings from your hands. For, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a clean sacrifice.’ (1) Manifestly hereby signifying, that the first people (the Jews) will cease to offer to God ; and that, in every place, a sacrifice, and that clean, will be offered to him, and that his name is glorified among the Gentiles.”\*—*Adv. Hær.* L. iv. c. xvii. p. 249. “Therefore, the offering of the Church which the Lord directed to be made over all the world, was deemed a pure sacrifice before God, and received by him ; not that he stands in need of sacrifice from us, but because he that makes the offering, if his gift be accepted, is thereby rendered worthy of praise. As, then, in simplicity the Church offers, her offering is accepted by God as a pure sacrifice. It is our duty to make an offering,” &c. See p. 209, *ibid.* c. xviii. p. 250, 251,—*Faith of Catholics of the five first centuries of the Church*, p. 267, et seq.

Need we trouble our readers with any further witnesses, to prove which of the two is the ancient doctrine of the Church,—that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, by which “the fruits of that bloody offering (the sacrifice of the cross) are most plentifully received: so far is it from truth, that hereby the least part is derogated from it. Wherefore, according to apostolical tradition, the mass is duly offered, not only for the benefit of the living, but also for those who, though dead in Christ, are not fully cleansed from all defilement,”—whether this short definition, we say, of the council of Trent, and this evidence of the fathers, be more conformable to primitive belief, or the singularly unmeaning definition of the Bishop of London,—“But the sacrifice is a *spiritual* sacrifice, and the altar is *figuratively* an altar: we slay no victim, we offer no victim slain,” &c.

“Our blessed Saviour’s charge to St. Peter,” the bishop goes on to say, “*and through him to all his ministers*, was, *Feed my sheep*. Whatsoever acts of kindness or authority are requisite for the due execution of that charge, with respect to those to whom we stand

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\* On this passage the learned Commentator of Irenæus, Dr. Grabe, a Protestant divine, who had made the writings of the fathers his more particular study, observes : “It is certain that Irenæus and all the fathers, either contemporary with the apostles, or their immediate successors, whose writings are still extant, considered the blessed Eucharist to be the *sacrifice* of the new law, and offered bread and wine on the altar, as sacred oblations to God the Father ; and that this was not the private opinion of any particular Church or teacher, but the public doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, which she received from the apostles, and they from Christ, is expressly shown in this place by Irenæus, and before him by Justin M. and Clement of Rome.”—Note in Irenæum, p. 323.

in the relation of pastors, it is ours to exercise, and theirs to acknowledge and submit to: but in our ministerial acts both of kindness and authority, especially the latter, we are to have respect for the Church's laws and ordinances; and beyond what *they* require, we may not claim obedience. And it is well that it is so: for a spiritual authority, not so limited, in the hands of fallible and imperfect men, *would be perverted, as in the example of Rome, to the ends of an intolerable tyranny over the secret thoughts and consciences, as well as the outward acts and observances of those who should be subject to it.*"—p. 12.

But does not the right reverend prelate recollect that the same Saviour gave a still further commission to the same St. Peter, and *through him to all his ministers*: "I will give to thee the keys (those emblems of authority) of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven?" (St. Matt. xvi. 19.) And after his resurrection, did he not most emphatically confirm this delegated power to his apostles and disciples, when he made them priests of the Most High? "Peace be to you; as the Father hath sent me, I also send you. When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them, receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose you shall retain, they are retained." (St. John xx. 21-2-3.)

Now, was all this solemn confiding of authority, this especial delegation of the powers of government, nought but so many empty words? or did it not rather convey some substantial rights even over the consciences of men, with such limitations, certainly, as they to whom the power was given, apparently without any, might fully understand? The power was evidently twofold, and in its very nature discretionary;—but how can a discretionary power be exercised without a knowledge of the circumstances? As the bishop admits the validity of ordinations, and believes that the imposition of hands confers the Holy Ghost on the ministers of God, so also does he hold the power of absolution to reside with the clergy so ordained;—but here does he begin to innovate upon the ancient doctrine, and to restrict the authority of such ministers to a mere ceremonial: the priest pronounces the words of absolution indiscriminately upon all, and abandons all right to judge of the propriety of the exercise of his functions. His is a power to loose, but not to bind, and half the injunctions of our Saviour are thrown to the winds: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven;



*whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.*" Let us now for an instant pursue the course pointed out to us by the right reverend prelate himself, and see whether we cannot sufficiently ascertain—even from the scanty historical evidence which has descended to us from the early ages of Christianity, independently of the authority of the Church—in what sense these words were interpreted by the primitive Christians; with which interpretation, if our own be found to coincide, we have even an absolute proof that such *has* been, and therefore *ought* to be, the doctrine of the Church. For unless the doctrine of the Church be immutable, and as eternal as herself, she can be no true umpire in controversies of faith, nor possess any power to restrain the fancies, or the rash and perverse judgments of men.

Tertullian, and those writers who preceded him, appear to speak only of the public confession of sins, and the penances enjoined by the canons; but, in the third century, we have abundant evidence of both the doctrine and discipline of the Church on the general subject of auricular confession, as a necessary part of the sacrament of penance.

"God sees into the hearts and breasts of all men," says St. Cyprian, "and he will judge, not their actions only, but their words and thoughts, viewing the most hidden conceptions of the mind. Hence, though some of these persons be remarked for their faith and the fear of God, and have not been guilty of the crime of sacrificing (to idols), nor of surrendering the holy Scriptures; yet if the *thought of doing it* have ever entered their mind, this they confess, with grief and without disguise, before the priests of God, unburdening the conscience, and seeking a salutary remedy, however small and pardonable their failing may have been. God, they know, will not be mocked."—*De Lapsis*, p. 190.

Having mentioned some other sins not greatly criminal, he adds:

"The fault is less, but the conscience is not clear. Pardon may more easily be obtained; still there is guilt: and let not the sinner cease from doing penance, lest, what before was small, be aggravated by neglect. I entreat you, my brethren, let all confess their faults, while he that has offended enjoys life, while his confession can be received, and while the satisfaction and pardon imparted by the priests are acceptable before God."—*Ibid.*

Speaking of the culpable indulgence shown to some, who had fallen in the time of persecution, he observes:

"The miserable men are thus deceived; and when, by doing sincere penance, by prayer and good works, they might satisfy God, they are seduced into greater danger, and fall lower when they might rise. In the case of smaller failings, it is required that sin-

ners do penance for a stated time ; that, according to the rule of established discipline, they come to confession (*exomologesis*), and that, by the imposition of the hand of the bishop and clergy, they be admitted to communion."

"There is yet a more severe and arduous pardon of sins by penance," observes Origen, "when the sinner washes his couch with his tears, and when he blushes not to disclose his sin to the priest of the Lord, and seek a remedy. Thus is fulfilled what the apostle says : 'Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the priests of the Church.' (James v. 14.)"—*Homil. ii. in Levit. t. ii. p. 191.* "At the last day, 'all things will be revealed, whatever we shall have committed ; what we have done in private, what in word only, or even in thought : all will be laid open. But if, while we are alive, we prevent this, and become our own accusers, we shall escape the designs of the accusing devil ; for thus the prophet says : Let us be our own accusers.'—*Homil. iii. in Levit. t. ii. p. 196.* "Observe what the divine Scripture teaches, that we must not inwardly conceal our sins. For as those whose stomach is overloaded with indigestible food, and humours, if they vomit, are instantly relieved : so they who have sinned, if they hide and retain their sin within their breasts, are grievously tormented : but if the sinner becomes his own accuser, while he does this, he discharges the cause of all his malady. Only let him carefully consider to whom he should confess his sin ; what is the character of the physician ; if he be one who will be weak with the weak, who will weep with the sorrowful, and who understands the discipline of condolence and fellow-feeling. So that when his skill shall be known, and his pity felt, you may follow what he shall advise. Should he think your disease to be such, that it should be declared in the assembly of the faithful, whereby others may be edified, and yourself easily reformed—this must be done with much deliberation and the skilful advice of the physician.'—*Homil. ii. in Psal. xxxviii. t. ii. p. 688.* "They who are not holy die in their sins ; the holy do penance ; they feel their wounds ; are sensible of their failings ; look for the priest ; implore health ; and through him seek to be purified."—*Homil. x. in Num. t. ii. p. 302.* "If we discover our sins not only to God, but to those who may apply a remedy to our wounds and iniquities, our sins will be effaced by him who said : *I have blotted out thy iniquities as a cloud, and thy sins as a mist.*"—(Isa. xlv. 22.)—*Homil. xvii. in Lucam.\**

We cannot find space for more quotations. But as we advance in the inquiry, the evidence thickens, so as to leave not the smallest doubt that the doctrines of antiquity on this point correspond most perfectly with the present doctrine of

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\* Faith of Catholics, &c., compiled by Rev. Joseph Berington and John Kirk. 8vo, Edit. 1830. P. 429.

the Catholic Church, and that the “*intolerable* tyranny over the secret thoughts and consciences, as well as the outward acts and observances, of those who are subject to her authority” was in as full vigour in primitive times, in all those churches which were founded by the apostles, had derived an uninterrupted jurisdiction, and had continued an unbroken succession from them, as it is in ours. Has not this ever been the interpretation—and the only sensible and consistent interpretation it is—of that high commission given to the apostles, and through them to all their legitimate successors—“to bind and to loose,”—“whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven; whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained”?

The right reverend prelate then proceeds to warn his readers against the crime of apostatizing, as he is pleased to call it, to an IDOLATROUS Church, *i. e.* the Church Catholic. Now, really this is so old and hacknied a charge, so long and pertinaciously advanced, and yet so constantly and thoroughly refuted, that to urge it now, carries us back to the history even of heathen Rome, when in their blind and furious struggle against the *innovations* of Christianity, as they were called, the Pagans persisted for ages in accusing the meek and virtuous Christian of the most atrocious crimes, such as sacrificing infant children in the celebration of their rites, and then feasting upon their flesh.

And how did the eloquent Tertullian reply to the accusation? Why, precisely as *we* do now to this of the Bishop of London. With him we complain, that we are condemned without a hearing,—condemned in ignorance of our doctrines and our practices. The prejudice against the very name of *Catholic* is still as great amongst some (happily not in all), as it was against *Christian* in the days of Tertullian. “Christianity,” said he, “is prohibited by the laws; *therefore* do you condemn it. But is this a justifiable cause? The Christians are accused of not adoring the gods, and of not offering sacrifice to the emperor,—and in this indeed we are guilty.” *We* also are accused of a divided allegiance, because we refuse to renounce our duty as Christians, and give to Cæsar the things that are God’s. In this indeed are we guilty, and we glory in it. We glory that at the command of an impetuous tyrant, following only the ungoverned impulses of an impetuous temper, a remnant at least of our afflicted ancestors heroically refused to adore before the golden statue, and to crouch before the wayward but relentless will of the usurping monarch. The Pagans, says Tertullian, reproached the



Christians for adoring the head of an ass, because, taking Christianity but as a consequence of Judaism, they had believed the Jews to have done so : nor was their misapprehension corrected till they had satisfied themselves with their own eyes, upon the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, of the utter falsity of this assertion. Others, says he, accused them of adoring *the cross*, and more especially the sun, because they worshipped God with their faces towards the east, and sanctified in a peculiar manner the day dedicated to that luminary.

Neither has any succeeding age yet corrected all the follies and injustice of the former ; and in spite of all our assertions to the contrary, in spite of the attesting voice of one hundred and fifty millions of Catholic Christians, are we still accused of the same absurdities with the same obstinate perversity. When Pompey entered the temple he found no idol ; and if the Bishop of London would but enter ours, he might be more cautious how he bantered us with idolatry ; for though he would behold the image of Christ crucified, of his Virgin Mother, and of his saints, and see them venerated, in virtue of that which they represent, and employed as incentives to devotion, he might very soon be satisfied, if he but questioned any of those whom he there found worshipping, whether it were the image, or that which it represented, to which they addressed their supplications. He would be told, as Tertullian told the calumniators of his days, that we adored but one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things therein, the Lord, and life, and light of the world, who redeemed us by his only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and who will one day return amongst us in great power, majesty, and glory, to judge both the living and the dead according to their works.

If ours is to be an idolatrous Church from the presumed *tendencies*—and this is now become a very prevalent, and rather fashionable doctrine—of even the most legitimate use of painting and sculpture in the decoration of our churches, then indeed is it equally manifest, that the primitive Christians, in the very earliest ages of a struggling and persecuted Church, were also idolaters upon the same principle ; for the common use of such representations is attested to this day by the many very interesting remains of ancient painting still existing in the catacombs. If, on the other hand, the Right Reverend Prelate would insinuate that we were an idolatrous Church because of our doctrine and practice in the invocation

of the saints; then also will we triumphantly refer him to the history of the early Church, and ascertain by *that*, that the doctrine of Trent upon this head was also the doctrine of the immediate successors of the apostles, and convince him herein, even by his own rule,—by “those helps to a right understanding of these matters,”—“the sense in which they (the Scriptures) were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large.”\* Not to load our pages with supernumerary quotations, we will content ourselves with this one from Origen, who flourished in the third century,—certainly far removed beyond the fatal, though mysterious period (*eight hundred years and more*), in which the homilies of 1562 declare us (upon what authority is not said) to have been buried in damnable idolatry,—and who must undoubtedly be taken as speaking the common language and sentiments of his day.

“Who can doubt,” says Origen, “that our holy fathers aid us by their prayers, and strengthen and excite us by the example of their actions, as also by the writings they have left us; herein teaching and instructing us how to fight against the adverse powers, and in what manner these contests are to be maintained? Thus they fight for us, and advance armed before us.”—*Homil. xxvi. in Num. t. ii. p. 373.* “And of all the holy men who have quitted this life, retaining their charity towards those whom they left behind, we may be allowed to say, that they are anxious for their salvation, and that they assist them by their prayers and their mediation with God. For it is written in the books of the Maccabees: “‘This is Jeremiah the prophet of God who always prays for the people.’”—*Lib. iii. in Cant. Cantic. t. iii. p. 75.* “The angels are everywhere present: come, then, thou angel, receive him that is changed from his former error; from the doctrine of demons; from loud-speaking iniquity; and, having received him, sooth him as a kind physician, and instruct him, for he is yet young. And call to thee the associates of thy ministry, that, together, you may train to the faith all those that have been deceived. *For there is greater joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, than upon ninety-nine just.* Every creature exults and rejoices with those that shall be saved. “For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God!’ (Rom. viii. 19.)”—*Homil. i. in Ezekiel, t. iii. p. 358.*

In his book on the *Lamentations*, he says: “I will fall down on my knees, and not presuming, on account of my

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\* Charge, p. 20.

crimes, to present my prayer to God, I will invoke all the saints to my assistance. O ye saints of heaven, I beseech you with a sorrow full of sighs and tears; fall at the feet of the Lord of mercies for me, a miserable sinner." Addressing himself to holy Job, he says, "Pray for us unfortunate creatures, that the mercies of the terrible God may deign to protect us in all our tribulations, and in the midst of the snares spread by our enemy."—*Lib. ii. de Job.\**

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\* Faith of Catholics, &c. p. 426.

We hope we may also venture to introduce, as evidence of the ancient and orthodox doctrines of the Church on images, two highly interesting letters on the subject, the one from Gregory the Great, and the other from Gregory the 2nd; and we would fain express a hope that, though some centuries later, yet the former being 1000 years, and the latter 900 before the publication of the homilies, *they* also may be adjudged to be beyond that unhappy, but unsettled boundary of 800 years and *more*.

"We have been informed," says Gregory the Great, writing to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, "that, inflamed by an inconsiderate zeal, you have broken certain holy images, under the plea that such were not to be adored. And, indeed, that you should have forbidden their adoration would have deserved our eulogy, as you now deserve our censure for having broken them; for tell me, brother, when did you ever hear of any other priest or bishop doing as you have done? And should not this consideration alone have withheld you from a procedure from which it would seem that you alone are wise and holy, while all others are impious and in error. Know you not that it is one thing to adore a picture, another to learn by a picture what *is* to be adored. For pictures are to the illiterate what books are to the learned. For in them they see what examples they are to imitate, and thus they are enabled to read, without knowing their letters. Wherefore you had no right to break or destroy that which was placed in the Church, not for the adoration of the people, but for their instruction. And as it was not without reason that antiquity (this was written before the year 600) had the acts or histories of the saints depicted in the sanctuary, no doubt you would have found means to edify, instead of scandalizing and scattering the flock confided to your care, had not your learning been surpassed by your indiscretion.

"How can you expect to bring the strayed sheep into our Lord's fold, when you know not how to keep even those that were given to you in charge? Wherefore, we exhort, that even now you bestir yourself and be vigilant, instead of giving way to such presumption; endeavouring, for the future, to reunite to your congregation those, whom your recent conduct has alienated and driven from it".—See the Life of St. Gregory the Great, by John the Deacon, lib. iii. cap. 27.

The letter of his successor, Gregory the 2nd, is to Leo the Isaurian, and is to be found in Baronius.

"Thou hast written," says he, "that 'things made with hands' are not to be adored; as God hath forbidden it, in Exodus. But tell me, who amongst our predecessors hath ever handed down the doctrine that 'things made by hands' of men *are* to be adored? But why, like an emperor and head of Christendom, hast thou not consulted the sage and well-instructed in sacred learning, as to the nature of those 'things made with hands' which are referred to by the divine commandment, before spreading disorder and confusion through the empire? Wherefore, since the sacred ordinances of the Church and of antiquity have no avail, we beseech thee, setting aside all arrogance and pride of heart, to listen with humble docility to an explanation which nothing but gross



That, however, we may not be stealing a march upon the right reverend prelate, and carrying his admissions beyond their fair and legitimate limits, we must needs state the

ignorance could render necessary. And may the Almighty bend thy mind to the truth by the efficacy of his words.

"Know, then, that it was on account of the idolators who occupied the land of promise that God issued this command; for they worshipped idols of gold, of silver, of brass, and of wood; adoring all sorts of animals, saying, 'These are our gods, and other god there is not.' Dedicated to the devil, execrable, and to be detested, these were the 'works of men's hands,' prohibited by the divine law; because we find, in the ordination of the worship appointed for his chosen people, by God himself, many things dedicated to the divine glory and service, that were made with hands. But the prevalence of idolatry in the land to which they were on their way, where the very air and soil were infected with it, rendered this warning indispensably necessary to guard the Israelites from being corrupted and seduced by bad example. It was the Lord himself who selected from the people Bezeleel and Eliabe, of the tribe of Dan, (Exodus xxxi.) two men whom he blessed and sanctified for the express purpose of enabling them to produce 'handy-work' worthy to be used in his service and contribute to his glory. Again, he said to Moses, (Exodus xxxiv.) 'Cut two tables of stone and bring them to me;' and when he had cut them he carried them to the Lord, who with his own finger wrote on them the ten vivifying and immortal words. Again (Exodus xxv.) he orders the cherubim and seraphim to be made, and the table covered with gold on both sides, and the ark of incorruptible wood, in which the tables of the law, the rod, and the manna were to be placed. Are not these images and symbols made with hands? Yes, but it is to the glory and for the service of God they were made. Whenever we enter the temple of the holy Prince of the Apostles, and there look upon his picture, my beloved Saviour is our judge if tears do not shower from our eyes. Christ restored sight to the blind; but those who saw well thou hast blinded. Thou hast, as it were, drawn a film over the eyes of the poor, and by robbing them of the only books they can peruse, hast doomed them to sloth and indevotion in the churches. Thou sayest that stones, and canvass, and painted walls, are adored by us. Emperor, it is not as thou sayest; but that our memories may be assisted, that minds stolid, illiterate, and stupid, may be elevated and carried on high towards those whom these images represent: on these accounts it is we use them, and not as if we regarded them as deities—God forbid! for it is not in such things we hope.

"If it happen to be before our Lord's image we are praying, we say, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, assist and save us;' but if it be before the image of his holy mother, we say, 'Holy Mother of God our Lord, intercede with thy Son, our only God and Saviour, that he bring us to everlasting life.' If it be a martyr,—St. Stephen, who hast shed thy blood for Christ; O, thou, who as protomartyr, must stand high in favour with Him, pray for us." And thus we offer our supplications through the martyrs, but we do not, as thou sayest, emperor, appeal to them as gods.

"But thou hast written,—'How comes it to pass that in the six great councils nothing is said about images?' For the same reason, O, emperor! that they have not said one word as to whether daily sustenance is to be taken or not; persuaded, no doubt, that tradition was sufficient on that subject. In like manner, the Church hath made use of images on the authority of tradition, as the example of the fathers themselves proved, who attended these councils wearing images on their persons; and no one with the true fervour of religion and the burning love of Christ, ever goes on a journey but with some sacred memorial of this kind."

exceptions which he makes,—contradictory and enigmatical as they appear to us,—against the Catholic use of tradition.

“The question,” says the right rev. prelate, “which concerns the right *interpretation* of the Articles, is intimately connected with that which relates to the *foundation* upon which they rest. *If we desire to prove whether the doctrine set forth in any Article be true, our single ultimate reference is to the written Word of God*, which we believe to contain all truths, a knowledge whereof is necessary to salvation ; and so to contain them, that by the diligent use of the ordinary means of instruction in the Church, and with prayer for God’s enlightening grace, they may be certainly discovered therein. This absolute completeness of the Holy Scriptures, as the source and proof of our faith, I hold to be a vital doctrine of our Reformed Church. It is our duty, in searching those inspired records, to avail ourselves of all the helps to a right understanding of them placed within our reach ; to ascertain, when it is possible, the sense in which they were understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles, and which was derived from them to the early Church at large : to take the creeds received by the Church for our guides : but not to look to *them*, nor to traditions of any kind, as being *so* necessary, that Holy Scripture, without them, would not have been sufficient to teach all things requisite to salvation.

“I think it a mistaken and dangerous position to maintain, that without the creeds we could not have discovered for ourselves some of the great doctrines of our faith, that, for instance, of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. To suppose that the Spirit of God dictated the *materials* only of saving truth to be written by his inspired servants, while he communicated the right interpretation of them, *not* to be committed to writing till after a considerable period of time, is surely an hypothesis of the most unreasonable and improbable kind : yet this is the position which must ultimately be taken by those, who maintain that the Bible could not have been fully understood without the creeds. The creeds have indeed, *à priori*, a claim to our attention, as having been delivered to us by the Church : but they are entitled to our assent no further than as they are contained in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby. This is the ground upon which our own Church requires us to receive and believe the creeds, ‘that they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.’ (Art. viii.) I set a very high value upon these ancient formularies of catholic belief : but I am firmly persuaded, that if no such formularies had ever been drawn out, all the essential doctrines of Christianity would have been discoverable in the Bible. *The implement with which the SECRETS of God are to be dug out of the mine of his written Word is not tradition ; but a plain, and rightly-informed understanding, guided by an honest and good heart, and aided by the Holy Spirit.*

“At the same time, *tradition is of excellent use in establishing*

*historical facts*, as, for example, the appointment of bishops to govern all the Churches, and of the Lord's day, as the day of public worship; the general prevalence of infant baptism, and some other points; in teaching us the *practical inferences*, drawn by the primitive Church from the truths declared in Holy Scripture, and so guiding us to its interpretation of Holy Scripture itself, such as the right of our Saviour to divine worship, and the implied assertion of a Trinity of Persons in the form of baptism; and in making us historically acquainted with the belief of that Church in general; with which belief if our own be found to coincide, we have not an absolute proof, but a very strong presumptive evidence, of its being indeed that *faith which was once delivered unto the saints*. (Jude iii.)—pp. 20-2.

We will not here stop to inquire how we are to reconcile the many irreconcilable propositions contained in this singular passage. Rule upon rule, one overlaying or contradicting the other,—the more especially when brought into juxtaposition with those which have preceded them. Their opposition is so pointedly manifest, that it were a waste of words to expose it. It would be “holding a farthing candle to the sun”; for it is as clear as noon-day. How are we to interpret for ourselves, and yet yield submission to the sense and will of the Church? If our investigation led us to the sense of the Church in some points, it would, after all, be mere hazard; for there are thousands who have discovered a different, perhaps the very opposite, meaning, in the same text; nay, do we not daily hear of antagonist interpretations of the very same article of her own “*ambiguous formularies*,” even amongst her own acknowledged children? While, to the sense of other points, the most laborious research could never conduct us; for the bishop himself avers, that for *them* there is no *most certain warrant* of holy Scripture. If, for example, he searches the Scriptures, to establish the validity of infant baptism, he is at fault at once, and must either remain outside the Church, or violate this his favourite principle to enable him to enter it. Finding himself in this dilemma, it becomes necessary that he should extricate himself from it; and how does he accomplish it? By adopting two rules,—one diametrically opposed to the other! One, to bring him within the pale of Christianity, and to enable him to believe certain high and fundamental points which have been incorporated with the formularies of his Church, in spite of her own rule which should exclude them,—giving colouring and authority to those articles which they have defined in a sense



which, by the other rule (the single ultimate reference to, and the personal interpretation of, the written word) they never could have had. So far the right reverend prelate is consistent in his inconsistency: he but follows the doctrine of his Church;—"Whatsoever is not read therein (in Holy Scripture), nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." "Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture; and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, *which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God*"; and "although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so, *besides the same*, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." And yet, with all this, it is decreed, that "the Church hath authority in *controversies of faith*"! In what controversies? Why, in this very controversy on infant baptism. This it decides, not only without any express declaration in Scripture, but even in apparent contradiction to Scripture! "*He who believeth and is baptized, HE shall be saved.*" How can an infant believe? Is not the belief to precede, or at least to accompany, the baptism?

While, therefore, they have this advantage in their double rule, that it extricates them from numerous dilemmas, it has likewise its countervailing inconvenience of throwing them into endless difficulties: and one is, that they who reflect and reason cannot by any possibility adopt them both. And this is peculiarly *our* case; seeing them in absolute contradiction one to the other, we must needs choose between them, and selecting one, we must take leave to show why we must abandon the other.

But not to enter at large upon the wide and luxuriant field into which we are carried by the above quotation, which, as we have already observed, is too evidently calculated for a double purpose—as a protest against the Catholic uses of tradition, and yet as an ingenious means of turning it to the account of Protestant interests, where and when it might seem to suit—we will content ourselves by putting a few more pertinent questions, as we consider them, in the hope of inducing the right reverend prelate to come forth from the labyrinth in which he seems so wilfully to have entangled himself, and in which—like the bird which hides

its head beneath its wing, and then fancies itself concealed, though the whole body be exposed to view—he would fain imagine that he was happily hidden from the penetrating rays of the inquiring minds of others, who may perchance have studied these questions as deeply as himself.

In the first place, we would take leave to ask the right reverend prelate, how he proves his rule *BY* his rule? How does he prove, *by a reference to the written Word of God*, that even “the creeds delivered to us by the Church are entitled to our assent no further than as they are contained in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby”? “This is the ground,” says he, “upon which our own Church *requires* us to receive and believe the creeds, that they may be proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture.” Now, between the requirements of the Church on the one hand, and *THE MOST CERTAIN warrants of holy Scripture* on the other, we still venture to ask,—and we do so for our information,—upon what ground is it that the great saving truths of Christianity are received? If upon the authority of the Church, then the Church, and not the Scripture, is the supreme judge. If upon the authority of Scripture, we yet presume to demand upon what authority are the Scriptures themselves received? If upon the authority of the Church, then has the Church surely as good a right to interpret their true sense, as to determine their true wording, to substantiate their respective authenticity amidst the multitude of claims to similar honour, and to decide upon the nature and extent of their inspiration! For not one of these things, it is obvious and manifest to any reader of the Bible or of ecclesiastical history, is to be discovered and determined by *any most certain warrant of holy Scripture itself*. Is it any where asserted in the Scripture, that the Scriptures are an independent rule of faith? any where, that they are an incorruptible and unadulterated text, consisting of so much and no more? any where, that they are written under the peculiar inspiration of God, as a *most certain* warrant to guide us upon *all* controverted points? These simple questions, which occur to us at the first flush, must be answered satisfactorily, before we can either defer to the doctrine of the right reverend prelate, or understand the ground upon which he intends to take up his position, as the champion of orthodoxy.

But we have still another question,—for the further we advance, the less are we able to fathom or comprehend the precise rule by which the right reverend prelate would guide

us in our inquiries after truth—or, as he styles it, the secrets of God; for there certainly is, as he himself tells us, a right and a wrong interpretation of the articles, which yet are to be so readily proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture. But “there’s the rub”;—how are these *most certain* warrants to be discovered, in *his* sense only, amongst the multitude of contradictory opinions which surround and puzzle us, all and each of them drawn as confidently, one as the other, from these self-same *MOST CERTAIN warrants of holy Scripture*? By tradition? “no,” says the Bishop; “we willingly run to tradition for her assistance, when we need it in support of those doctrines upon which we have no most certain warrant of holy Scripture, but which, notwithstanding, we have judged it proper to embody into our system; such, for example, as the appointment of bishops to govern all the Churches; and the Lord’s day, as the day of public worship; the general prevalence of infant baptism, and *some other points*, &c.—such, also, as the right of our Saviour to divine worship, and the *implied* assertion of a trinity of persons in the form of baptism. These, says he, we are content to take from tradition, because we cannot obtain them by any other means,—but this must be the exception, and not the rule. We will be beholden to her only for our own immediate and indispensable necessities,—she shall be no witness for aught but them. Yet presently espying his difficulty, seeing that he has woven an inextricable web, and yet that it must be unravelled before he can advance, time pressing, and no more ingenious contrivance coming to his aid, he valiantly cuts the knot, by boldly averring that we are to look neither to the creeds, “nor to traditions of any kind, as being *so* necessary, that holy Scripture, *WITHOUT THEM*, would not have been sufficient to teach *ALL* things requisite to salvation.” So that the government of the Church by bishops, the sanctification of the Lord’s day, the validity of infant baptism, the right of our Saviour to divine worship,\* the belief of a trinity of persons in one God, are neither separately nor collectively essential portions of Christianity!!! To this singular catalogue of *small matters* in the faith and practice of a Christian, we must of ourselves add *one other point*, namely, the whole

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\* This is the first time we ever remember to have seen it asserted by a member of the Church of England, much less by one of her most dignified ministers, that “The right of our Saviour to Divine worship” rested upon tradition only. Is the bishop reading with Socinian eyes, that he finds a difficulty in proving the Divinity of our Saviour from the Scriptures? Surely, the Divinity proved, the right to Divine worship follows of course.



canon of holy Scripture, with its authenticity and inspiration; for if this be not received and held through tradition and the authority of the Church, the whole ground and stay of Christianity will slip through the right rev. prelate's meshes, and vanish into air: for, in default of tradition and the authority of the Church, both of which he so ingenuously and consistently throws overboard, he has no other resource but to fall back upon his single, ultimate reference, "the written word of God,—the most certain warrants of holy Scripture;" and, where the warrant is for *this*, we defy either the learning or ingenuity of the right reverend prelate, or that of all the controvertists who have preceded him, or who may perchance follow him in the same track, to discover.

We must presume also that, amongst the *other points* to which the right reverend prelate alludes, as being not to be *proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture*,—though he has had the discretion not to name it (as if he had forgotten it to be one of the *true doctrines of the Church of England agreeable to God's word*,\* to which he has so solemnly subscribed), is that which invests the civil sovereign with the power to rule "all states and degrees . . . . whether they be *ecclesiastical* or temporal," and which, by the statutes of the 26 Hen. VIII, the 1 Ed. VI, and the 1 Eliz. means, that "The royal majesty is justly supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and hath full authority to correct and punish all manner of heresies, schisms, errors, abuses, &c., which by any manner of *spiritual* authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, &c.; and, that whatever privileges and *spiritual* preeminences had been heretofore in use, by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, . . . . should be for ever annexed to the imperial crown of England; that the queen and her successors might . . . . substitute certain men to exercise that authority: howbeit with proviso, that they should define nothing to be heresy, but those things which were *long before* defined to be heresies, out of the sacred canonical Scriptures, or the four first Ecumenical councils, or *other councils*, BY THE TRUE AND PROPER SENSE of the *holy Scriptures*; or should *thereafter* be so defined by authority of *Parliament*, with assent of the clergy of England assembled in synod."—*Camden, An. 1559, and the statutes.*

It is not for us to reconcile the modified language of the thirty-seventh Article with these positive and explicit decla-

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\* His Majesty's declaration prefixed to the articles.

rations of the statutes. Suffice it here to say, that an act of Parliament is paramount over every other authority recognized in these realms! a point clear from this very act, which was passed, nine bishops out of fourteen (all who were then living) "stiffly repugning it," and no synod assenting to it; while we will take leave also to remind the bishop that it ever has been questioned—as it was by Sampson, when offered a bishopric in 1560—"whether it was lawful to swear to the queen, as supreme head of the Church under Christ;" *because*, as he observed, "*he thought Christ was the sole head of the Church, and no such expression of any inferior head was found in the Scripture.*"\*

How marvellously does the right reverend prelate amuse himself and his hearers with enigmas! Tradition is likewise of use, he asserts, in making us *historically acquainted with the belief of the ancient Church in general*. But what object has he in becoming *historically acquainted with the belief of the Church in general*, unless he will allow it to guide him in his *own* belief? and yet this he most consistently declares he will not; he will dig and dive for himself, in another mine, and make *the written word of God* his SINGLE ULTIMATE REFERENCE. We venture to suggest, then, that the Right Reverend Prelate spare himself the trouble of his historical investigations; for he is predetermined not to avail himself of their helps to a right understanding of the sense in which Christianity was understood by the disciples and immediate successors of the apostles. His *single, ultimate reference*, is HIS OWN JUDGMENT AND HIS OWN OPINION. Where tradition and *his opinion* clash, it requires no seer to predict which of the two shall be driven to the wall. The Bishop has already

\* Burnet, Ann. 1560.

The scripture references in defence of the 37th article, are so exceedingly wide of the mark, that, referring one and all so completely and exclusively as they do to the *civil* power, it is extraordinary that a Church, *professing* to have every thing from *most certain* warrants of holy scripture, should ever have thought of putting them forward in support of their power ecclesiastical, which, put it as you will, if there be any meaning in words or deeds, (and we refer to all the ancient acts for our assertion) convey a real *spiritual* authority, and *spiritual jurisdiction*, to the first civil magistrate of the realm, in his or her quality, as supreme head, or chief governor of the Church. The texts above referred to did not satisfy Sampson in 1560, and why should they satisfy Dr. Bloomfield in 1842? for the act of Elizabeth expressly provides and enacts, (clause xxxv.) "that no manner of order, act, or determination for any matter of religion, or cause ecclesiastical, had or made by the authority of the present Parliament, shall be accepted, deemed, interpreted, or adjudged, at any time hereafter, to be any *error*, heresy, schism or schismatical opinion, any order, decree, sentence, constitution or law, whatsoever the same be, to the contrary notwithstanding." So that the acts must interpret the articles, and not the articles the acts.

determined that. And it is for him to consider whether he so determines it by that courtly rule, so much in vogue at one period of our history, that "disputations concerning religion do always bend that way as the sceptres incline."

But, as we are wearying both ourselves and our readers with the repetition of these oft-refuted fallacies and contradictions, and as we have pledged ourselves to be content merely to ask a few simple questions, without dilating upon the arguments arising from them (difficult as it may be to pass on through the throng of tempting matter which presses on us), we will not now undertake to consider what was the doctrine of primitive antiquity upon these points; we will satisfy ourselves by citing—with one slight alteration, which we consider very materially to improve the reading,—a few words already quoted from this celebrated charge: "To suppose," says the writer, "that the Spirit of God dictated the *materials* only of saving truth to be written by his inspired servants, while He failed to commit the right interpretation of them, (to some competent authority) is surely an hypothesis of the most unreasonable and improbable kind;" and this we find also to have been the conviction of all the fathers and doctors of the Church, beginning with St. Irenæus in the second century, whose decision upon this point we have already seen in one of the foregoing quotations, dictated after the saving truths contained in the Scriptures had been committed to writing, and when engaged in combating the heresies of *his* time, which were, equally with those of ours, ever attempted to be supported by this same ultimate reference to the inspired penmen.

But arguments that were plain and convincing to the simple minds of earnest and obedient Christians in the early and apostolic ages,—and be it remembered, that St. Irenæus had lived with St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist,—fall like so many blunted arrows against the thicker understandings of modern men, verifying, we presume, the words of our Saviour, who praised his Father, the Lord of heaven and earth, because He had hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and had revealed them to little ones.

We had really thought to have dismissed this part of the subject here; but on casting our eyes back upon the rule laid down by the bishop for discovering "the secrets of God," "the essential doctrines of Christianity," we cannot forbear one or two more observations, because we conceive them necessary to complete our defence against what we are vain enough to believe has been principally aimed at ourselves. "The implement,"



says the right rev. prelate, "with which the *secrets* of God are to be dug out of the mine of his written word, is not tradition; but a plain and rightly informed understanding, guided by an honest and good heart, and aided by the Holy Spirit." Now, the first question which presents itself to our mind is, Is this the grave and deliberate opinion of a doctor and bishop of the Church of England, who believes that his Church *hath authority in controversies of faith*, under whatever modifications? or is it the sudden and heated effusion of a fanatical dissenting minister? For is it not the language of Wicliff and of Huss, of Penn and of Wesley, and of all the multifarious followers of that great heresiarch? though Wesley died as true a member of the Church of England as is Bishop Bloomfield! Nay, is it not the very principle adopted by Luther, and Calvin, and Knox, and Fox, and every separate leader of a separate heresy, from the days in which the Church had first to contend against the attacks of her rebellious children, grown impatient of restraint, down to these prolific ages of sectarianism, in which creeds spring up at the bidding of every trader in religion? If this be the "implement" by which the Thirty-nine Articles are to be dug out of the mine of the written word, we beg to surmise that the search will be as wild and fruitless as that of the prince who toiled up the stony sides of the Black Mountain, in pursuit of the speaking bird, the golden water, and the singing tree; and that the seeker for these secret treasures of God has just as much chance of lighting upon the philosopher's stone as upon the doctrines of the Church of England, still less upon those of the right rev. prelate. Indeed we question not that the deeper he goes, the greater will be his obscurity; for certain it is that the lights of *his* doctrine will not shine amidst the darkness in which he will find himself involved; and he may be glad to return to the twilight regions he has left behind, and into which he entered the moment he commenced the search.

Heaven knows that we have reason to rejoice at, and God grant that we may sufficiently appreciate, the immense blessing which the contrary doctrine—for it is precisely the contrary that is the doctrine of the Catholic Church—confers upon its professors; for they who believe with the ancient Fathers, that the Church of Christ is founded upon a rock, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;\* that Christ is with those to whom He entrusted the commission of teaching all days, even to the consummation of the world; that the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, abides for ever with the

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\* St. Matt. xvi. 18.

Ibid. xxviii 18, 19, 20.

Church,\* the Church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of the truth;† are thereby no longer exposed like children to be tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive;‡ nor to become the victims to error and to pride, because of those things which are hard to be understood, and which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction.§ Not only are they preserved from these great and afflicting dangers, but they are at the same time secured in the enjoyment of a firm and steadfast faith.

But we can hardly dismiss this part of the subject without some few illustrations.

Fox, for example, the celebrated founder of the Quakers, was precisely of the same opinion as Bishop Bloomfield: he was “firmly persuaded that if no such formularies (as the creeds) had ever been drawn out, all the essential doctrines of Christianity would have been discoverable in the Bible.” Fox had no companion but the Bible, no interpreter but the aid of the Holy Spirit, no qualification but a plain and (as he and as hundreds of thousands of others believed with him) a rightly informed understanding; but then he was more consistent than the Bishop, and never attempted to supply his deficiencies, by artfully enlisting in his cause a whole creed of doctrines drawn from other sources. He neither believed in the validity of infant, nor indeed of any other baptism; nor in the sanctification of the Sunday;|| nor in the government of the Church by bishops; nor indeed in any Church government at all; nor in the Trinity; nor in the right of our Saviour to any worship, but the worship of the spirit; nor in *some other points*, such as the Lord’s Supper,—rejecting all other communion but the communion of hearts. All these he discarded from his symbol of faith, because his *plain* understanding could not discover them in the Bible; and we must own that, in so doing, he has evinced, upon the whole, more consistency than has the Bishop of London in adopting them; *while both maintain the same rule of faith*. Penn also taught, with the Bishop of London, “that nothing more was required to be believed than the *fundamental* articles of the Christian religion; that is, those truths which are so clearly expressed in the sacred Scripture, as to be easily

\* St. John, xiv. 16, 26.

† 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.

‡ Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 14.

§ 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, 17.

|| For though the Quakers meet regularly every Sunday, it is but for convenience and decency sake, and not out of a principle of sanctifying that day in particular, since they profess to keep no holidays of any sort.

understood by each particular person." Yet Penn did not believe any one of those which the Bishop of London believes, though they both start from the same point, both draw their faith from the same sources, and both pretend to have discovered the truest system of Christian theology.\*

Barclay, the famous apologist and theologian of Quakerism, speaking of the Scriptures, and their use and their interpretation, thus defines *his* rule: "Nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the *fountain*, and not the *fountain* itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary rule of faith and manners*. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule, subordinate* to the *spirit*, from which they have all their excellency and certainty; for as by the inward testimony of the spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into *all truth*. Therefore, according to the Scriptures, the spirit is the first and principal leader." "Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination, either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone: for this divine revelation and inward illumination is that which is evident and clear of itself; forcing, by its evidence and clearness, the *well-disposed understanding* to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent."† Can the reader fail to be struck with the coincidence between the rule of Bishop Bloomfield and that of the anti-episcopalian, unitarian Barclay? And yet this latter discovers—not one of Bishop Bloomfield's "secret treasures," but the monstrous opinion laid down in his eleventh proposition, that to worship the Almighty in any prescribed form, as in a liturgy, is but *abominable idolatry in the sight of God!*

Was it not the same with the Puritans? The symbol of faith, and the bond of union with the Brownist and Barrowist Puritans was,—“I declare that I will walk with you as long

\* Barclay's famous defence of the Quakers was entitled *Theologia vere Christiana Apologia*.

† Second Proposition.



as you walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as *the word of God will warrant it to be requisite.*" Is not then the Bishop of London a Barrowist? and yet Barrow was hanged for his opinions in 1592; while two of his predecessors in these principles were put to death, in 1583, for publishing libels against the English liturgy,—the liturgy now in use by the Bishop of London! And are there not millions in this very island, in this very day, who are firmly persuaded that Barrow was gifted with as *plain and rightly-formed an understanding* as Bishop Bloomfield? and *therefore* do they reject episcopacy, deny the validity of the sacraments when administered by an Anglican minister, disallow the virtue of ordinations, &c., and roundly assert, that "the laws of the kingdom, and the authority of the sovereign, have introduced many innovations into the Church, and added to the religion established by Christ several customs which cannot be maintained with any colour of justice; and that the religious worship (of the Church of England) was disfigured by palpable and shameful errors."\*

These views it is, too, which, after knocking under to the civil power for some centuries, and forming a solemn compact with it for their mutual advantage and protection, have now induced the Kirk of Scotland to reassert her former principles in all their integrity, and to insist upon her emancipation from the thralldom of the state. And what right has the Bishop of London to gainsay *them*, or to presume that *his* understanding is more rightly informed than was Barrow's, Fox's, or Penn's, as long as he adheres to the rule by which *they* were, one and all, governed? For it is but a shallow artifice, nay, the height of absurdity, to give us a rule, and then immediately to qualify it by injunctions which utterly frustrate its operation,—for if we are to believe the doctrines of the Church of England, and to subscribe to her articles, and yet dive into the mine of Scripture for them, where the Bishop himself tells us they are *not* to be found, is not the rule entirely overlaid and abrogated?

Let us yet consider this matter a little further. Burnet, speaking of the Anabaptists, says,—“Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, *that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians.* Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only *pretended*

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\* Religious Ceremonies, vol. 6. Art. Presbyterians.

to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all *opinions* of religion were; and THEREFORE *they rejected them*. Among these, the baptism of infants was one," &c. (*Hist. of Reform.* A. 1549) But that such principles, and such errors, might not run riot in England, as they were doing in Germany, Cranmer, and Ridley the bishop of London of that day, forced the young king Edward, sorely indeed against his will, to sign the death warrant of Joan of Kent for holding the doctrines which she, in conformity with these new opinions, *pretended* to deduce from Scripture, while bishop Scory "preached at her burning"! And yet could bishop Bloomfield, with any consistency, even have objected to her that she was wrong? for she only interpreted Scripture with a plain, and as she thought, and as thousands think still, with a rightly-informed understanding. Henry's six articles, too, which were every one of them sound Catholic doctrine, and to which Cranmer was a reluctantly assenting party, with seventeen other bishops, and which, "after much consultation and long debating were agreed to," were also declared to be the result of this same principle of "reforming all by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained that did not rest on that authority." (Burnet.) Though Cranmer, that pattern of piety and pink of orthodoxy, as he seems to be esteemed by bishop Bloomfield, was grievously suspected at that very time of not believing them, and was evidently drawing off from them only a few years afterwards, when, in 1549, his *new* liturgy was introduced, with this recommendation, that it had been "concluded on with one *uniform* agreement, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and other learned and *discreet* bishops and divines, *by the aid of the Holy Ghost*," though four of the said bishops protested against it! That which was impiously said to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost in 1549, was new-modelled and arranged by the very same theologians in 1552, upon entirely new views, though upon the very same principles, and if we are to believe them, under the very same guidance; but not even then being quite right, it received its last touch with several amendments, and its last change by several omissions, at the hands of new men, acting under new yet equally sacred illuminations,—though still under the same old principle,—at the final settlement of the 39 articles in 1562!

Cromwell had told the convocation which passed the six articles, amongst other things, "that it was absurd, since the Scripture was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees

of popes, than to these;" while "Cranmer, in a long and learned speech, showed how useless these niceties of the schools were, and of how little authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely on the authority of the Scriptures, . . . of the uncertainty of tradition," &c.; and when published, the advocates of the reformation "rejoiced to see the Scriptures, and the ancient creeds, made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition or the decrees of the Church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened," &c.\* Thus early did the new rule begin to show itself, when once the ancient usage was broken in upon; though they who used it did not yet *rightly understand* its application: this the more thorough-going spirits among them fully felt; but it was so strange to most men, so utterly at variance with long-cherished prepossessions, so different to what they had been heretofore authoritatively taught, that it was no wonder if it required a long and tedious process of development before it came to maturity. In its former comparatively partial and insignificant trials, it had already puzzled all by whom it had been adopted, —more especially when it was attempted to regulate it by another rule which was to curb and clog it, and in fact to supersede it—a rule which serving, in one shape or other, for every sect, however differently they use it, will still continue to puzzle them to the end of time, as bishop Bloomfield might indeed have discovered before he again recommended it for adoption.

Having advanced thus far in our strictures, we were in hopes that our labours had been nearly concluded, when, alas! to our dismay and disappointment, in page 49 we stumble upon another astounding assertion, that "honours are paid in the Church of Rome to DEIFIED SINNERS"!—and again we are summoned forth to our defence. DEIFIED SINNERS!!! There is at least no phraseology here—no courtly insinuation of some deep, mysterious, but unintentional error—no mincing of the matter, but an out-and-out accusation, "an uncompromising assertion" of downright idolatry—"a practice," says he, "which began in poetry, and ended in idolatry." As we shall have occasion to show again, the right reverend prelate observes no measure in his wrath—he dwells in "the whirlwind of passion," not in the temperature of reason. Such ebullitions "may make the unskilful laugh," but they

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\* Burnet, Ann. 1536.



will also make "the judicious grieve;" the bigot, however, will chuckle in his ignorance, and be confirmed in his error. We have already touched upon the case—we now only meet it with a flat denial, declare it to be a detestable calumny, and demand *proof* to the contrary.

"The unspeakable abominations" of the Church of Rome, "that system of corruption and tyranny, which is still maintained by Rome in theory, and as far as circumstances will permit, in practice also,"—"her deadly errors,"—"GUILTY OF SCHISM, if not of apostacy," having "forsaken the true faith, and defiled herself with superstition and idolatry,"—such is the prologue to the *denouement* of the piece, so charitably imagined, and so happily expressed, in the following terse and pithy sentence :

"And let us speak all the more plainly, seeing that she again employs, as her chosen defenders and emissaries, a society of men, bound together by a vow to uphold by all methods, and at all hazards, not Christianity, but Popery; and who, in accordance with that vow, have framed and carried out a system, so hideous in its principles, so mischievous in its effects, that it well deserves to be described as having embodied the very 'mystery of iniquity.'

"The Church of Rome has added to and debased the apostolical 'form of sound words;' has superseded the apostolical succession; has mutilated and corrupted the apostolical communion..... Its errors are not less opposed to Gospel truth and holiness now, than they were at the time of the Reformation. The doctrines and practices which rendered necessary our separation from that Church, are still retained by her, unchanged, unmitigated, unqualified; nor are the differences between us *in essential matters*, less at the present moment, than they were in the times of Cranmer or of Jewel, of Taylor or of Bull."—*Charge*, pp. 59, 60.

Verily we should be "duller than the fat weed that rots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf, did we not stir at this."

Yet we know not whether we are more moved by wonder than by indignation,—wonder, that in the nineteenth century any man should be found, with pretensions to learning, with character and reputation to maintain, and with a cause to advocate, and yet so deluded, so insensible to all that was passing around him, so reckless of consequences, as to fall back upon all the exploded calumnies and fabrications of a period, when the frenzy of the fanatic, the fears of the timid, and the interest of the selfish, combined to misrepresent and falsify all that was considered opposed to them on the one hand, or that it was determined to destroy on the other. Why! there is the testimony of the whole world

against him, of all the saints and sages, the heroes and the martyrs of Christianity, the concurrent voice of ages, the united evidence of the great company of the faithful from one generation to another, now and at all times, to hurl back with indignant defiance the atrocious crimes of which we are accused. We give him the feelings and convictions, and solemn assertions of individuals; we give him the deliberative and authoritative decisions of the Church, as our defence,—but no, says he, you are all hypocrites and prevaricators,—the doctrines which you profess have a *tendency* to superstition and idolatry; I insist upon it, that you are guilty of both, because it suits me to assert it; it is a doctrine necessary for these times, because it is the best argument I can use to deter my wavering subjects from deserting their ranks and going over to you.\*

But we have been hurried away from the subject more immediately before us, from that “ingenious device,” which the right reverend prelate, maugre his love of truth and justice, has not scrupled to employ against us.

The society of the Jesuits, like all other institutions, is matter of history, and is a fair and open field for investigation. But when the most sweeping and crushing accusations are levelled against its members and its system, without even the ordeal of enquiry, and are presumed to be triumphantly established by the mere assertion under the sanction of a great name, backed, it is true, by some long-exploded historical evidence, in the form of a very scanty appendix, *we*, whose peculiar and proper province it is to investigate before we pronounce, may perhaps find it more difficult than others quietly and confidently to acquiesce in the verdict, or rather to suppress our astonishment at such a course. Neither are we quite sure that in yielding to the temptation, the bishop’s zeal has not outstripped his judgment; his object runs no small chance, we deem it, of being frustrated in the outset—the fury of the blow often warps the aim—for the haste and heat with which the sentence of condemnation is here pro-

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\* To show how early this doctrine of *tendencies* was enlisted into controversy, and employed to substantiate this same accusation of idolatry, we will cite the charge of the Unitarian Praxeas, in the second century, who declaimed against the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, because, as he said, *it would lead to idolatry*. The doctrine of tendencies is a mere fanciful theory, and may be employed with a plausibility of reasoning against every dogma of Christianity: it comes from this, that people mistake Christianity for a system of *opinions*, instead of a series of *facts*. The question should ever be, has the doctrine been revealed by God, and promulgated by his Church? If that be proved, we must receive it without further reasoning or enquiry.

nounced against the whole Society, savours too much of human passion not to lack somewhat of holy wisdom.

It is therefore much more to mark the character of the charge, than from any necessity of defending the Society from such attacks as these (to which indeed they must be as calous as they are familiar), that we have noted the circumstance at all; and by way of recommending to the learned prelate to be a little more cautious in future how he assails, with old rusty weapons, long since laid up in ordinary, and excluded from all legitimate warfare, men who are as much his superiors in Christian charity, as they are in theological learning; a society which alone has gained more converts to the faith of Christ than all the Protestant missionaries together; which has added so many illustrious saints to the calendar, whom Protestantism may emulate in vain; and which has given so many sons to science, and so many martyrs to the Church. It is indeed, to all intents and purposes, useless, as far as the generality of our readers are concerned, to say one word upon the matter. For others, the most lengthened disquisition that our space could afford would not suffice for the purpose. We shall therefore merely put it to the common sense of mankind, to say whether they deem it possible, that this celebrated society—consisting at its dissolution of twenty thousand individuals, certainly above the ordinary level in natural abilities, and very far indeed superior to it in moral and intellectual attainments, actively occupied in every portion of the world in the interests of science, religion, and humanity—could have been composed of materials such as the right rev. prelate has described? or, having been so constituted, and having consequently fallen under the weight of its own iniquity, and been utterly crushed and annihilated beneath the scorn, contempt, and indignation of outraged virtue, it should within the short space of a few years (its crimes still fresh in our memories) have again risen from its ashes, and already, in part, regained its former ascendancy in the religious and literary world? That they who were regicides by principle should be again the fostered children of kings! that they whose moral code undermined morality, should be again the favourite directors of tender consciences, and the trustworthy instructors of youth! and that they who have once let in a flood of iniquity upon the world, should now be employed to stem it! All this is too monstrous for belief, unless it fall upon a true Bæotian intellect (which we cannot reconcile with the Attic sprightliness of the right rev. prelate's), or unless it find its sustenance



amongst the dark but luxuriant shades of bigotry. Yet that such notions do now and then spring up innocently enough in the minds of some, from mere stupidity, or indifference to their truth, we will proceed to show, by an instance from which indeed the right rev. prelate may himself have taken example, and which deserves to be exposed and refuted, both on account of the better company in which it has chanced to find itself, and from the influence which, upon that title, it may exert over the ignorant or unwary. Even the respectable Ranke, a man who frequently sins through ignorance, but never, we verily believe, through malice, in his interesting *History of the Popes of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, has been strangely led into the expression of sentiments, relative to the Society, nearly approaching to those of the learned author of the charge. It may serve also as a warning even to the best of us, not to be carried away by hasty and superficial judgments, and as an example of how huge a superstructure may be raised upon the most flimsy foundation.

Speaking of the constitution of the society, Ranke says, "But there is yet another constitution (c. vi. 5) *by which even the commission of sin may be commanded*. 'Visum est nobis in Domino, nullas constitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, vel in virtute obedientiæ juberet.' One can hardly believe one's eyes when one reads such things!" (Note to p. 298, vol. i. French ed.) But what things are they? Why, simply this, that the ordinary rules of the house were not binding under pain of sin, *unless the superior should order it otherwise in virtue of obedience*;—that is, the society in its ordinary condition was governed by certain rules and regulations, which there was much merit and advantage in observing, as conducive to good order and regularity, edification, &c. But St. Ignatius, not desiring to impose too heavy a yoke upon his followers, left them free in all matters which did not militate against their three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. If they observed the rule and order of living which was prescribed, so much the better; but if not, there was no sin in the infraction, *unless the superior stood upon his authority, and enforced it as a duty of obedience*. Nothing more reasonable in itself, or more simply or clearly expressed in the constitutions. But Ranke saw through a discoloured medium, misconstrued his Latin, and was perhaps happy in the mistake. Still it was unpardonable in him to make it.

For, however it might seem at first sight to the inexperienced and unpracticed eye, yet Ranke, with a mind accustomed to reason, must have seen sufficient in the very constitutions from which he quotes, and in St. Ignatius's letter on obedience, which he quotes also, to have given him a strong suspicion that he was in error. These ought to have convinced him, indeed, that no such interpretation *could* be put upon the passage, let the words stand as they would, seeing that such interpretation was at direct variance with the context. Among the very rules upon which he grounds this crying accusation, he must have seen, 1°. "But also they must endeavour to be resigned interiorly, and to have a true abnegation of their own will and judgment; conforming their will and judgment wholly to the superior's will and judgment, *in all things where there appears no sin.*" (Rule 31.) 2°. And in St. Ignatius's letter on obedience to the fathers in Portugal, to which he likewise refers, he must have seen also the following quotation from St. Bernard: "Whether God, or man his substitute, command anything, we must obey with equal diligence, and perform it with like reverence, *provided man commands nothing that is contrary to God.*"\* And 3°. in the same letter: "Wherefore this manner of subjecting our understanding, so as, without questioning, to sanction, and command within ourselves whatsoever the superior commands, is not only a common practice amongst holy men, but also to be imitated by all who are desirous of perfect obedience, *in all things where manifestly there appears no sin.*"

How Ranke could see all this, and yet fall into the egregious blunder he has committed, can, we apprehend, only be accounted for by the blindness of prejudice. And it must indeed have been a strange delusion that could so far rob him of his reason, as to induce him to believe that in constitutions so carefully and cautiously drawn up, one rule should not only so pointedly contradict the other, but should also utterly belie the solemnly-expressed opinions of their author. Could a society so celebrated for its prudence, and, as some would say, for its cunning, so far forget itself as to publish to an inquisitive and censorious world, a code of laws so wholly offensive to religion and morality, which it was their professed object to promote, and which must assuredly and most justly, expose it to the indignation and execration of mankind, and thus damn itself in its very infancy? Is it possible he could have reasoned otherwise? There was more

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\* Summary of the Rules of the Society, pp. 20 & 82. American ed. Washington.

than enough to create suspicion, suspicion demanded inquiry, and inquiry would have corrected his mistake. Why! there was not a child in Rome who would not have told him it was a falsehood. The very stones ought to have risen up in judgment against him, as he beheld before him those splendid monuments wherein the princes, prelates, and people, of that eternal city, have so nobly recorded their sense of the piety, charity, and virtue of the illustrious disciples of the blessed Ignatius of Loyola.

The right rev. prelate may seek his palliation in the pages of Ranke, but he should remember that we expect some better evidence for our conviction, than a mere repetition of the errors which the ignorance or malevolence of others have bequeathed us; and that the justice of *one* generation *may* suffice to rectify the slanders of the many which have preceded it.

But we have not yet done with the right reverend prelate and his friends the Jesuits. We have already glanced at the appendix, we must now refer to it in good earnest, for, on a second perusal, we question whether it may not be worth the while. It is, indeed, a precious specimen of historical evidence! After reciting the atrocious calumnies heaped upon the Jesuits by the parliaments of Paris of 1761-2,—and no doubt a short meditation thereon—the right reverend prelate's zeal is so warmed, and his indignation so roused, that he exclaims, “Yet this is the order which was re-established, together with the Inquisition, by Pope Pius VII, whose predecessor Clement XIV had described them as *hostes humani generis*: and this is the order which directs the education of a great part of the people of Ireland, and of many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry in England. For fuller information respecting the Jesuits the reader may consult *Les Jésuites tels qu'ils ont été*, or the *Collectio Opusculorum*, Bremæ, 1798, tom i. p. 677.”

As a set off against these arrêts of the parliaments of Paris, we must refer the right reverend prelate to a short but highly interesting defence of the order, entitled *A New Disquisition, Philosophical and Political, concerning the Society of the Jesuits*, &c. where he will see a long list of historical testimonies in *favour* of the society, “from Henry IV of France, Louis XIV, Catherine II, Richelieu, Cardinal de Fleury, Bossuet, Bacon, Leibnitz, *several parliaments, who took up the defence of the Jesuits about the time of their suppression*, Clement XIII, and the French clergy, who vehemently



protested against the suppression of the order," &c.; and, if this do not *convince* him that he has relied too much upon the *ex parte* statements of others, we would strongly recommend to his perusal *The New Conspiracy by Dallas*, and even a still more extended defence of the order.\*

It becomes, indeed, the duty of rational beings, who have adopted erroneous impressions, upon which they *act* in their conduct towards their neighbour (indeed it is due to themselves), to erase such impressions by the substitution of others more conformable to truth and justice; and where a man has studied but *one* side, and that one side guided, as he must necessarily feel, by no very impartial mind, he may be morally certain that, however strong his convictions, he is positively and radically wrong.

Such, then, and we state it with unwavering confidence, is the character of those premises, and, consequently, of the convictions flowing from them, which have drawn forth the energetic and opportune denunciations which we have already quoted. Let us consider them a little nearer still. "Yet this is the order which Clement XIV had described as *hostes humani generis*!" enemies of the human race! It is certainly rather a harsh expression from the common father of the faithful towards any indeed of the children confided to his paternal solicitude, when exhorting them in accents of friendly admonition, in the cause of peace and charity, but more especially towards a body of men very peculiarly subject to, and devoted to the Holy See,—lending all their energies, in whatever direction he chose to employ them, for the extension of the kingdom of Christ, of which he was the supreme head upon earth, which was so solemnly entrusted to his charge, and of which so awful an account would one day be demanded of him. Being, therefore, somewhat incredulous as to the *fact*, we gave ourselves the trouble of running through the brief of Clement, decreeing the immediate extinction of the order, and from which alone, of course, we could imagine the right reverend prelate to have selected the passage. The expression, indeed, is there, though *very differently* applied. Will the reader believe that, instead of the Jesuits, the pope refers to *his Satanic majesty*, whom he very properly designates by that significant and well merited term—the ancient enemy of the human race ?!!!

The only ground upon which the pontiff rests the extreme

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\* Documents Historiques, &c. concernant la Compagnie de Jesus. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1827–1830.

exercise of his sovereign spiritual authority over the institute of St. Ignatius, is the prudence which it became necessary for him to employ towards the various states of Europe, which had solicited the suppression of the order at his hands. The violent contests between the enemies and the friends of the society, in which, as a matter of course, the society must needs, more or less, take part, together with the imprudent conduct of some few individual members, had created so high an excitement, that it seemed to many, and, amongst others, to Clement XIV, that their extinction was a necessary sacrifice to the peace of the Church. The brief is altogether silent upon the merits, and nearly so upon the demerits of the order; but, in the particular passage which contains the fatal and deliberative judgment of Clement, which (according to the right reverend prelate) was to consign them to posterity, covered with infamy to the latest generation, and for ever bow them down to the earth with the weight of their own dishonour, the sovereign pontiff is actually giving the world a lecture upon CHARITY *towards them*; illustrating it with that apt and beautiful text from St. James: "Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show by a good conversation his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts: glory not, and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom, descending from above: but earthly, sensual, diabolical."\* And calling upon all mankind to cease their troubles, contentions, and divisions, "He who loves his neighbour," says he, "has fulfilled the law. Let him, then, avoid and hold in detestation all UNJUST REPROACHES, hatred, quarrels, craftiness, and such like expedients, by which THE ANCIENT ENEMY OF THE HUMAN RACE is wont to trouble the peace of the household of God, and to hinder the eternal salvation of the faithful," &c.†

The holy father had just before forbidden all, under pain of excommunication, to injure, by any means whatever, but more particularly by contumelious invective, either by word of mouth or in writing, in public or in private, any one whomsoever, UNDER COVER OF THIS BRIEF OF SUPPRESSION, but *more especially all members of the said society!* Thus, so far from giving any countenance whatsoever to the conduct of

\* Chap. iii. 13, 14, 15.

† "Nam qui diligit proximum, legem implevit, summo prosequens odio offensiones, simultates, jurgia, invidias, aliaque hujusmodi ab antiquo humani generis hoste excogitata, inventa, et excitata ad Ecclesiam Dei perturbandam," &c.

the right reverend prelate, placing him under his high displeasure for offending against the injunctions he had laid down in the name of charity.\*

Verily, we cannot but marvel with what ingenious facility these teachers, *par excellence*, of that good and wholesome doctrine, that *the end doth not justify the means*, do devise *their* means of carrying out *their* ends. More especially have we observed this, when the design has not been in the most strict accordance with the injunctions of the apostle, "Let not, then, our good be evil spoken of;" while men seem driven to seek their own reputations in the ruin of others; and when one really might find occasion to suspect that the arch inventor and instigator of evil might not be wholly a stranger to the scheme. However strong the provocation, we cannot nevertheless work up our minds to believe that the right reverend prelate has, in this instance, fallen under the temptation, *wilfully* to corrupt and misapply his quotation: we must charitably presume that he has only decked himself with borrowed plumes, and fights with weapons provided by another. Has he not incautiously relied upon some enemy less scrupulous than himself, and who was bold in his imposture, in proportion as the public mind was credulous, and as his victim was friendless and unprotected? But the star of justice has its orbit, as well as less benignant constellations, and the sen-

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\* It is said in the brief, that certain germs of discord were observable in the Society which began to excite dissensions amongst its own members, and troubles between them and other religious orders, &c. but where the accusations against them are mentioned, they are only referred to as matters of past history, or as certain things *laid to their charge* now, which are *pretended* or *asserted* to be; or at most, disapprobation is pronounced against individual members, and even this in vague and general terms, without any specification of persons or places; while nothing is brought forward to compromise the principals of the Society, or to show that they had departed from their original Institute. He, Clement, is evidently seeking an excuse for complying with what was demanded of him, and takes especial care to state nothing in their favour; which clearly shows also, that he was not casting up a balance sheet, and giving the verdict against them, but merely enumerating some few of the accusations, admitting the troubles which they occasioned, and coming to the resolution that, under existing circumstances, they were no longer in a situation to render any service to religion in their capacity of members of the Society of St. Ignatius. But to prove that he had no just ground of complaint against the Society in general, or its principle, he says, "But that the world may know that our only object is, the advantage of the Church and the peace of Christendom, we desire to give some consolation in their sorrows to every member of the Society, each individual of which is most dear to us in Jesus Christ, and that all troubles and contentions being at an end, they may apply with more success, to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, and to procure the salvation of souls, we decree" that "they either enter other religious communities, as their inclination may direct them, or place themselves as secular clergy under the immediate jurisdiction of their ordinary," &c. Was this treating them as *hostes humani generis*?



tence which one generation may pronounce almost by acclamation, another may rescind upon a fuller hearing; and we fondly hope that the right reverend prelate will be more just as well as more cautious for the future. But, as he has made *his* extract from the brief of their *suppression*, it is but fair that we should make ours from the bull of their *restoration*.

After reciting that the emperor Paul "had warmly recommended the said priests to the Holy See, in his most gracious dispatches of the 11th of August 1800, in which, after having expressed his special regard for them, he declared that it would be gratifying to him for the good of the Catholics of his empire, that the said company of Jesus should be established in his empire under that authority;" Pius VII proceeds to say:

"We, therefore, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions, almost destitute of evangelical workmen, might thence derive, and weighing in our mind the great increase which these clergymen, *whose morals and doctrines were holden in such high estimation*, would, by their unabated labours, their intense zeal for the good of souls, and their indefatigable preaching of the Word of God, occasion to the Catholic religion, have thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a prince."

"A short time after," he continues, "we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to the kingdom of Sicily, on the earnest request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, Ferdinand, who entreated that the company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states, as it was in Russia, from a conviction that, in these deplorable times, the Jesuits were the teachers the most capable of forming youth to Christian piety, and to the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in literature and science in the colleges and public schools under the direction of these regular clergymen....."

"*Almost the whole Catholic world demands, with unanimous voice, the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus.* We daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished characters of every degree and order, more especially since the abundant fruits produced in every country in which this Society has had a footing, have been publicly known."—*Bull of Pius VII. See Appendix to the Disquisition.*

The bull, at the same time, extends the re-establishment of the order to all the states and dominions of the world, and revokes *in toto* the brief of Clement XIV.

But let us now take a leaf from the ordinance of the king of Spain for the revival of the institute within *his* dominions :

“ Since,” says his majesty, “ by the effect of the infinite and special mercy of our blessed Lord, for me and my faithful subjects, I have found myself in the midst of them, reseated upon the glorious throne of my ancestors, I have received, and continue daily to receive, a number of representations made to me from the provinces, towns, villages, and boroughs of my kingdom, from the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and even the laity, all of whom have laid before me proofs of the loyalty and attachment, and of the warm interest they take in the temporal and spiritual welfare of my subjects, most earnestly supplicating and imploring me to re-establish, throughout every part of my dominions, the society of Jesus, inviting me in that to follow the example of the other sovereigns of Europe, and especially that of his holiness, who has thought proper to repeal the brief of Clement XIV, bearing date the 21st day of July, 1773, which extinguished the religious regular order of the Society of Jesus, by the publication of the famous constitution of the 7th day of last August ; *Solicitude omnium ecclesiarum*. After such respectable precedents, I did whatever lay in my power to ascertain, in the most positive manner, the falsity of the criminal charges laid to the account of the society of Jesus, by their rivals and enemies, who were at the same time the enemies of the most holy religion of Jesus Christ, which is the first fundamental law of my monarchy, and that which my glorious predecessors ever protected and defended, with heroic firmness and constancy, thereby fulfilling the obligation, which the title of *most Catholic*, which has ever been allowed them up to this day by all other sovereigns, imposed upon them, and that zeal and example which, with the help of God, I wish and hope to follow. I have at length brought myself to the thorough conviction, that the real enemies of religion and kingly government were the very persons who had laboured, with the most earnestness, at rendering the society of Jesus odious, at dissolving it, at persecuting its unoffending members, *by employing against it the vilest intrigues, the foulest calumny, and the most ridiculous imputations.*”—*Ibid.*

And much more in the same strain, but too long for quotation here, though it is impossible for us to omit the following passage,—“ That the pretended crimes that have been laid to their charge affected at most some few individuals ; that by far the great majority of the society occupied themselves constantly in the attainment of science, in the practical administration of our holy religion, guided by the soundest prin-

ciples of morality, ever tending to alienate men from vice, and lead them in the ways of justice and virtue."

Such is the system which the fertile imagination of the right reverend prelate has conjured up into "the mystery of iniquity," and such the foundation upon which the mighty fabric reposes!—HOSTES HUMANI GENERIS!!!

But we must still read the right reverend prelate a lecture on these matters, and we will take it from one whom we deem a very unexceptionable witness in such a controversy.

Bayle has furnished us with abundant evidence, that in his days it was often as it is sometimes now.

"It is certain," says he, "that whatever is published against them (the Jesuits) is almost equally believed by their enemies, both Catholics and Protestants. It is also true, that the accusations are renewed against them, as often as occasion offers in any new book. In the meantime, they who examine with any sort of equity the innumerable apologies published by the Jesuits, find, as to some facts, sufficient justifications, to make a *reasonable* enemy drop the charge."

"The fate of the Jesuits," he adds, "and that of Catiline, is much the same. Several accusations were given in against Catiline without any proof; but they met with credit upon this general argument, *since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this, or that, and it is very probable he has done the rest.*"... "There was published at the Hague, about eleven years ago, in 1689, a book entitled *The Religion of the Jesuits*. The author confesses, that the prejudice against these gentlemen is so general, that whatever attestations of innocence they fortify themselves with, it is impossible to undeceive the world."... "He (this author)" continues Bayle, "means that *a man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured that abundance of people will believe it.* I believe him in the right; at least that in this he will prove a good prophet. It was doubtless on this presumption, that he published the story of Vienna (one of those *monstrous historical falsehoods* against the society), though he believed it false. But if other authors have taken the same method, what will become of all the facts which the enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe, that they have divulged several, which they knew to be false or doubtful, and which, nevertheless, would in their reckoning appear as certain, and be received by the public as undoubted truths? *I cannot think the rules of morality will allow the making so ill a use of public prejudice.* They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent people worse than they are."... "And as at the bottom," he adds, "it is a great fault to be ready to believe whatever is said to the disadvantage of our enemies, true



or false, doubtful or certain; so there is more indiscretion than sincerity in revealing this prepossession. Would a cunning enemy discover this weak place? But, in point of indiscretion, this author has not his fellow."

Bayle, it is true, falls somewhat into the failings of those whom he so justly and so loudly condemns; but this he does upon the same plea upon which so much opposition is sought to be raised in our days both against the doctrines of the Anglican divines, and still more against those of the Catholic Church,—the *presumed tendency* of certain doctrines and opinions. Yet, after all, he acknowledges in respect to the casuistry taught by the Jesuits, that "they who have read father Pirot's book (*L'Apologie des Casuistes*) will own, that it is easier to censure it, and perceive that it contains *dangerous* doctrines (*i. e.* in *his* estimation) than answer his objections."

The very same accusation, which we have exposed in Ranke, has been, frequently and long since, taught, wilfully and designedly, against them; as, for example, in 1682, in an anonymous work, called the "*Emperor and Empire betrayed, and by whom?*" "All this," says the writer, "smells strong of an obedience, *which knows no other duty, nor rule of justice and piety, than the absolute command of his superior.*" But of this, as well as of the many other furious and fabricated accusations against the Jesuits, Bayle very justly observes:

"These writers would be too obligingly treated, should we say to them, *I expected proof, and you bring me vulgar stories.* For they most commonly vent, not only what they have heard themselves, but what they have forged in the mint of their own brain. He whom I have cited, and M. Jurieu, would afford matter of laughter to all the world; the one maintains, that the Jesuits betrayed the house of Austria in favour of France; and the other, that they would be always disposed to betray France in favour of the house of Austria."—*Bayle's Dic.: art. Ignatius of Loyola.*

If a Christian bishop would but do them the same justice as a layman, who had no other than the light of an infidel philosophy to guide him, we might rest contented. Till then we must console ourselves with the belief, that *his* injustice is the warrant for *their* innocence.

But we have still one little mistake to rectify. Another of the right reverend prelate's lamentations is, that "this is the order which directs the education of a *great part of the PEOPLE* of Ireland, and of many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry in England;" and even here,

though there is a considerable admixture of truth, yet is there also a large portion of error. Verily, the right reverend prelate seems spell-bound against the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. In all Ireland, if we mistake not, the Jesuits have but two establishments,—a college at Clongowes, and a church in Dublin. We doubt not that in those two localities, they do their duty by all classes, whether they be of the upper or lower; but it is well, if they have two poor schools in all Ireland; and not being a missionary country like England, they have not one parish or congregation. Yet this is to be called *educating* A GREAT PART OF THE PEOPLE of Ireland! Against the Catholic nobility and gentry of England, however, we must own it is a true bill. We ourselves were educated at Stonyhurst, and God be praised for the same! for whatever of good principles we have, we imbibed them there, and we have ever since been but too happy in every opportunity of bearing testimony to the strict discipline observed amongst the students, and the self-devotion and heroic virtue of the fathers of the society; and we beg the right reverend prelate to accept of our sincere thanks for procuring us this renewed gratification upon the present occasion.

Even at the risk of being tedious, we cannot refrain from a slight notice of another warning, and another calumny, against the Catholic Church. “We are far,” says the charge, “from presuming to assert the absolute perfectness of our own Church; but it is not in retracing any of the steps, by which she has receded from the Church of Rome, that she is to be made more perfect; nor by attempting to remodel her upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century, infected as it was with the remains of *Gnostic superstitions*, and the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men.”—p. 60.

Now, the Gnostic heresies were *out* of the Church, and *not in it*. They were, in the commencement, an admixture of Christianity introduced into Paganism and Judaism—erroneous tenets forced from Christianity, and engrafted even upon sectarian tenets of the Jews. Subsequently, indeed, some few derived their origin from teachers who were or had been connected with the Church; but these, such as Marcion, the most considerable of them all, were immediately excommunicated, and separated from the fellowship of the faithful. They were denounced by name, their doctrine repudiated, and themselves pointed out as men to be avoided as

the authors and abettors of heresy. The doctrines of Christianity, as propounded by the Church, appeared defective to the eyes of Gnostic mysticism; and, though some of them were ambitious of a Christian origin, such as the Nicolaites and the Ebionites, yet not even these were ever confounded with real orthodox Christians, who were bound together in one great but exclusive communion, and who held the unity of the Church as an essential and fundamental doctrine.

St. Irenæus informs us that some of the Gnostic heretics possessed representations of our Saviour both in painting and sculpture, which they declared to have been executed by order of Pilate during the life time of Christ. The saint reproached them with placing these representations *with those of pagan philosophers, and using both with superstitious observances*: so little of real Christianity had they.\*

Cerinthus, and Basilides, and Saturninus, were all disciples of the Alexandrian philosophy; taught the transmigration of souls; that the world was created by angels; and every possible variety of mystic extravagance and blasphemous impiety, interwoven only with some faint traces of Christianity. Valentinus, another of these Gnostics, was three times denounced by the Church at Rome, whither he had gone to broach his absurdities. Tatian quitted the Church as soon as he began to propagate his errors; while Theodotus was denounced and excommunicated by Pope Victor, for attempting to gain proselytes to his impious doctrines in Rome; and Noctus was expelled as an innovator by the clergy of Smyrna about the year 220.

When the heresiarch Montanus, about the close of the second century, began to disseminate his dangerous and subtle novelties among the people, he was continually, though in vain, called upon to desist: as a customary consequence, the Churches of Asia several times assembled to examine his doctrine, pronounced it impious, and cut off from the communion of the faithful all who were infected with his errors.†

When the great Tertullian, he who for many years had been the main living pillar of the Church, her most eloquent apologist, and the most active, as the most able, champion of orthodoxy, in face of all the heresies which surrounded him, allowed himself at length to be seduced within the snares of

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\* It is to be observed that St. Irenæus does not blame the use, but the *abuse* of these images. Ceillier, vol. ii. 145.

† Ceillier, p. 531. vol. ii.



the *enemy of the human race*, and of truth; after joining these same Montanists for a short time, he set up a sect for himself, which adopted his name, and worshipped apart from the rest of the world.\* So distinct were all the heresies of this, as of every other age; and so completely have they ever served, instead of instilling their poison into her, to attest the orthodoxy of the Church, and to mark *her* triumph over them.

The Ophites, another division of Gnostics, separated themselves into various sects violently opposed to each other. Those whom Origen met in Egypt had nothing of Christianity amongst them; while the Sethians and Cainites pretended to derive their descent from Seth and Cain. Cæinthus, Carpocrates, and Epiphanes had so little of Christianity in their system, that their followers were no better than so many sects of heathens. Of all the teachers of Gnosticism in any shape or form, the only one who contrived, by the art with which he concealed his doctrines from the public (announcing them only in secret assemblies,) to maintain himself within the ostensible limits of the Church, was Bardasenes.

But neither he, nor any of the numerous enemies of early Christianity, succeeded in instilling, without detection, their own doctrines amongst the faithful. Such as were unhappy enough to imbibe and profess them, were immediately repudiated, and cut off from the assemblies of the true believers; nor does it appear that any one sect of Gnostics ever admitted, *in its integrity*, any one doctrine of Christianity. This at least is certain, that, multifarious as they were, they every one of them denied and rejected the perfect, hypostatic union of the Divine and human nature in the person of Christ, though with an almost endless variety of the most fanciful opinions on this essential and fundamental tenet. Indeed, it would seem that it was a maxim with them, that uniformity of belief was neither attainable nor desirable, and that the human mind had a right to range free and unrestricted amidst the boundless regions of a speculative and imaginary world. They had apocryphal Scriptures of their own; or, when they borrowed any from Christianity, they were careful to modify and corrupt them to their own views.

This accusation of the Bishop of London's is but an old discovery of Mosheim's; yet Mosheim acknowledges that the ancient fathers faithfully represented the doctrines of

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\* Ceillier, p. 377. vol. ii.

the Gnostics, as well as the pagan historians of that day. Plotinus and St. Irenæus are agreed, he admits, upon this point. If, then, the ancient fathers faithfully represented their doctrines for the purpose of refuting them, and not only refuted them, but expelled their authors from the Church when they refused to renounce them, is it likely that they adopted them? or, what more do we require to establish the fact that there was no community of belief or feeling between them? What Mosheim failed to do, Dr. Bloomfield will not succeed in accomplishing; and neither one nor the other can identify one single opinion, much less a dogma, introduced into the Christian Church by this wild and extravagant development of the superstitious philosophy of the ancient heathens.

Each successive heresy, so far from making inroads into her doctrine, only compelled the Church to put forth her attributes with fresh energy, and to vindicate her own against the fictitious tenets of innovators and impostors, by a stricter definition of the sacred and imperishable truths entrusted to her keeping; and thus it is that they can be traced in a pure, continuous track, through the mists of error which have in vain endeavoured to obscure it.

Gnosticism, indeed, had but a short reign; it was too absurdly fanciful, and too extravagantly impious, to endure long in the face of the pure and bright truths of Christianity: and, by the middle of the third century, it resolved itself into a more modified, and, at least, a less ostensibly offensive form amongst the disciples of Manes. This superstition, also, was of eastern origin, and too unhappily resembled its predecessor in the romantic folly of its poetic imaginings, and in the very faint glimmerings of Christianity with which it was rather deformed than embellished. So far, in reality, did the doctrines of this new sect fall short of Christianity, that they also maintained a most ridiculous system of the transmigration of souls; paid Divine honours only to the Christ reigning in the sun and moon, and worshipped without temples, altars, or sacrifices.

On the other hand, is it either matter of authentic history, or even of idle report, that any one of the Gnostic follies or superstitions was ever incorporated with the doctrines of Christianity? and we venture to ask with confidence for the proof that the Church of the fourth or fifth century was, in any shape whatever, infected with the remains of Gnostic superstition, or any other heresy. But, while we defy the

right reverend prelate to make good either one assertion or the other, "that it (the Church) was also infected with the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men," we must also beg leave to put a question to *him* and to ask why it is that he deprecates "the attempt to remodel (the Church of England) upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, *but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century?*" Now, we are far from pretending to divine what may be passing in the mind of the right reverend prelate, but we cannot, in the honesty of our heart, conceal from him what is passing in our own. We suspect—we acknowledge it to be only a suspicion—that the right reverend prelate judges it more convenient to carry the question in debate, from a period in which the mass of evidence is crowded, positive, unequivocal, incontrovertible, and overwhelming, to one in which the lamp of faith is less discernible, emitting but fewer rays, and burning, not, in reality, with less vigour, or with less brightness, but with less of vivid distinctness through the more lengthened distance.

It brings him nearer—may he not argue thus?—to his own rule; to a period in which little else was written but the Scriptures, or, at least, little that has come down to us. May it not give the right reverend prelate an excuse for saying, "We have no other evidence but the plain and most certain warrant of holy Scripture;" we will search *that*, and decide for ourselves. But let us remind him that this was also the very argument of many of the Gnostics,—of all, indeed, who pretended to any connexion with Christianity. They had for ever in their mouths those words of our Saviour, "Seek and you shall find." An appeal to the Church was answered by an appeal to the *Scriptures*; for they held that the Church had been *already* over-laid with errors and corruptions, even as early as the *second* century; indeed, many of them accused the apostles, nay, Christ himself, of accommodating his doctrine to the prevailing prejudices and necessities of the times,—they *alone* were gifted with a plain and rightly-informed understanding for the investigation and discovery of spiritual truths, and for evidence of these truths, they confidently appealed to the Scriptures; continually complaining of the injustice done them by the Church, in driving them from her communion; for their design was to associate, if possible, their pestilent errors with the pure doctrines of Christianity. But in this they most signally failed, and the Catholic Church was no more in-



fectured with Gnosticism during the fourth or fifth centuries, than it is now with Puritanism or Quakerism.\*

We have but one word more to say to the right reverend prelate,—to repeat our recommendation to him to study his history as well as his theology, before he again steps forward as a volunteer in the crusade against Catholicity,

—— “ To be too busy is some danger ;”

His discretion might have tutored him better, than to have sent him pell-mell into a fight, for which he seems to have been so little prepared. One solitary specimen will suffice of the right reverend prelate’s profound knowledge, even of English ecclesiastical history; “ It was a system of corruption and tyranny, which drove her (the Church of England) from communion with Rome.” It was indeed the work of corruption and of tyranny,—of corruption amongst the nobles, and tyranny in the monarch,—a slavish subserviency amongst the governed, and an iron despotism on the part of the governor. But this is not exactly as the right reverend prelate means to apply his observation—Corruption of doctrine in the Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, and tyranny in her discipline. This is *his* assertion; but where has the commentator upon *Æschylus* studied his history of the reformation? Has he never heard of that singular fact that for eighteen years after the cessation of all communion with Rome, not one of the tenets of the Anglican Church was altered? On the contrary, were not the most severe, nay barbarous enactments passed to maintain them? It was a pure act of schism, and nothing more; and, as a consequence, the transfer of the

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\* St. Hippolytus, who flourished early in the third century, gives us the following relation of the expulsion of Noctus from the Church, which may be taken as a specimen of the method adopted upon such occasions.

Hearing that Noctus was disseminating his pernicious doctrines, the clergy required his attendance, and examined him in presence of the authorities of the Church. He disavowed the errors which were imputed to him, but soon attempted to propagate them by stealth. Finding others of the same opinions as himself, he openly broached his heresy. He was then summoned a second time before the authorities of the Church: but now, instead of the feigned humility with which he had submitted to their remonstrances upon the former occasion, he exhibited his true character, comported himself with an obstinate haughtiness, and asked what harm he was doing. Finding their efforts to reclaim him ineffectual, they expelled him from the communion of the faithful.—*See Ceillier*, vol. ii. p. 342, &c.

See the history of these sects at large in the writings of St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, as analyzed by Ceillier; also a shorter account of them in Döllinger’s *History of the Church*. London, 1840. Consult also Bergier’s *Dict. de Théologie*, and the various biographical notices of ancient heresiarchs.

papacy from Rome to Westminster. And as long as he lived, this new head of the Church was even a fiercer persecutor of the doctrines of bishop Bloomfield, than bishop Bloomfield is now of his; for the king, with the aid of Cranmer, burnt his heretics alive, and even forced one of his bishops, who had been himself condemned to death, but had saved himself by recantation, to preach an orthodox sermon to his victims at the stake.

Is all this new to the right reverend prelate? and is it not an acknowledged historical fact, that it was the brightness of Boleyn's eyes, and not the corruptions or tyranny of Rome, which drove England from communion with her? Even for the first five years of Edward's reign, no DOCTRINAL reformation took place,—for Cranmer's first liturgy only touched the rubrics and ceremonies. It was *a form of prayer and administration of the sacraments*, declared by him agreeable to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scriptures, and the usages of the primitive Church; and it was not till his second illumination (having also been directed in the first, as he expressed it, and as we have already observed, by the aid of the Holy Ghost), that he discovered the errors of his former doctrines, and was now instructed to promulgate others in direct opposition to them; though he still declared those same former doctrines to be *a very godly order, set forth by authority, agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church!*\* Yes, this was the theologian who, after a term of eighteen years of simple schism, first invaded the doctrines of Rome, and who is so eulogized by the right reverend prelate for so doing. Much, however, as Protestantism is indebted to Cranmer, we must own we never could exactly discern his right to the admiration which we are expected to entertain towards him. We never could hold in reverence a man who, at his consecration, made a secret protest against the public oath which he was about to take; who degraded the episcopal character by declaring that a prince might make a priest as well as a bishop, for that neither priest nor bishop needeth consecration;† who lowered the episcopal office to that of a mere officer of state, holding it only at the will and pleasure of the sovereign; who, though he had bound himself by the most sacred and solemn engagement to observe a life of celibacy, was privately married to

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\* See Cranmer's First and Second Liturgies.

† See these declarations in Burnet. Record xxl. vol. ii. 8vo. ed. 1820.

a niece of Osiander, whom he secretly introduced into this country, and smuggled about from one palace to another; who was ever guilty of the most accommodating tergiversations under the fearful frown of Henry, in matters of opinion; while, in matters of fact, he carried his subserviency so far as to divorce that scrupulous and exemplary monarch from no less than three wives,—in one case, deliberately playing off a studied and hypocritical drama, under a wretched attempt to save appearances, by deceiving the world with a feigned course of decency and order; in another, solemnly confirming, and soon afterwards as solemnly annulling, his own decision; and in the third, exhibiting a most edifying display of the basest obsequiousness to the will of him with the gratification of whose pleasure his own interests were now so completely identified; who, ever swimming with the stream when he could not stem it, and—upon this principle it is presumed—thinking it right and lawful to execute Catholics and burn Protestants under one master, and Protestants of another shade under a second, for not trimming their religious opinions by his; while at last he came most unhappily to the same fate himself as a traitor and a heretic, still, however, recanting all his heterodox opinions in favour of his original Catholic tenets, in compliance with his old habits, and in hopes of escaping the punishment he had so cruelly inflicted upon others, but recanting his recantation when he found his accustomed duplicity no longer available to his purpose!\*

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\* In 1538, Cranmer summoned Lambert into his archiepiscopal court for broaching errors against the real presence; when his prisoner appealed to the king, as supreme head of the Church, Cranmer, in the presence of the royal pontiff, disputed with the heretic in favour of *transubstantiation* (being then embodied in one of the six articles), but failing in his powers of persuasion, abandoned his unfortunate victim to the sentence pronounced upon him by Cromwell, as vicar-general to the supreme head—that he should die at the stake! Two years afterwards, Cranmer argued, both in the house and in convocation, *against* this same doctrine, but had the discretion at last to own himself confounded by the “goodlie learning” of the king; (see Burnet, vol. i. p. 270, and Lingard, pp. 287 and 277, vol. iv. 4to. ed.) while in 1549, he put forth “a form of prayer and administration of the sacraments;” which, telling neither one thing nor the other, as to the manner of the presence, may be *presumed* to have been intended for the foreign reformed tenet of consubstantiation, which both Burnet and Strype conceive him to have held, even when he conspired to the death of Lambert, for professing opinions towards which he himself was verging at the time, and which he openly avowed in 1552; when all *corporeal* presence of Christ in the Eucharist was absolutely renounced. In 1562, this portion of the article was omitted, and a purely “*heavenly and spiritual*” presence, depending upon the faith of the recipient, declared to be the orthodox definition of this mysterious doctrine. Each alteration, be it remembered, was announced by competent



Is this the man who deserves the honours of a martyr, or a temple to be erected to his fame? or does he merit to be lauded at the expense of Hildebrand and Becket, whom the right reverend prelate is pleased to style the "authors and abettors of evil, the firebrands of discord, and the subverters of civil government"! We cannot but think the right reverend prelate might still read history to some advantage, and display a sounder judgment both in his praises and his censures.\*

With the frequent warnings of the bishop to his weaker brethren, against being seduced by the attractive guise of Catholicity, we have nothing particular to do. Those to whom they are addressed will, we trust, know how to appreciate them, and not be so easily deterred from prosecuting their inquiries after truth. Truth and unity;—these are the essential attributes of Christianity; and till they have attained to these, they should never rest. The great St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, speaking of his feelings before his conversion,—before his heart had been fully enlightened to the whole truths of Christianity, thus beautifully expresses himself: "While in virtue I saw a beloved peace; in vice I beheld a hateful discord. In the one, I observed unity; in the other, division. *And in this unity I placed the seat of*

authority, and for the express and avowed purpose of "avoiding diversities of opinions." (See the 29th of the Forty-two Articles of 1552, and the 28th of the Thirty-nine of 1562.)

\* The reader will recollect that Cranmer, after dissolving the marriage between Henry and Catherine, "officially declared (after the farce of a solemn investigation at Lambeth) that Henry and Anne (Boleyn) were, and had been joined in lawful matrimony: that their marriage was, and had been public and manifest; and that he moreover confirms it by his judicial and pastoral authority," yet—two days after the condemnation of the Queen (Anne Boleyn) by the Peers, Cranmer, "*having previously invoked the name of Christ, and having God ALONE before his eyes*, pronounced definitely that the marriage formerly contracted, solemnized, and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been null and void." Henry dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the following morning. (Jane died in childbed.) But Cranmer's ingenuity in discovering the means of gratifying the unruly desires of an unrelenting and tyrannical master, who, as Heylin too truly affirms, "never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger," (Lingard) was still to be favoured with another opportunity of displaying itself in these same delicate emergencies. Ann of Cleves was lawfully married to Henry, but not happening to suit the monarch's taste, the Convocation, headed by Cranmer, and taking up the chord from him, quickly and graciously pronounced this marriage also as null and void, as either of the two from which they had already relieved him! Upon which Burnet most magnanimously observes, "and here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision."—p. 217; vol. v.

reason, the essence of truth, and the sovereign good; in division and discord sat the spirit of every ill.”\* He proceeds to consider the dangers which beset an ill-directed mind, and a perverse spirit,—learning without wisdom, and knowledge without docility,—and he thus accounts for the unprofitable acquirements of those whose pride and presumption cast a maze over their eyes. “They speak most learnedly,” he observes, “on the creation, but they seek not with sincerity the truths of the Creator: and for this reason they find them not. Or if they find them, they soon lose them again in the variety of their own conceits, and with blind perversity charge their own falsehoods upon the God of truth.”†

God grant that they who are seeking for the light, and perhaps approaching it little by little, may profit by these wise sentiments of one who was once precisely in their condition.‡

ART. II.—1. *A Brief Account of the Constitution of the Established Church of Scotland, and of the Questions concerning Patronage and the Secession.* By the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Welwood, Bart., D.D.; revised and edited, with a short preface, by Sir James Moncrieff Welwood, Bart., one of the Senators of the College of Justice. Edinburgh: 1833.

2. *Report of the Auchterarder Case, the Earl of Kinnoul and the Rev. R. Young against the Presbytery of Auchterarder.* By Charles Robertson, Esq. Advocate, &c. Published by authority of the Court. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1838.

FOR several years past the attention of the public has been, more or less, attracted to that portion of the state religious establishment which rejoices in the name of the KIRK OF SCOTLAND. Its condition has been commented on in the leading articles of some of the most distinguished and widely-circulated journals; pamphlets and books without number have, in relation to it, poured from the press; and, what is of higher importance, the time of the government has been occupied, and the business of the country interrupted and

\* Confessions, c. iii. b. 5.

† Confessions, c. xv. b. 4.

‡ When we began our article, we fully expected to have comprised within it some short notice at least of each of the charges which compose our heading; but our space would not permit us: so that we may perhaps have occasion to return to the subject.

impeded, by the resistance to authority, and the absurd and untenable "claims" of this creature of the law of the land. A collision has accordingly taken place between the Kirk and the State, which must inevitably resolve into the immediate subjection and ultimate destruction of the former: and all this has arisen out of an unwarrantable assumption of power, and independence of the civil authority in matters of civil right, by these turbulent disciples of Knox and Calvin, wholly without parallel in the history of modern times. A learned northern judge (Lord Gillies), in delivering his opinion in the great cause to be presently noticed, was pleased to declare that "the Church of Scotland is a beautiful and solid fabric. It rests on durable—on eternal foundations." We shall see ere long how far the boasted durability of this very elegant structure is likely to be maintained by the behaviour of its occupants.\*

We have selected, as a peg whereon to hang the following observations, the titles of two works, out of the mass of publications emitted in this matter of the Kirk, which we consider most deserving of the attention of our readers;—the first, as allowed to be the most perfect *précis* of the legal constitution of the Kirk, by one of its most zealous and distinguished members, and to which we are indebted for our historical summary: the second, as the only ample report of the first great cause originating from the illegal acts of a majority of the clergy, on which the whole question at issue depends. We shall endeavour, as concisely as may be, to make our readers familiar with the general details of this clerical *émeute*, and for that purpose must carry back their memories to the infancy and progressive advancement of the "Universall Kirke of Scotland."

When, in 1560, under the direction of the amiable John Knox, the "rooks" had been put to flight, and their "nests" pulled to pieces by the vigorous enthusiasm of a pious and grateful populace, the efforts of the self-constituted clergy to bolster up a Church were neither few nor unsuccessful. Seven years thereafter, the handywork of these diligent "pruners of the Lord's vineyard" first began to assume the character of a state establishment, by virtue of sundry acts of parliament incorporating the Protestant confession of faith

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\* Shortly after these lines had been sent to press, Lord Gillies died at Leamington: and it is a singular fact that this talented eulogist of the "eternal" Kirk, became, on his deathbed, its decided opponent, and a convert to the inconsistencies of the Oxford tractarians.



with the municipal law. In one of these statutes (1567, c. 7), while their assumed *spiritualities* were settled upon the clergy, the existing and real rights of advowson were secured and preserved to the respective patrons. *Inter alia* it declared, in the expressive vernacular of the time, "that the examination and admission of ministers within this realm, be only in the power of the Kirk, now oppenly and publickly professt within the samin; the presentation of lawit (lay) patronage is alwayis reservit to the just and ancient patronis." At that period Presbyteries\* had not been introduced into the system, and "superintendents," by a sort of episcopal parody, were appointed to watch over the conduct of the parochial clergy, and generally to attend to the affairs of the Kirk. The act then, after providing for the appointment of ministers *jure devoluto* in the event of patrons neglecting to exercise their rights, expresses that, should the superintendent refuse to receive into orders a properly qualified presentee, "it sal be lesum (lawful) to the patroun to appeill to the superintendent and ministeris of that province quhair the benefice lyes, and desyre the person presentit to be admittit. Quilk gif thay refuse, to appeill to the generall assemblee of this hail realme, be quhome the cause beand decydit, sall tak end as thay decerne and declair."

We here see that, by the original statute of establishment the rights alike of clergy and laity are clearly defined and expressly declared. To the former was given the exclusive power to examine and admit ministers into the Kirk, with an explicit provision that, should any differences arise as to the *qualifications* of a presentee, these should finally be adjusted and decided by the general assembly of the whole Kirk; while, to the latter parties, their rights of patronage were pronounced to be inviolate then and thenceforward. But the statute is altogether silent respecting the right of the people, or of congregations, either to select for themselves, or to control the election of a pastor chosen for them, far less to overrule or set aside the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts or patrons in any such matter; and not a single word or sentence in the act can, by any means, be construed or twisted into a recognition of the existence of any such right or privilege. This statute was homologated and ratified by another act passed twenty-five years after, in 1592.

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\* A presbytery consists of the ministers of several contiguous parishes, who are members *ex officio*, with the addition of an *elder*, or vestryman, elected at stated periods from each *Kirk session*, or vestry, within the district.

Early in the following century, as every one knows, Jack Presbyter was for a season compelled to succumb to Episcopacy; but, unfortunately, being merely *scotched* not killed, the rogue revived about the middle of it, *aucto vigore*. In 1649, the general assembly, in virtue of powers committed to it by the revolutionary "Convention of Estates," passed an act prescriptive of the mode in which ministers were to be elected; and in this—patronage being nominally set aside—the election was reposed in the hands of the Kirk-session. But, if it should happen that the majority of the congregation objected to the person elected, the Presbytery and Kirk courts were empowered to "judge of the samen." Thus, at a period when the populace and the Kirk rode rampant over the state; when neither law nor true religion was regarded; and this act—the most *liberal* in the records of Presbyterianism—was passed; the former had no power of absolute prevention conferred upon them, but the whole was vested in the Kirk itself. This statute, of course, now merely forms a point in the history of the times; as it, and all similar enactments, were repealed at the Restoration. In 1690, Presbytery was again confirmed in Scotland, when several statutes to that effect were enacted; these, however, were voided by one passed in the reign of Queen Anne (1711), which, replacing in their full plenitude and integrity the rights of patrons, directed that "the Presbytery of the respective bounds shall, and is hereby obliged to receive and admit in the same manner such qualified person or persons, minister or ministers, as shall be presented by the respective patrons, as the persons or ministers presented before the making of this act ought to have been admitted;"—that is, by the prior acts of parliament on the subject, namely of 1567 and 1592. In this manner, by the act of the legislature finally establishing Presbyterianism, the original rights of the patrons were consolidated and affirmed.

The preceding being, we think, sufficient to show the institution of the Kirk, and to explain the respective powers of the clergy and the patrons, we shall now turn to the law and practice of what is, in the peculiar phraseology of the establishment, denominated **CALLS**.

When a clergyman has received a presentation to a benefice, he is appointed by the presbytery within which the parish is situated, to preach what are called his "Trial sermons" in the parish kirk. After this, a day is fixed, within six weeks, for "moderating" in his "call," notice being given from the pulpit, at least ten days before the day ap-

pointed, and not later than the second Sunday after the meeting of presbytery. On that day, one of the clergymen of the presbytery preaches a sermon; informs the people that a presentation has been lodged, and invites them to subscribe a written "call" to the presentee to be their minister. This is termed the "moderation of the call;" which, when signed, is sustained by the presbytery, however small the number of subscribers may be. They then proceed to their *spiritual* duties of examination, or "trials" of the presentee; and these being satisfactorily conducted, the presbytery, after sundry forms, invest him with the powers of a minister by what, God knows! they very properly denominate the "*imposition* of hands." This is the correct and *legal* proceeding in the matter of calls.

Let us now,—the authorized and chartered rights of the clergy and laity being briefly set forth,—take a rapid survey of the condition of the Kirk for a century past.

After the act of Queen Anne, above alluded to, had imperatively fixed the existence of the Kirk as a parliamentarily authorized institution, the conduct of the ministers appears for a season to have been tolerably decent and quiet. The old rebellious leaven, however, was too deeply incorporated with the system, not to ferment, more or less; and, accordingly, only a very short time elapsed before the alleged grievances of patronage, and their national repugnance to good order as subjects, occasioned sundry outbreaks and malcontents. At the time of passing Queen Anne's act (known as such *par excellence*), the preposterous claim of inherent divine right of election of pastors in the people was as little noticed or conceded by the statute, as it was avowedly asserted or maintained by the people. Whatever, on this latter point, a few individuals may have thought, there was then unquestionably no demand for the recognition of the principle, and the promulgation of these sentiments was reserved till a comparatively recent period. It was alleged, however, that many and great abuses of the right of patronage did exist;—one, especially, being the practice by which patrons presented individuals who occupied rich benefices to poor ones, which they, as a matter of course, refused to accept, and then, by instituting actions in the Kirk courts, to compel the presentee's acceptance, they contrived, through "the law's delay," to protract the period of vacancy, when, as the law then stood, they were enabled to retain the interim stipends. To remedy this and all other abuses existing, or supposed to exist, the act of 5 Geo. I. c. 29, 58, was passed,



which, while it checked patrons from arrogating more power to themselves than they really possessed, corroborated what they originally had, and preserved the relative rights of the laity and the clergy. But, apart from the occasional eruptions alluded to, it appears on the whole that, till the year 1725, the general assemblies of the clergy, in spite of the usual diversity of political and party feeling, were united in a desire to preserve order and tranquillity in the country; and, when dispersed in their respective parishes, to discharge the moral duties\* which they were appointed to inculcate with benefit to the laity and respectability to themselves. Any disputed presentations were then regulated by the statute of 1690.†

About, or shortly after the said year 1725, two parties arose in the Kirk; the one contending for popular election in the settlement of ministers, to the effect that they should be chosen by the heads of families, as well as by the heritors (or land-proprietors of the parish) and elders (or vestrymen), in opposition both to the law of patronage and the settled practice under the statute of 1690; and the other, without at all going this length, merely desiring that the "call" should be exclusively by the heritors and elders, subject to the approval or disapproval of the congregation, for reasons properly shown; and that this should be the uniform practice in every instance of the *jus devolutum*,—that is, when the presentation fell into the hands of the presbytery, in consequence of the neglect of the patron to supply the vacancy within the semestrial period prescribed by the statute,—a circumstance of very frequent occurrence at that time. The people then appear to have been very restive, and their opposition to presentees frequent; in which conduct they received much countenance from the popular party among the ministers, who, affecting what they were pleased to style conscientious scruples as regarded the induction of persons objected to by the people, and that in virtue of such objections there could exist no pastoral connexions between the individuals so repudiated and their objectors, contrived that whole presbyteries refused to execute the sentence of their superior Kirk courts, which ordained such inductions. With

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\* We say simply *moral* duties, as common to ordinary civilization; because, as we hold presbyterianism to be little better than a qualified paganism, it would be a misappropriation of terms to talk of *religious* ones.

† Sir Henry Moncrieff's "Brief Account," *passim*.

a view to remove this stone of offence, on which the establishment had nearly been shivered, the general assemblies, or their commissions, presumed to violate the constitutional course by which the presbyteries were obliged to obey their sentences; and instead of them, they appointed either members of their own number, or those of synods or presbyteries contiguous to the disturbed parish, to execute their orders, and induct the presentee in the usual forms competent in ordinary cases to the presbyteries, leaving it open to such members of the presbyteries as chose to unite with them in so doing. This gross breach of the constitution of the Kirk, but proceeding from less worthy motives, will be found to have its parallel in our own times. Like other measures of expediency, it proved an eventual failure; and another one, productive of more peculiar effects, and still further encroaching on the constitution of the Kirk, was had recourse to, in 1732, by those who desired to quash those doctrines of divine right in the people at large to elect their ministers, which were so keenly contended for. And they accordingly persuaded the general assembly of that year to pass an act, by *their own authority, and without transmission to the presbyteries*, substantially adopting the precise rule which had been laid down and fixed in the parliamentary enactment of 1690.

To express the illegality of this proceeding, it may be necessary to explain a word of repeated occurrence in matters connected with the history of the Kirk;—we mean “overtures”;—so named, we presume, as *lucus a non lucendo*, from the very general absence of all *harmony* which their introduction creates! An overture, therefore, in the legal *patois* of the Kirk, is a proposal to make a new general law, or to repeal an old one, to declare the law, to enjoin the observance of future enactments; or generally, to take any measure falling within the legislative or executive functions of the general assembly,\* by whom no new law can be passed, or an existing one rescinded, without the consent of a majority of the presbyteries. And for that reason, it is provided by an act of assembly in 1697, commonly known as the Barrier act, that any measure intended as a binding rule and constitution for the Kirk, must first be proposed as an overture to the general assembly; and if approved of by a majority of that court, must be transmitted to the several presbyteries, who are instructed to consider it, and send their

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\* Bell's Dictionary of the Law of Scotland, *sub voce* Overture.

opinions thereon to the next general assembly. This is then passed into a standing law, if it be the general opinion of the Kirk that it ought to be enacted; but not fewer than forty presbyteries must have approved of it.\* Thus, in the instance above noticed, by the general assembly's non-observance of its own laws, recognized by the state, it perpetrated a direct outrage alike on the Kirk and the constitution which created it. This, too, has its parallel in later days; and they beautifully illustrate, in its proper colours, the ridiculous character of a legislative faith prepared for the multitude by their erring fellow-mortals, in opposition to that appointed for them by their Saviour.

The conduct of the assembly in this matter met, very properly, with much opposition from those of the then popular party; from some, because they justly viewed it as an infringement of constitutional rights; from others, because of their "divine right" opinions, which made them kick against all legislative interference, whether it proceeded from Kirk or State. And moreover, it evoked that ultra-democratic spirit among the clergy, which, fostered by the energies of Ebenezer Erskine, ultimately caused the first great schism in the Kirk of Scotland, called the "Secession," and, at a later date, in 1751, the second large class of dissenters, known by the designation of the "Presbytery of Relief." In the clear and distinct pamphlet which we have placed at the head of this article, and to which we are beholden for many of our remarks, the history of those divisions is concisely and perspicuously set forth.

From 1752 to 1763, the machinery of the Kirk seems to have worked pretty smoothly. In the latter year, the party which called itself, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the "Moderate,"—and by which is to be understood those who deferred to the law as provided for the Kirk by the State,—was fairly organized under the management of Dr. Robertson, the historian, who, from his talents and virtues,—admitted alike by parties of all sentiments, political or theological,—had acquired great weight and influence, which he appears to have sustained with much independence and tact. By these the principles of moderation were completely settled, and "the general doctrine, that a presentation, adhered to by the presentee, should in all cases be made effectual, without any reservation founded on the merits of the call, or on the number of heritors, elders,

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\* Bell, *ut supra*. *Voce* Barrier.



or parishioners, who concurred or dissented, was uniformly maintained during the whole period of Dr. Robertson's influence in the assemblies";\* and all the objections countenanced by him and his friends were restricted to the conduct in life, and the doctrines pursued and held by the presentee. For nearly half a century after Dr. Robertson's retirement from public affairs, in 1781, the ministers of the Kirk conducted themselves on the whole as orderly subjects and decent members of society, devoted to the culture of their glebes, itinerating through their parishes, studious of matters horticultural, and inquisitive into the sciences of domestic economy and the propagation of calves;† these very important duties being relieved by occasional friendly jollifications, bible-society meetings, and the agreeable recreation of denouncing "popery," and committing by wholesale, and with a positive certainty, two-thirds of the Christian world, as "bairns of the auld hure," to the tender mercies of the father of the "reformation,"‡ and all his satellites. The people, meanwhile, when any differences did arise, quietly withdrew from the establishment, and, erecting to themselves conventicles, took shelter under the wings of some one or other of the many dissenting associations.

"A life so sacred, such serene repose,  
Seemed heaven itself, till one suggestion rose,"

which banished this delightful calm; notwithstanding that the reverend baronet, writing in 1818, says, "the bustle in assemblies is, in a great measure, over; or, a disputed settlement no longer creates any serious interest or division in the Church Courts;"§ and, two or three pages previously, remarks that—

\* Sir H. Moncrieff's "Brief Account," p. 83.

† *A propos* of these useful occupations, we have recently been highly amused by an useful, but truly eccentric and mirth-provoking little volume, published at Edinburgh some months ago, and entitled "Clerical Economics." It is generally attributed, we believe, to the Rev. John Aiton, D.D., of Dolphinton, Co. Peebles, author of the "Life and Times of Alexander Henderson." We may perhaps have occasion, on some future day, to refer to his "Economics," leaving the worthy gentleman to fight his own battles with the Episcopalians in Scotland, and his brethren of the "wild" side of the Kirk, to both of whom he has thrown down the gauntlet.

‡ Our readers will recollect the conference of Mr. Martin Luther with a certain old gentleman, upon "Controverted heads of religion," as narrated by the godly Martin in his "Table Talk."

§ "Brief Account," p. 90, where he adds this gratifying sentence: "But the silent increase of seceding meetings has gradually weakened and contracted the influence of the establishment, on the general population."

"The great majority of the Church are convinced that the system of patronage, so long resisted in the Church Courts, is at last completely established. Even many of those individuals who held a different doctrine, thirty or forty years ago, do not think it expedient, in the present times, to revive a controversy, which such a long series of decisions in the Supreme Court is held to have settled. It appears to them that, at this distance of time, the revival of the controversy would not only contribute nothing to lessen the evils which they still impute to the system which has been so long acted upon; but that, without any real advantage to the country, it would aggravate the difficulties which occur in effectuating the induction of individual presentees, and add greatly to the irritations which serve so much to distract and to divide the people."

Thus spake the wisdom of the Kirk. In 1832, however, the increased power given to the people by the Reform Bill suggested to some of the ministers of the said Kirk that they also ought to be invested with new and peculiar privileges, forgetful that there was this difference between them and the people,—that the latter, being really and truly a constituent element of the state, were entitled to have a voice in its direction; while the former occupied merely the position of a body of stipendiaries maintained by the state for the purpose of surveying the moral condition of a limited portion of the empire, of which portion *two-thirds* of the population were dissentient either from the doctrines or the forms of those in favour of whom these stipendiaries were appointed. Accordingly, taking advantage of the prevalent excitement in the country in the year before mentioned, various "overtures" were introduced into the Kirk Courts for procuring the abolition of lay patronage, and the institution of the popular will or *veto* as a new element in the appointment of the parish ministers: and in the general assembly of that year overtures from eight presbyteries and three synods (a superior Kirk Court) were "brought up," as the phrase is, when a motion for the appointment of a committee of assembly to deliberate on the subject was rejected by a majority of forty-two votes. This majority in the following year had, through the vigorous efforts of the "movement party," degenerated to twelve, while overtures were produced from seventeen presbyteries and five synods;\* and this increasing strength of these clerical agitators was culminated and confirmed in that very assembly by a proceeding which, illegal in its initials, has been the basis of all the violence and disorder which has since raged, and still

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\* Reports and Acts of Assembly, *passim*.

continues to run riot in the kirk. The proceeding referred to may be thus curtly enunciated.

In addition to the regular parish Kirks, there have been erected from time to time, as the population embracing the tenets of the Establishment appeared to increase, two classes of coadjutorial tenements, known by the names of parliamentary churches and chapels of ease,—a title somewhat provocative of ludicrous ideas: the former erected and endowed by parliamentary grants; the latter built by voluntary subscriptions, but not endowed, and of which the incumbents derive their means of subsistence either from the rents of seats in the chapels, or from a sum secured to them by a bond of provision executed by the trustees of these buildings, or from both these ways. But these ministers neither were, nor yet legally are, entitled to sit and act in the Kirk Courts either as ministers or elders; they have no title to interfere in curialities, no privilege of aiding in the administration of the government of the kirk at large, or any power of discipline, their sole commission and license being to exercise the *spiritual* duties of teaching, baptizing, and administering their sacrament, subject, not merely to the Kirk judicatories, but to the superintendence and interference of the individual ministers of the parishes in which they are located. Some of the reasons assigned for this exclusion—and, under the circumstances, they seem to us reasonable enough,—are the risk of the internal government of the Kirk being tampered with or swamped by a large proportion of ministers popularly elected; that the establishment of a new Kirk, with allotted bounds within a parish, must necessarily encroach on the prerogatives of the incumbent of that parish; that the Kirk of Scotland being a state institution, no minister should be entitled to have a voice in its administration, unless provided with a state endowment; that howsoever a chapel should be endowed, unless the permanency of such endowment is secured, the Kirk ought not to sanction it; and that in respect of the preceding grounds of establishment, no minister should be recognized until by the Civil Courts a new parish should be created for him, by the division of some other already existing one. Upon the long-winded arguments which have been projected on this matter it is not our intention to enter, our sole object being to draw the outlines of certified facts. Of course, as the ministers of these chapels had no position in the Kirk, the elders of their congregations had none either.

This exclusion being unpalatable to the parties affected



by it, occasioned many irritating and awkward collisions between them and their privileged brethren of the Establishment. The inherent democracy of Presbyterianism became more fully developed, and the principles of liberty and equality, under the masks of Christian sympathy and fraternal solicitude, impelled the transmission of several overtures and petitions to the general assemblies of 1832 and 1833, by whom they were considered, and committees appointed to report as to the admission of these chapel ministers and elders to all the rights and privileges of parochial clergy. In the assembly of the latter year, a "declaratory enactment" authorized the erection of separate parishes for the parliamentary chapels, and admitted thirty or forty of their ministers to the full position of the regular clergy. (The only tolerable feature in this was that these chapels being built, were also *endowed* by the state, and were in that respect better than the other class of tenements.) At the same assembly a motion for a like admission of the ministers of the "chapels of ease" was carried by a majority of four, and a committee was appointed to determine on the most suitable method of carrying the resolution into effect. Accordingly, in the assembly of next year (1834)\* the report of the committee was worked up into another "declaratory enactment," by which some fifty or sixty of these *gentlemen of ease* were assumed into the precise *status* of the parochial incumbents, in the same fashion as were the parliamentary preachers before. But neither was this "declaratory enactment," nor its predecessor, transmitted to the respective presbyteries in accordance with the barrier act, (*antea*, p. 72), but straightway adopted and put into operation as a standing and duly authorized law of the Kirk, in complete defiance of, and at variance with, the judicious statute which tended to enforce calm and dispassionate consideration in all essential matters brought before the assemblies, checked and rendered of none avail all such instantaneous and crude legislation, and prevented all unseemly outrages against the community. Thus had the Kirk some century of intruders thrust into her senate by these extraordinary *escapades*.

Still matters did not rest here. In this last assembly a motion was submitted to the House by Lord Moncrieff, (editor of the pamphlet first noticed, the son of its author, and one of the judges of the Court of Session), which was afterwards

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\* The sort of tactics employed by the agitating party is well set forth in an article in the "Presbyterian Review" for January 1834, entitled "Hints towards the formation of the next General Assembly."

licked into shape and ultimately produced to the following effect: "That the general assembly declare that it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that this principle may be carried into full effect, the general assembly, with the consent of a majority of the presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to presbyteries, that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: and further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." This, after a vigorous opposition, was carried by a majority of forty-six, and a set of regulations,—amounting to some two-and-twenty,—framed with a view to carry the objects of the assembly into effect, was appended to the overture and transmitted along with it. These will be found in Mr. Robertson's Report, Appendix to Vol. I, No. II. It may be observed that this motion was in all respects similar to one brought forward by the celebrated Dr. Chalmers (the Coryphæus of all these disturbances) in 1833, wherein the learned Theban maintained the novel doctrine that it was "a *fixed principle* in the law of the Kirk" that no minister should "be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation," and which was then lost by a majority of twelve. Now, although the resolutions of the assembly on Lord Moncrieff's motion, "in deference to doubts expressed on the subject," were converted into overtures and transmitted to the presbyteries for their approval, still the same were in the meantime converted into an *interim* act, and *carried into effect* before it obtained the sanction of a majority of the presbyteries; thus being—like the other measures relative to the chapel-of-ease individuals—in clear violation of the legal course. Consequently, when the



returns of overtures were made in the next assembly of 1835, a majority—effected solely by the introduction of the chapel ministers and elders who, as a point of political principle, adhered to the movement party,—was found to approve of the previous interim acts; and a motion, carried by a majority of forty or fifty, declared that the measure should be held and acted upon as a standing law of the Kirk. In this way was perpetrated the renowned VETO act, which has given rise to so many rebellious indecencies; and against which the Kirk has so ignorantly, perversely, and effectually knocked her head. It is pleasant to remark, *en passant*, that one of the earliest victims, if, indeed, not the very first, to the veto of the populace, was the eldest son of that very judge who carried out the measure. On a presentation by the crown to the parish of Falkirk of the reverend Henry Moncrieff, some insignificant (but in this instance potent) persons interfered their negation, and to this he was obliged to submit, until a less critical and easier satisfied congregation could be found among the weavers of Kilbride, where his ministry is, by common report, anything but efficient. Thus Lord Moncrieff was taught, like Perillus, “*arte perire suâ*.”\*

The tree immediately produced its fruit. Possessed of a power to which,—whether legally or illegally conferred upon them it mattered not,—they had hitherto been strangers, the people commenced to work out the veto act, which came into operation on occasion of the first parochial vacancy that occurred after it was passed. And so effectually did they employ “their means and appliances,” that, in the space of three years thereafter, out of nearly one hundred vacancies, somewhat more than the half were supplied by parties appointed, not by the free-will of the patrons, but in accordance with petitions presented in their favour by the multitude, or selected by them out of a list submitted to their humour; the patrons being either indifferent to their own rights of presentation, or so disgusted with a menaced or expressed opposition, as to leave the affair to the people, rather than put themselves to the trouble of vindicating them. As might be anticipated, the people have frequently discovered, when too late, that they were not the best judges in their own cause, and would by no means object to the removal of *King Log*.

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\* It is likewise no less strange a coincidence that the son of Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, who *seconded* Lord Moncrieff's motion, was the *second* rejected under the veto act. Truly may it be said, “The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge!”



But indifference or concession was not always to be the order of the day, nor was the opposition to presentees to remain invariably slumbering or smothered. Patrons and presentees were found sufficiently determined to assert their righteous privileges, and congregations equally persevering in their attempts to thwart them. In the doughty earl of Kinnoull, Lord Lyon King of Arms, the patronage of Scotland found a vindicator, and the law thereof a resolute expositor. This said Lord Lyon (a person, but for his obstinacy in this matter, and notwithstanding his party-coloured robes of estate, of comparatively small consequence or renown), being justly irritated by a violent opposition made to his presentee in the parish of Trinity-Gask, (the third vacancy which occurred after the passing of the veto act), and by means of which, although the presentee was eventually triumphant,—even in the general assembly,—the parish was kept vacant for two years and two months, was resolved to make the parties experience his *claws*, should like circumstances occur to him again. Fortunately for his high resolve and the authority of the law, little more than a month elapsed after the parish of Trinity-Gask became vacant, when another, within the same presbytery, and from which it derived its name, that of Auchterarder, fell in the like situation. This, likewise, was in the gift of Lord Kinnoull. The exercise by his Lordship of his constitutional rights, and legitimate use of his own property, as patron of this now celebrated parish of Auchterarder,\* did in this instance

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\* This presbytery of Auchterarder seems always to have been a refractory one, as well towards the Kirk as the State. We learn from the Acts of Assembly, vol. i., that on the 14th of May 1717, there was passed an "Act discharging presbyteries to use any formula in licensing probationers, and ordaining or admitting ministers, but such as is or shall be agreed unto by the general assembly; with a reference to the commission, of the presbytery of Auchterarder's carriage in that matter." This act was occasioned by an appeal by Mr. William Craig against the presbytery of Auchterarder, for their refusing to give him an extract of his license to preach the gospel, notwithstanding that he was approved by them in all the steps of his trials, and was actually licensed. This they did on the ground that "he did not satisfy them as to some articles of faith required of him by them, whereof this was one, viz. : *And, further, that I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach, that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God.*" The presbytery were "ordered by the assembly to give Mr. Craig the extract of license, and instruct their commission to see this obeyed; discharging that presbytery, and all others, from requiring any formulas or subscriptions, except such as are or shall be approved by the assemblies of the Kirk." On May 27, of the following year, an act was passed "accepting the interpretation of the doctrines, *awkwardly expressed*, by the presbytery of Auchterarder."

Some curious notices of the proceedings in this and other cases at that time before the assembly, are contained in the singular manuscript diary of Lord

accordingly give rise to the present grand struggle between Kirk and State, proceeding out of the great cause reported by Mr. Robertson, whereof the following is a brief statement, omitting the numerous wearisome details that do not immediately bear upon the main point.

On the 31st August 1834, the Kirk of Auchterarder, in the county of Perth, became vacant; and, on the 14th September, Lord Kinnoull opened a writ of presentation in favour of Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the Kirk of Scotland, highly recommended by the clergymen of Dundee, — to one of whom he had for sometime been a colleague, — as being “warmly attached to the interests of religion,” and determined to “exert all his power and influence in promoting the cause which he so highly admires.” At a meeting of the Auchterarder presbytery, held at Trinity-Gask on the 14th October thereafter, the presentation, with the accustomed certificates and relative writings, was given in, read, and appointed to lie on the table; and, at another meeting, on the 27th of the same month, the minutes of presbytery bear, that “the presbytery, taking into consideration that the late Rev. Charles Stewart, minister of Auchterarder, died on the 31st of August last, and that the twenty-third regulation of the interim-act of the late general assembly anent calls, intimates, that all cases in which the vacancies have taken place after the rising of said assembly, shall fall

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Grange, preserved at Alloa House, the residence of the Earl of Mar: a volume which it is hoped may yet be printed. The diarist was a character *sui generis*. He was a son of Charles, tenth earl of Mar, called to the bar of Scotland in 1705, and in less than two years thereafter elevated to the bench, where he subsequently, in 1710, presided as lord justice clerk. Being a restless person, and keenly opposed to Sir Robert Walpole in politics, he became a candidate for the representation of the county of Stirling in parliament, in the view of strengthening the opposition. This induced Sir Robert to introduce the statute of 1734, incapacitating judges from acting as members of parliament. Lord Grange, however, was so determined in his hostility, that to qualify himself he resigned his seat on the bench, and was returned for Stirlingshire in 1734. But he did not succeed in ousting Walpole. He afterwards returned to the bar, and practised as an advocate.

His diary is an odd production, eminently characteristic of the man's eccentricity. His confessions are very free, and we regret that our limits do not permit us to select from them; but we cannot refrain from the following *morceau*. Being seriously unwell while at Utrecht, and afraid of death, and desirous of spiritual aid, he says, “I could not think of taking the assistance of any of the divines at Utrecht; for being all Calvinists, like our Scots presbyterians, I had no confidence in them, but supposed they were narrow-spirited and prejudiced creatures”!!! The Kirk would be highly edified by the publication of this diary.

under the operation of the regulations and relative act of assembly anent calls; finds, therefore, that they must proceed to fill up the vacancy of Auchterarder according to said act and relative regulations. The presbytery, also, considering that all the documents usually given in, in cases of this kind, have already been laid on the table, along with the presentation by the Earl of Kinnoull to Mr. Robert Young, preacher of the gospel, to be minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder, did, in pursuance of the first regulation of the act of assembly anent calls, *in so far sustain the presentation*, as to find themselves prepared to appoint a day for moderating in a call to Mr. Young." They then appointed one of their number to preach in the Kirk on the following Sunday, and to announce that Mr. Young would preach there on the 16th and 23d of November; and it was arranged, that the presbytery should "meet in the church of Auchterarder in the first Tuesday of December next (1834), being the second Tuesday of that month, *to moderate in a call in the usual way* to Mr. Young, to be minister of that parish, the moderator to preach and preside. In all which sentence of the presbytery Mr. Moncrieff" (the law-agent of Lord Kinnoull, who attended on the part of his lordship, and gave in the writ of presentation) "acquiesced, and took instruments in the clerk's hands. From which sentence of the presbytery, in so far as it at all sustained the presentation, Messrs. Mackenzie and Walker dissented, on the ground that by so doing, the presbytery did seem to homologate and approve of patronage."

On the 2d of December, accordingly, the presbytery met at Auchterarder, for the purpose of "moderating in the call" to Mr. Young, when, in the words of the minutes, "there was produced and read a call to Mr. Robert Young to be minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder; and an opportunity was given to the heritors, elders, heads of families, and other parishioners, to sign it. Mr. Lorimer then signed for the earl of Kinnoull, as patron, being his factor; and the call was further signed by Michael Tod and Peter Clerk, heads of families. The presbytery then proceeded, in terms of the third regulation of the interim-act of last assembly anent calls, to give an opportunity to the male heads of families, being members of the congregation, and in full communion with the Church, whose names stand in the roll which has been inspected by the presbytery, to give in special objections or dissents; *when no special objections were given in*. A mandate from Mr. Robert Young, presen-



tee to the parish of Auchterarder, to Archibald Reid, Esq., writer in Perth, was given in, authorising him to appear as his agent in this case; which mandate having been read, was sustained. Compeared William Thomson, session-clerk of Auchterarder, and, being asked, produced a roll of male heads of families in the parish of Auchterarder, in terms of the regulations of the act of the last assembly anent calls. At this stage, Mr. Reid was heard, and objected to the presbytery either receiving or acting upon said roll, inasmuch as the same was not made up either within the time, or in the manner prescribed by act of assembly. The presbytery feel themselves obliged to repel said objection, they having already sanctioned the roll as given in by the kirk-session, and as containing a correct list of male heads of families, in communion with the Church, within the two months of the rising of the assembly, and after the last dispensation of the Lord's Supper in the parish. Against which sentence Mr. Reid protested, and appealed to the next meeting of the synod of Perth and Stirling, for reasons to be given in in due time, took instruments in the clerk's hands, and craved extracts, not only of the proceedings of this day, but of all former proceedings of the presbytery, in reference to the vacancy and settlement of this parish, &c., and also certified copies of the said roll, and of all other documents produced to the presbytery, either on this day or at former meetings, in reference to the case, in so far as the same are not expressed in the minutes.

"The presbytery agree to give the proper extracts and papers relating to their procedure in this case to Mr. Reid; but enjoin their clerk to give none till their next meeting, the minutes of this day's proceedings not being yet extended. It was then moved and seconded, that the presbytery do now proceed in this case, in terms of the regulations of the interim-act of last assembly anent calls. It was also moved and seconded, that an appeal having been taken against the decision of the presbytery over-ruling the objection taken respecting the roll, the presbytery sist procedure till that appeal be disposed of. After some discussion, the mover and seconder of the second motion, with the leave of the court, withdrew it, upon the understanding that they are not to be held as approving of the first motion. The presbytery, then, in accordance with the first motion, agreed to proceed in this case in terms of the regulations of the act of assembly;

against which sentence Mr. Reid protested and appealed to the next meeting of the synod of Perth and Stirling," &c.\*

It also appears from the minutes, that "the presbytery then proceeded to afford an opportunity to the male heads of families, whose names stand upon the roll, to give in dissents from the call and settlement of Mr. Robert Young as minister of the parish;" when 287 heads of families, out of 330 in the roll, appeared personally and intimated their dissent, and their names were recorded by the clerk of the presbytery. The presbytery then "found, in terms of the ninth regulation, that dissents have been lodged by an apparent majority of the persons on the roll inspected by the presbytery. The presbytery did then, in terms of the ninth regulation, adjourn the proceedings in this case to the next meeting, to be held at Auchterarder on Tuesday the 16th current." At this adjourned meeting, they were pleased to find that none had withdrawn their dissents, and therefore, that a majority of those on the roll still dissented. Mr. Young did not appear at the meeting either personally or by his agent; his appeal to the synod of Perth and Stirling was dismissed by that body on 21st April 1835; and he then appealed from this dismissal of the synod to the general assembly, which, on the 30th May following, did "on the merits dismiss the appeal, and find that the proceedings of the presbytery are not liable to any valid objections, and remit to the presbytery to proceed further in the matter, in terms of the interim acts of last assembly." The presbytery of Auchterarder resumed the case on 7th July; and in obedience to the aforesaid decision of the assembly, and in terms of the interim acts of the previous year, they, as the minutes narrate, did then "reject Mr. Young, the presentee to Auchterarder, so far as regards the particular presentation on their table, and the occasion of this vacancy in the parish of Auchterarder, and do forthwith direct their clerk to give notice of this their determination to the patron, the presentee, and the elders of the parish of Auchterarder."

Mr. Young justly considered, that in rejecting him and the presentation in his favour, before taking him upon trials, the presbytery had illegally acted *ultra vires* and in violation

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\* We have cited these presbyterian minutes at length, from Mr. Robertson's report, in preference to giving a mere summary of them, with the view of conveying to our readers some sort of idea of the mode in which these Scottish heretics conduct their ecclesiastical court proceedings.

of those rights which were vested in him by the writ of presentation from Lord Kinnoull, and sustained by them. He therefore brought no appeal against their judgment before any of the Kirk judicatories, but, together with Lord Kinnoull, instituted a civil suit in the court of session,—called an action of declarator,—against the members of the presbytery, the heritors of the parish, and the collector of the Widow's Fund, for the purpose of having it found, that he “had been legally, validly, and effectually presented to the church and parish of Auchterarder;” that the presbytery were bound to take him upon trials, and if found by them to be properly qualified, then to receive and admit him as minister of said kirk; that their refusal to do so was illegal and injurious to him, and that if they should still persist in refusing him, that the stipend, manse (parsonage-house), and glebe, and all other emoluments connected with the kirk and parish, should be declared to belong to and be paid to him by the heritors during the whole of his life; and that in the event of this being so found, that then the trustees of the fund established by statute for behoof of the widows and children of the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland,—to whom, in cases of delay in collating to a benefice the vacant stipend, by 54 Geo. III, cap. 169, is payable,—had no right to interfere with the fruits of the said living: or, that the said stipend and emoluments should be paid to Lord Kinnoull, the patron, during Mr. Young's life; and concluding for the costs of the suit.\* Defences were made by each of the three parties called into court; but as the pecuniary points were afterwards waived, on account of the importance of having the case decided first as between the plaintiffs and the Kirk, the presbytery, at their own request, became the sole defendants. This suit commenced in October 1835, was argued in presence of the whole thirteen judges for *ten days* in the latter end of 1837, and only decided on 10th March 1838; *seven days* having been occupied in the delivery of their Lordships' opinions. So minutely were the facts of the case, and the points, as well legal as historical, sifted and examined on each side; and such was the cool deliberation and profound attention devoted by the judges to this cause, which, owing to the violent

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\* It was gravely debated in the general assembly of 1838, whether they should not deprive Mr. Young of his license as a preacher, on account of his audacity in bringing the conduct of the Kirk under review of the court of session!! They prudently, however, in this instance, restrained their wrath.



behaviour of the majority of the Kirk, had powerfully agitated the people of Scotland; and for that reason alone,—for the principles of the case were clear and self-evident,—required unusually patient investigation at their hands. The court, by a majority of eight to five, decided that the matter at issue was within their jurisdiction; that the patron having validly presented the suit, was competent against the presbytery, who were bound to take the presentee on trial; and that, by refusing to do so, and rejecting him on the sole ground that a majority of the male heads of families in connexion with the Kirk dissented, they had acted illegally, in violation of their duty, to the detriment of the plaintiffs, and contrary to the provisions of the statutes, more particularly that of Queen Anne. Dissatisfied with this solemn decision of the court of session, the defendants appealed the cause to the House of Lords, by whom, on the 2d and 3d of May, 1839, the judgment of the court below was unanimously **AFFIRMED**, with expressions of surprise that any difference of opinion could have occurred in the inferior court!

What then did the presbytery and general assembly do? Did the former immediately retrace their steps and proceed to induct Mr. Young; or did the latter, which met a few days after the decision in the House of Lords, declare, that since it had been determined in the court of ultimate resort that their veto resolutions were illegal, and all proceedings under them inept, that therefore they rescinded their interim acts and ordered the presbyteries to proceed thereafter according to the previously established and only legal practice? Nothing of the kind. The leading men of the moderate party in the assembly did indeed, as in duty bound, endeavour to effect a repeal of the Veto Act, which caused all the disquietude, expressly grounding their exertions on the circumstance that the supreme tribunals had declared it to “infringe on civil and patrimonial rights, with which the Church had often and expressly required that its judicatories should not intermeddle, as being matters incompetent to them, and not within their jurisdiction;” but their laudable propositions were negatived by large majorities in a very turbulent assembly.\* With respect to the presbytery; after the decision in

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\* On this occasion the Earl of Dalhousie, disgusted by the conduct of these clerical rebels, immediately quitted the assembly, declaring his determination to have no further connexion with their judicatories, in these strong terms: “I was born a presbyterian, and a presbyterian, please God, I will die. I

the House of Lords, the lord ordinary of the court of session (Murray), to whom in usual form the cause was remitted, pronounced an "interlocutor," or order of court, on the 8th of June 1839, declaring that the presbytery and whole members thereof "are still bound and astricted to make trial of the qualifications of the pursuer, the Rev. Robert Young, as presentee to the church and parish of Auchterarder; and if in their judgment, after trial and examination in common form, he is found qualified, to receive and admit him minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder, according to law. On the 2d of July, an extract, or certified copy, of this was presented by the plaintiffs to the presbytery, requesting them to proceed forthwith as therein directed, when two motions were made in the presbytery; the first, to the effect that they should proceed in terms of the decree of the court to take Mr. Young on his trials on the first Tuesday of August; the second, to refer the document *simpliciter* to the ensuing meeting of the commission of assembly, in August. This latter being carried, a notarial protest was served on the presbytery, intimating that they should be held liable for all consequences arising from their refusal to give effect to the judgment of the court of session and House of Lords. The minority of the presbytery, who voted for the first motion, replied to this protest, stating that they had always been, and still were, willing to obey and do what the court wished, and protested against being held liable for the deeds of the majority. The plaintiffs then raised an action of damages against the Rev. Mr. Ferguson and others, forming the majority of the presbytery, in February 1840, when the court decided that the action was relevant, that it fell within their jurisdiction, and that the acts of the presbytery formed good

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will do the duties of an elder in the parish in which I was ordained, but I will not serve in your inferior courts; I will not come as a member to your general assembly. I will not form part of the governing body of an established Church, which, with no invasion by the state of any of her holy and inherent gifts, in defence of no sacred principle, but for a matter of mere ecclesiastical polity, has set herself up in an attitude—for so it is, gloss it as you will—in an attitude of dogged defiance, of virtual disobedience, to the declared law of the land. I will not, by my presence even, be responsible for a line of policy which I believe is at variance with all her own best interests, and which, in a few years, will leave her existing, no doubt, as a Church, but which, in my conscience, I believe has already rung out her knell as the Established Church of Scotland." One might have supposed that this bold and determined conduct, this prophetic and distinct reproof, by one of the hereditary legislators of the country, and one warmly attached to the Kirk, would have had some effect on these people. But "quos Deus vult perdere," etc.

grounds of damage in law. Against this decision the pertinacious ministers brought another appeal before the House of Lords, and again the Kirk came off second best. On the 9th of last August the judgment of the court of session was UNANIMOUSLY SUSTAINED; when the lord chancellor and three ex-chancellors (two of them being Scotsmen, Scots lawyers, Presbyterians by birth and education, and one of them the son of a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman),—all and severally expressed their strongest disapprobation of the illegal and insolent conduct of the Kirk. The only other point at present in this branch of the many-headed\* case of Auchterarder is to determine the amount of damages due to Mr. Young, the presentee; and this a jury will at once settle on the abstract and plain question—*What is the life of Mr. Young worth deprived of his living?*

What the conduct of the majority of the Kirk will be under these, for them, most “untoward events,” remains to be seen. At present, although sorely stricken and subdued, they still breathe the language of insane defiance. Their great organ, *The Witness* newspaper, in commenting on the decision of the House of Lords, says:—

“The Church cannot retrace her steps. She cannot intrude Mr. Young into the parish of Auchterarder, or give up her veto law or non-intrusion principle. To do so now, would involve a sacrifice of principle tenfold more heinous than if it had been done after the first Auchterarder judgment. It would be an explicit acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the civil courts in spiritual matters, and a surrender of the Church’s entire independence.

“Again, the Church cannot recognize this judgment of the House of Lords, as laying any obligation at all on the consciences of her office-bearers, beyond the mere endurance of whatever penalty may be inflicted. So far as the regulation of their conduct, in their spiritual capacity and in spiritual affairs, is concerned, *they will entirely disregard this judgment. The House of Lords has no*

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\* Besides these two leading suits already disposed of, there are, at least, other three still depending. One raised by the heritors to ascertain whether they ought to pay the stipend to the patron or to the widow’s fund; a second, by the original plaintiffs, to have it found that the minority of the presbytery are entitled to admit Mr. Young, if qualified, and to prevent the majority from interfering with them in so doing; and a third, at the instance of the same parties, against the majority of presbytery and the special commission of general assembly, against their proceeding to settle a minister in the parish of Auchterarder, in terms of a sentence of the general assembly of 1841, in defiance of Mr. Young and the law. In all these the Kirk will be cast, with full costs.



*right, by the constitution, to lay down the law to the Church courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions"!!!!\**

They then go on to state, in cumbrous phraseology, that they must as a *dernier resort* apply to the legislature; and that if it supports and vindicates the law of the land, at the expense of their absurdities (which it will infallibly do), there is an end of the establishment, and off it goes!

So likewise, in the presbytery of Glasgow, we find, among others, such delectable sentiments uttered as these: Mr. Gibson "could not see how any man, having the spirit of a man, could submit to act as the officer of a mere civil court, in the capacity of a minister of Christ. The decision of the House of Lords went to the destruction of the Church; it seemed to him tantamount to the total breaking up of their Church courts; and the sooner it was resisted the better." And Dr. Smyth "did not see how it was possible to carry on the government of Christ's house at all, if they were not protected against the consequences of the decision of the House of Lords. They would be degraded into mere civil officers, have their consciences coerced, and would be totally divested of the character of a spiritual Church. The Church must follow out fearlessly her line of duty in this matter."† Bravo, the *Kirk* militant!

Omitting some ten or twelve other *legal exercitations*—each of them the comprehensive parent of many other suits—arising out of these questions of the lawful exercise of patronage, and the unlawful admission of *quoad sacra* ministers into the Kirk courts, we shall briefly speak of one produced from the anti-patronage rebellion, which has created even more sensation, and more universal disgust among every other class except the non-intrusionists. We refer to the case of the presbytery of STRATHBOGIE.

The circumstances are briefly these. In June 1837, the Earl of Fife presented Mr. John Edwards to the vacant Kirk and parish of Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie. The presentation was sustained by the presbytery, but the presentee was vetoed by the people in the November ensuing.

\* "The Witness," Edinburgh newspaper, 13th August 1842. The horrible blasphemies which from time to time disgrace the columns of this periodical are, we trust in all Christian charity, imputable to insanity alone. Their rabid abuse of Catholicism moves us not, except to pity the misguided scribblers.

† Report, in "Edinburgh Evening Courant," newspaper, of the meeting of Glasgow Presbytery, on 19th August 1842.

As the principles of the veto act had been declared illegal by the court of session in the before-mentioned case of Auchterarder, and that case was then under appeal to the House of Lords, the presbytery referred themselves for advice to the synod of Moray, as to their mode of proceeding under the presentation. The synod instructed them to give effect to the veto act; but from this instruction they appealed to the general assembly, held in May 1838,—before which also a complaint, at the instance of the parishioners against the presbytery, for refusing to obey the synod, was entertained,—and the assembly repelled the appeal of the presbytery, and remitted to them to reject Mr. Edwards. Lord Fife, upon this, issued a new presentation, in favour of one Mr. Henry; whereupon Mr. Edwards applied to the court of session for an interdict to prevent Mr. Henry from presenting himself for induction, and the presbytery from inducting him, or doing any other act which tended to prejudice or affect the rights pertaining to the first presentation. This interdict was granted by the court. Mr. Edwards also raised a suit of “declarator” against the presbytery, heritors, and collector of the widows’ fund—as was done in the Auchterarder case—to have it found that his presentation was valid, that the presbytery were bound to take him on his probation, and that his rejection under the veto act was altogether illegal.

These proceedings being notorious to the presbytery, they, in July 1838, resolved, by a majority of seven out of eleven, “that the court of session having authority in matters relating to the induction of ministers, and having interdicted all proceedings on the part of the presbytery in this case, and it being the duty of the presbytery to submit to their authority regularly interposed, the presbytery do delay all procedure until the matters in dispute be legally determined.” Of this resolution the minority complained to the synod, who referred it in the following year to the general assembly, by whom it was further referred to their commission, with ample powers to determine upon it. It may be observed that the Auchterarder decision had been affirmed by the House of Lords immediately previous to this meeting of the assembly. The commission instructed the presbytery to suspend proceedings,—except in the case of Mr. Edwards withdrawing his opposition, which very improbable event was to be reported to the commission,—and, as the presbytery had resolved that the court of session had authority in the induction of ministers, they were prohibited by the commission

from taking any steps towards inducting Mr. Edwards before the next meeting of assembly in 1840.

Mr. Edwards, as might be presumed, was successful in his application to the civil court, and its decrees were notarially intimated to the moderator of the presbytery, who, in September, appointed a meeting to be held at Huntly, in the ensuing November, for the purpose of considering these decrees and the resolution of the commission. At this meeting the same majority came to the resolution that they were bound to obey the decree of the court of session, and to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Edwards, whose trials they then appointed to take place, thereby acting in opposition to the will of the commission. This determination, elaborated by a rigid sense of duty, but painful to these gentlemen from the circumstance of their being thereby compelled to dispute the commands of their ecclesiastical superiors, was communicated by them to the commission in a courteous, firm, and deferential report.

On the 11th of December this high court of the most godly Calvinistic inquisition assembled; and, having reversed the whole proceedings of the presbytery, they declared that these constituted "deliberate contumacy" of the commission, and "gross malversation of their judicial functions;" prohibited them from inducting Mr. Edwards, and announced to that gentleman, that if he in any way presumed to kick against their sovereign will he should be dealt with as "contumacious." And they then, in consequence of their having obeyed that law of the land to which they and their Kirk owe their existence, SUSPENDED the seven ministers from all their ministerial and judicial functions, until they should submit to the orders of the Kirk-judicatories; constituted the minority into a full omnipotential presbytery; and appointed some members of the commission to preach in their stead, in the respective kirks, on an early Sunday, and to intimate from their own pulpits the sentence of deposition of these loyal and dutiful subjects!

This was intolerable: the ministers who had thus been prosecuted immediately craved the protection of the court, justly assuming that as they were determined to obey the law they were fully entitled to its support. They maintained that, as their alleged contumacy consisted in their resolution to obey the law, all proceedings adopted by any court or body recognized by the said law, tending either to interfere with or to punish them for this obedience, were manifestly incom-



petent, illegal, unwarrantable, and frustrative of the ends of justice, besides being grossly in defiance of the supreme civil authority. That their conduct could not be construed as contumacious; that in all matters illegal the ecclesiastical was subject to the civil court; and they accordingly besought the court to suspend the proceedings of the commission complained of, and to interdict and prohibit the minority of the presbytery, and all others, from interfering with or molesting them, either by giving effect to the orders of the commission or holding any presbyterial meetings, and also to interdict and prohibit the persons appointed by the commission from preaching or intimating the sentence of deposition in their kirks or parishes. This the court most absolutely did, inhibiting these rebels from intruding into the kirks, kirkyards, or schoolhouses, or using the kirk-bell of their respective parishes. The disgraceful scenes which ensued, when, in defiance of the court, they attempted to intimate the sentence of the commission in the parishes, may be seen recorded in the columns of the provincial journals of the time. We cannot cumber our pages with the details.

Protected thus in their rights, and their conduct approved of by the supreme civil courts, these gentlemen quietly continued to exercise their ministerial vocation in their parishes,—supported by their people, who publicly declared their attachment to and rallied round them,—but subjected to the annoyance of a file of intruding predicants, who from time to time harangued and administered the sacraments of the Kirk to such of the populace as were gullible enough to be so led, in apartments hired in the different villages; and to the attacks of insidious handbills and placards industriously distributed with the view to alienate the affections of their congregations from them. In consequence of this, they were cited by the commission in March 1840, to appear personally at the bar of the following assembly, in May, “to answer why they should not be dealt with as having violated the sentence of the last meeting of commission, by exercising the ministerial and judicial functions, and having applied to the civil court for a suspension of the said sentence, and for an interdict against its being carried into effect, and having executed the same, and to have such sentence pronounced thereupon as to the assembly may seem meet.” They then presented a petition and complaint to the assembly, praying them to rescind the sentence of the commission, and to find that it had exceeded its powers in suspending them; but the assembly dismissed

their appeal, and homologating the sentence of the commission, cited them to appear at their bar. On the 28th of May, six of the suspended clergymen (the seventh, a highly respected old man—Mr. Cruickshank, of Glass, since deceased—being prevented by his age and infirmities) appeared; when the assembly resolved that they were guilty of contumacy, and appointed a committee to “deal with”—that is, to confer and argue with,—or to employ a vulgar, but, in this instance, peculiarly apposite and expressive word—to *bother* them, and cited them again to appear at their bar a few days thereafter. They attended accordingly, and at the same time the *dealing* committee reported that their interviews, as might have been foreseen, had terminated unsuccessfully: that these gentlemen, to whose courteous and kind behaviour (much contrasted to their own) they bore ample testimony, still persisted in their determination to obey the law; and delivered to the assembly a written statement, signed by the six and adhered to by the seventh, couched in firm but most respectful terms, declaring their adhesion to the line of conduct which they had hitherto pursued. The assembly then, by a majority of upwards of sixty, continued the suspension of these clergymen from all their functions, ministerial and judicial, for twelve months, until the meeting of assembly in 1841; and directed that the commission which was to meet in the following August, should, if they had not by that time “abandoned their sinful principles,” serve them with a *libel* (indictment), and have them regularly tried for the offence. This they were pleased to consider “a mild punishment.” They also cited Mr. Edwards to appear before the said commission in August, for violating their injunctions by continuing to prosecute the maintenance of his legal rights.

Against the deliverance of the assembly the seven clergymen protested, and again applied to the court of session for an interdict against, and prohibitive of, the commissioners of the assembly and all others carrying into effect the resolutions of the assembly; as also for the necessary protection, as in their previous applications to the court. This, like all the former petitions, was fully implemented and warranted by their lordships.

To conclude this disgraceful episode in the dark history of the presbyterian Kirk of Scotland:—in the following assembly of 1841, these seven loyal and good men were peremptorily DEPOSED from their office of ministry, for the sole reason that they preferred obedience to that law of their country which

had permitted them to hold, and had supported them in, that ministerial position, rather than to the arrogant self-will of their illegal superiors. And thus seven parishes, containing some thousand souls, were by the *fiat* of the assembly deprived of that spiritual guidance provided for them by the state; and their pastors, to whom they were ardently attached, branded as infamous by their own brethren: and Mr. Edwards, because of his insisting in his just titles, was by the self-same rabble—they merit no better epithet—deprived of his license as a preacher of the gospel, and rendered incapable of ever obtaining orders in the Kirk, to which he had set apart his prospects in life!!! Fortunately, however, for these gentlemen, and for the good order of the community, the law can vindicate itself; and by means of it they occupy precisely the same position which they previously did, in so far as their privileges are concerned. They have experienced sympathy from every right-thinking person, without distinction of creed or political party, save from the members of the persecuting sect: their congregations flock around them as usual, and the most eminent men of the moderate party in every presbytery have resolved—and have acted upon the resolution—to maintain them in their *status* as clergymen, and as such to assist them in their annual dispensation of the sacrament and other ordinances, regardless of the terrors of the assembly, which can and may deprive them also on account of this their fraternal charity. The non-intrusive peripatetics nevertheless *do intrude* into their parishes; and, by way of proving the validity of their clerical mission, their respect for their sovereign,—in defiance of whose decrees all their proceedings are taken,—and their reverence for their Maker, they have in several instances, by working upon credulous and ignorant parents, presumed to re-baptize children already baptized by the proper clergymen, and in one instance to administer offices of religion for a man notoriously an adulterer, and under the previous censure of one of the clergymen since deposed, and his Kirk-session!!

Our readers have now probably had more than enough of this same Kirk. The two great legal causes which we have dissected sufficiently explain the points at issue between it and the state, and manifest the modern rebellion in the north. It is unnecessary to notice the cases of Culsalmond, of Glass, of Lethendy, and the many others in a greater or less advanced state of forensic discussion. They all emanate from the like sources, and will terminate in similar results. But it is pleasant to observe that by its own wayward and wilful



conduct the Kirk has virtually *unkirked* itself; and that its ministers may now, one and all of them, if they shall so think fit, indulge in what enormities they please without incurring any forfeiture of their clerical rights. The constitution of the Kirk being illegally self-altered, all that is done in their courts since that alteration is null and of non-effect. Thus, a minister of a parish convicted of the crime of theft (not in a criminal but ecclesiastical court), and deposed therefore, still continues to officiate and draw the fruits of his incumbency; and so does another under censure of suspension for immorality. And thus it will be, until either the Kirk becoming repentant, and rescinding all that it has improperly executed, is restored to its former legal position; or until, being shivered to fragments by its own effervescence, it is swept away, not only as a state institution, but from even the name of a Church.

In parties professing to be Christians, or men of common decency or common sense, conduct such as that of the majority of the Scottish establishment is altogether preposterous. If they object to patronage, and hold it to be “unchristian and devilish,”—we quote the *ipsissima verba* of one of their leaders,—and “an invention of the dark ages,” why do they either accept it as a means of entering the Kirk, or, having accepted it and altered their opinions, do they any longer occupy and fatten upon the livings which it provides for them? Such behaviour is worse than inconsistent. If they demur to submit to the law which affords them vitality, and repudiate the principles of a state establishment, why do they not at once give effect to their scruples by severing themselves from its protection and support? From this dilemma they now indeed propose to extricate themselves, as was mentioned on a former page, by a direct application to parliament for permission to have things—*all their own way!* That is the sum and substance of their intention, so far as may be inferred from their recent manifestoes and harangues: and so, with their usual inconsistency, they talk of appealing to the legislature, when their great organ, the *Presbyterian Review*, says, in reference to this very legislature, that “to commit any portion of the affairs of the Church of Scotland to the management of a British parliament, would be to place all that is most precious to her members at the mercy of men who neither understand her value, nor perchance care for her existence.”\* We do not pretend to the gift of prophecy, or

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\* Presb. Rev. ii. 260.

to the *second sight*, neither do we affect to be cognizant of the secrets of a cabinet; but of this we feel assured, that parliament will either say to the Kirk, "First obey the law as it already stands, and *then* we shall inquire into your alleged grievances;" or else, that being exasperated by the conduct of these fanatics, a bill of conformity will be passed, declaratory that they who do not choose to adhere to the establishment as already instituted, and obey the statutes which corroborate it, shall straightway vacate their livings in favour of more sober-thinking individuals, who shall be content to suffer the law to interpret itself. Had this been done at the outset, or had the Court of Session, on the first violation of its caveats, incarcerated and fined the offending parties—as it has full powers to do—we should in all likelihood have had no more of this concrete absurdity. But every leniency has hitherto been exercised to this misguided and presumptuous sect, and if other measures fall to be adopted they will have themselves alone to thank for it. And indeed it were high time that active remedies should be applied, when we hear in their fanatical ravings the cry to arms,—when they talk of receiving their "covenant," and "betaking themselves with their bibles and broadswords to the hill-side,"—were it not that their impotent fury excites mirth and pity rather than resentment, and that their peculiar species of insanity is happily confined to their own miserable party. Whom have they on their side? Certainly not the state or the law, which they have disclaimed and insulted; not the aristocracy, more than two-thirds of which are prelatists, and concerning whom they have said, that "if the Church trusts for support to a landed *aristocracy*, she leans upon a spear which will pierce her side;"\* not the people, of whom they complain that "so large a proportion is hostile to her," and of whom they calculate that "if the increase of the population go on in the same rate as it has lately done, in a few years the members of the establishment will form the minor part of the nation;" and mournfully add, "but ere matters reach that point, the Church as an establishment *must* fall."† Of this there can be but small doubt, and its downfall is even more immediate than its own vaticinators imagine, although Dr. Candlish asserts that "the Auchterarder decision breaks up the establishment." We cannot be supposed to sympathize in these jeremiads, or be grieved at the just retribution awarded to them

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\* Presb. Rev. v. 70.

† Ibid. p. 69.

by their own acts and deeds. Considering its petulance,—setting apart all other grounds,—the establishment has all along been too well provided for and too much caressed; and thus, like a pampered menial, it flies in the face of its master. “Pride,” says the wise man, “goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.” So fares it with the Kirk. In a future number we shall recreate ourselves by a glance at some of its *bizarrieries* in the olden time, illustrated from its own most authentic records, and so by reflection exhibit this “rare monster” in a fitting speculum.\*

ART. III.—1. *Cenni sulle principali cose a vedersi in Genova e suoi contorni.* Ridotti da Augusto Cortilli. 12mo. Genova. 2. *Nouveau Guide de Gènes et de ses Environs.* 12mo. Gènes: 1842.

3. *Guida alle Bellezze di Genova e sue Riviere.* Compilata da Gius. Bancheri. 8vo. Distribuzione prima. Genova: 1842.

IT is now several years since, under a title similar to the present, we attempted a brief notice of the munificent public charities of Rome.† In order to compress within the compass of an ordinary article a subject so varied and comprehensive, it was necessary to overlook many important and interesting particulars, and to treat the rest with a degree of brevity which almost reduced our notice to the form of a catalogue. Indeed, those who have had the happiness of visiting these admirable institutions, and witnessing the practical working of the active benevolence that characterizes their system, will feel the impossibility of doing justice to the subject within such brief limits; and even Mgr. Morichini, whose delightful work we attempted, in our former notice, to methodize and condense, has found it necessary to add another volume to the new edition which he has just published. We have long been sensible that the interest of the subject was far from being exhausted, and entertained the idea of re-

\* This article was prepared and intended for insertion in our last number. Since then, important measures, fully bearing out our predictions, have come into play. But as to enter upon them at present would too much fatigue the attention of our readers, we shall defer a digest of them till the following number; by which time it is not at all improbable that the “Reformat Kirk” will be “among the things that were.”

† See vol. vi. pp. 111, &c.



suming it at some convenient opportunity, but circumstances have occurred to prevent the fulfilment of our purpose; and even now, instead of following out the account of the Roman charities into further detail,\* we prefer to pursue the subject through the other cities of Italy, as Genoa, Naples, Florence, Milan, Turin, and Venice.

Since we last addressed ourselves to this grateful task, it has pleased Providence to bring about, silently, and as if without human agency, in the public mind of Britain, a revolution which not even the most sanguine could have anticipated. We recollect that, upon that occasion, before entering upon the particulars of the present condition of public charity in Rome, we thought it necessary to examine, at some length, a prejudice which then existed, and for which we were sorry to produce one of the most popular authorities in our modern literature;—that it is to the Reformation, and to the enlightenment which it carried in its train, the world is indebted for that active spirit of benevolence which is displayed in the modern institutions of public charity throughout Europe.† We thought it right to go to the pains of testing the truth of this assertion by the history of the public charities of Rome; and that we might make the case against ourselves as unfavourable as it could be made, and thus render the refutation more satisfactory, we selected for the enquiry the three centuries before the Reformation—a period of the greatest anarchy and frequent distress in Rome. Yet, even with the limited means of information then at our command, we were able to trace, during this short period, the origin of no less than twenty different foundations, all the fruit of public or private benevolence, all purely devoted to charitable purposes, many of them of great extent and rich endowments, and the greater number existing to the present day, living monuments of the philanthropy and munificence of those calumniated ages.

We cannot return to the subject without expressing our humble gratitude to Him in whose hands are the hearts of

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\* For this interesting subject we refer the reader to Mgr. Morichini's *Istituti di Publica Carità in Roma*. It has been translated into French within the last year. "The new edition of this most interesting work may serve to shew that the charity of Rome is at this moment as active, if not more active, than at any former period. It contains an account of many new institutions, founded since the publication of the last edition (1835). We may mention the new Deaf and Dumb Institution, the Asylum for the cholera orphans, the Penitentiary of the Holy Family, the Conservatorio of the Sacred Heart, and that founded by the saintly and indefatigable Abbate Pallotti."—p. 1.

† See Edinburgh Encyclopedia, xii. 122.

men, for the happy change which has taken place since we last wrote. A more intimate knowledge of the history and social character of the middle ages has done much to remove this and many similar prejudices. It would seem as if the two opposite extremes of public opinion had met upon this ground. The writings of Hurter, Voight, and even of the more insidious Ranke, have had their influence upon the philosophic party; and among the members of the new school of high-church men, the reverential study of the history of those times in contemporary monuments, and the researches of such generous and enthusiastic spirits as Digby, Rio, and Montalembert, have carried numbers in advance of many a degenerate Catholic, with whom the sneer of a shallow philosopher, or the sophism of a worldly-minded utilitarian, outweighs the true Christian wisdom and the warm and uncalculating piety which distinguished the social institutions of our simple forefathers. We doubt not that there are many who, when we last sought to disprove the silly calumny to which we referred above, would most probably have turned the page with indifference, if not contempt, and who, notwithstanding, are now prepared to go the entire way with us in acknowledging the benign influence of the Catholic religion, as the only true source, and the only solid foundation of social happiness and civilization.

Among the cities of Italy, the charitable institutions of Naples certainly merit, by their number and munificence, as well as by the variety of the wants to which they are intended to minister, the first place after those of Rome. But Genoa is an old favourite of ours; and we trust our readers will pardon us, if we indulge the pleasurable feelings which a recent sojourn of a few days has created, by laying before them, in preference, while our recollections are yet fresh, a brief account of the principal public charities of this queenly city.

And indeed we may claim this honourable place for Genoa upon less personal grounds. How many a thrilling recollection, not inferior in interest to those of any other Italian state, does the name of the old republic recall;—from the day when, a century and a half before our era, the Roman republic was called in to arbitrate between her and the Veturians, till that on which, in common with the rest of Italy, she was swallowed up in that overgrown and unnatural empire which, for a season, all but overran the world, when

“France got drunk with blood, to vomit crime!”

How many a brilliant name does it number in its annals!—Fieschi, Grimaldi, Boccanegra, Brignole, Doria, Spinola, Pallavicini,—names familiar to the student of general history, but possessing a more tender claim upon the memory of their countrymen, in the monuments of charity and religion which they have left behind. Few cities contain a greater number of public edifices erected by the munificence of private individuals. They meet the stranger at every turn. The hospital of the Pammatone, the Albergo dei Poveri, the Ponte Sauli, the Biblioteca Civica, each in its way conveys to the visitor some idea of the truly royal munificence of the merchant-princes of the old republic. But this spirit is seen in the churches more than in all the rest beside. A great proportion of them were built or restored by private individuals, or by public bodies. The Church of S. Maria di Castello, built by the noble family whose name it bears, dates from the first introduction of Christianity into the city. The magnificent church of the Nunziata was erected by the Lomellini. San Matteo was entirely restored by the Dorias, and the sword presented to the famous Andrea Doria by Paul III is still preserved in its treasury. The gorgeous, though unfinished fabric of the Carignano was the work of the Sauli in 1552. San Pietro is a monument of the public gratitude of the city, for its deliverance from the plague of 1579. San Francesco Xaverio was built by the Balbi in 1600; and, still more recently, S. Maria del Rimedio was founded in 1650, at the expense of a private individual, Gian Tommaso Invrea. These and many similar monuments, all lying within the compass of a morning stroll, make one feel the connexion between the Genoa of to-day and that olden city which filled Europe with the fame of her enterprise and her riches. Like Venice, Genoa is truly a city of palaces. But they are not, like those of Venice, palaces of the past. They possess all the majesty and grandeur of Venice, without its melancholy desolation and decay; and if there be some of them which the political revolutions of latter times have transferred to strange hands, a great proportion of them are still tenanted by the families of those to whom they owe their origin.

But the reader will have already perceived that we mean to confine his attention to a single branch of this interesting subject. The object which we proposed to ourselves in the pages which we devoted to the public charities of Rome, obliged us to enumerate all, or nearly all the institutions. We do not think it necessary to follow the same plan in the



present article. Seeking rather to display the spirit by which the truly Catholic charity of Genoa is animated, than to exhibit the full detail of good which it is enabled to effect, we shall be content to select a few of the principal among them.\* And, indeed (so much is this interesting point in the religious character of Italy overlooked or concealed), that we fear there are many to whom even a cursory sketch will possess but too much novelty; for although some of the Genoese institutions, even considered as works of art, are so splendid that the merest sight-seer cannot pass them by, yet it is impossible to form any just estimate of them from the books of our English guides and tourists: if they advert to them at all, it is merely with the eye of an artist or a connoisseur;—to criticise Piola's colouring, or the expression of the bas-relief of Michael Angelo. Madame Starke devotes but one or two sentences to the Pammatone and the Albergo dei Poveri. Mr. Faber, who wrote last year, and from whom we might naturally expect the contrary, in his notice of Genoa, which is otherwise very interesting, has overlooked them altogether; and even Eustace, though he extols the splendour of the ancient establishments, "observes with regret that he is speaking of past, not present times. The edifices to which the names of hospitals are annexed, still stand, but stand rather as the monuments, than the actual mansions of charity: the funds have been swallowed up in the exactions of the French armies, and the mere titles remain, like the name of the republic, and even like the city itself, deprived of its commerce, its riches, and its independence."†

Of the works which stand at the head of this article, the first and second are the ordinary guide-books which are put into the hands of every stranger who visits Genoa,—the one in Italian, the other in French. Neither can be said to possess any literary merit; but the Italian, though not so prolix as the French, is more satisfactory and practically useful. The third, though resembling the others in title, promises to be a work of a very different order. As yet only the first number has appeared; but, from the manner in which it is executed,

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\* For example, we shall not advert at all to the subject of confraternities, which have been already described with some detail in a former article. It may be well also to observe, that at Genoa the variety of separate institutions is not so great as in Rome,—the same establishment frequently combining three or four different characters, as an asylum, a conservatory, an hospital, and an orphanage.

† Classical Tour iii, p. 480-1.

it is easy to infer that, when completed, the work will deserve a place among the most interesting local histories and guides of the Italian cities. The present *fascicolo* is entirely devoted to the Albergo dei Poveri, and enters with great minuteness into the history of its foundation, progress, and completion. We cannot do better than commence with a brief notice of this noble institution. In order to give some idea of the author's manner, we shall dwell more upon it than on the other institutions.

The Albergo dei Poveri, though in its present form and locality rather modern, may yet be considered among the most ancient charities of the city. From the earliest times there are traces of similar establishments, although far less extensive, and differing from the Albergo in being intended merely as asylums for the aged and infirm. But in the year 1515, we find a decree of the senate increasing the revenues, and augmenting the number to whom relief was to be extended; and towards the middle of that century, a change of considerable importance was introduced. The year 1539 was a year of extraordinary scarcity throughout the entire of southern Europe; and in Genoa, the poverty and distress, which before had been left to the undirected charity of the humane, became so extreme as to call for the direct interference of the state. An association of the most distinguished nobles of the city, eight in number, was formed towards the close of that year, and in 1540 was sanctioned by a decree of the senate, and incorporated under the title of *Offizio dei Poveri*. A new Lazzaretto was built under their direction; but in progress of time, partly from public grants, partly from the charity of private individuals, the resources of the institution outgrew the place which had been selected as its site; and in 1652 the senate approved of a new purchase upon the hill Carbonara, better suited, by its locality and its extent, to the necessities of the establishment. The great mover of this pious and charitable project was the celebrated Emmanuel Spinola, and to his unwearied exertions Genoa owes this monument of national benevolence,—among the most splendid in Europe.

The difficulties attending the purchase of the site delayed the commencement of the work till 1556, in which year the first stone of the edifice was laid. But, while the foundations were still in great part open, it underwent a melancholy interruption in the following year, by the outbreak of the great plague. The mortality in Genoa was very great. While it

was at its height, seven hundred victims were daily carried off; and, the ordinary places of burial being soon completely filled, it became necessary to provide new space for this melancholy want. By a singular destiny, the deep and capacious pits which had been sunk to receive the foundations of the Albergo, were employed, by anticipation, in a more melancholy work of mercy, and under the direction of the devoted Spinola, whom no danger could dismay, no less than ten thousand corpses were interred under the foundations.

In gratitude for their deliverance from the awful visitation, the citizens, in the following year, decreed to erect a church under the title of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, which had been vowed while the pestilence was at its height. According to the original plan, it was intended that the church should be erected in the centre of the Albergo; and, in order to combine the works of religion and charity, it was now resolved that the new church should form part of the building already commenced, and be devoted to the religious uses of the asylum. The doge, attended by all the state functionaries, went in solemn procession to lay the foundation. Thirty thousand livres were voted as a public grant for the purpose, and Emmanuel Spinola set the example of private contribution with such effect, that this portion of the work proceeded rapidly and successfully. However, in 1661 the funds began to fail. As the condition of his new contribution, Spinola, with that large and undistinguishing benevolence which was his great characteristic, required that the institution should be open to all applicants, without restriction of country or creed, even to those who had been refused admission at the other hospitals of the city. In 1664 they had advanced so far as to be able to receive the poor who before had been lodged in the Lazzaretto of the Carignano, which was thenceforth merged in the new establishment. In the following year the south line of the building was finished; and in 1665 the beautiful church, being at last completed, was erected into a parish, which continues under separate jurisdiction to this day.

From this time the building has been gradually enlarged, till at length, in 1740, the original plan was completed (with the exception of a portion of the front), in the gigantic proportions which it now presents. To the zeal and perseverance of the inimitable Brignole, whom no labour could dishearten, and no difficulty dismay, the city is mainly indebted for the success of the work. He lived but for works of charity and



love. The intimate friend of St. Vincent of Paul, he drew, it is natural to believe, many of his projects for the improvement of the condition of the poor from his saintly counsel, and the pious exercises of the community are still regulated according to a rule prescribed by the saint. The following notice of Brignole's manner of life will show that his munificence towards the poor was accompanied by the practice, in his own person, of the most rigid self-denial.

"At the age of about twenty-three, having lost his beloved father, he remained under the care of his guardians. On the expiration of his minority he received a portion of his paternal inheritance, which he was unwilling to keep unproductive, and embarked in a banking speculation. In 1646 he sold to his brother, Giovanni Carlo, the third part of his property which he inherited from his father in Sestri; and having entirely separated his interests from those of his brothers, he lived along with them and his mother until 1660, assigning a fitting proportion to her and to his sisters for their maintenance and dowry. He himself living in this manner, with a single servant, was enabled to add to his property the annual profits, as well of the revenues of his paternal inheritance, as of those which he derived from commerce. This he soon very much extended, engaging also in maritime speculations; and all his enterprises were very prosperous, either because he at the same time employed his gains in providing for the wants of the poor, or because he intended to devote his property to the erection of an asylum for them. An enemy to all ostentation and voluptuous ease, he laboured to prepare himself by his merits for the most useful service of his country. His fellow citizens very soon availed themselves of his great talents, and deputed him first to the care of the poor in the Lazaretto, whom, though at a great distance from the city, he visited with the most indefatigable zeal. The esteem in which he was held may be easily inferred from the measures taken in 1653, in which year he was charged, as we have seen, with the purchase of a site for the erection of a new asylum. He was at the same time one of the protectors of the poor girls of our Lady of Refuge on Mount Calvary, who were then divided into several houses, but afterwards united by the foundress into one establishment. His love towards the poor was universally known; and when a disastrous season or year of famine occurred, he was sent along the coasts to distribute relief, at the public expense, in order that the inhabitants might not perish by famine; and he himself was wont, by collections among his relatives and friends, to add to the public grant designed for this purpose by the 'Magistrato di Misericordia;' and it frequently happened that, there not being sufficient for the necessities of the poor, he added almost as much more from his private property."—*Bancheri*, pp. 14, 15.

This admirable man had not the happiness, however, of living to see the completion of the great work to which his life was devoted. He died, universally lamented, in 1678, in the seventieth year of his age; and his last will, which he had prepared many years before, is, like every other act of his life, a monument of true Christian charity and benevolence. He bequeathed the large proportion of his ample fortune to his beloved poor, and, with that humility which characterized his life, prohibited, under pain of forfeiting the inheritance, the erection of a monument to his memory, or any similar attempt to perpetuate his name. There is one clause of this interesting document too noble to be passed over in silence:—“He wills that his body be interred in the parochial church of the new *Albergo dei Poveri*, on the *Carbonara*, near the high altar, at that spot by which the poor are wont to go down into the hall to their devotion, in order that his dead body may ever lie under the feet of the poor, whom he dearly loved during life. He orders that his funeral be performed with humility, and in the following manner: his body shall be clad in the habit of the poor,—that is, in the dress of a labourer, and accompanied to the tomb by the reverend parish-priest and chaplains of the *Albergo*, by a like number of the religious of the parish, each with a lighted torch, and by the young and old inmates of the house with lighted candles in their hands.”

It would be tedious to enumerate the names of those whose charity followed up to its completion the pious work which this admirable man had begun,\* many of whom seemed to be actuated by the same humble spirit which animated Brignole. Several of the contributions and bequests were anonymous. A single individual, through the hands of Brignole, made a donation of 100,000 livres.

The funds of the institution, like those of every other pious work in Italy, suffered severely by the revolution. Though nominally protected by two imperial edicts in 1807 and 1809, the establishment was reduced to great straits; but after the restoration its independence was restored, and it has since continued in a flourishing condition.

The site of the *Albergo* is extremely picturesque. We shall transcribe the description copied from Bertolotti:—

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\* A descendant of the illustrious founder completed the work within the few last years, by the erection of the western tower, which had remained unfinished since 1740.

“The precipitous mountains on which a great part of Genoa is situated are in many places intersected by deep valleys. In one of these valleys, at the place called Carbonara, outside of the old circle, rises the great monument of Genoese charity. A long piazza, shaded by leafy trees, and lined with stone benches, stands in front of the *Albergo dei Poveri*. Several villas crown the surrounding eminences in which it is embosomed. The two rivers of the valley are employed to irrigate the gardens and pleasure grounds. Unlike the other parts of Genoa, in which the gay and smiling generally predominate, every thing here leads the mind to solemn recollection, although not unaccompanied with sober joy. The loftiness, extent, and magnificence, of the *Albergo dei Poveri* astonish the observer, and the noble *tout ensemble* of the edifice makes him overlook, or pardon, a certain false taste in the ornaments of the façade, the base of which is of the Tuscan order, while the Corinthian upper story and pyramidal pediment give a mixed and broken character to the front.”—*Bancheri*, p. 17.

But the very circumstances which contribute so much to the picturesque beauty of the locality, rendered the erection of an edifice so stupendous a matter of great labour and difficulty. The physical obstacles which they had to overcome are enumerated in a very elegant inscription placed above the principal entrance:—

“AVSPICE DEO,  
CIVIVM PROVIDENTIA  
ET LIBERALITATE  
MONTES DEIECTI, VALLIS COAEQVATA,  
FLVENTVM CONCAMERATVM  
ALVEVS DERIVATVS  
EGENIS  
COGENDIS, ALENDIS,  
OPIFICIO PIETATE INSTITVENDIS,  
AEDES EXTRVCTAE  
ANNO SALVTIS MDCLV.”

The external appearance of the building is magnificent and imposing in the extreme:—

“It presents the form of a rectangular parallelogram, occupying an area of nineteen thousand six hundred metres, and including four large piazzas designed for the recreation of the poor. There are five upper stories with spacious courts, vast dormitories, work-rooms, and every thing that is necessary for the community, which has not unfrequently exceeded the number of eighteen hundred individuals. It would be very desirable that the donations of the citizens could raise a sum sufficient to enable them to level the



mountain upon the western side, and thus obviate the damage which the building sustains from the violent rains and secure the salubrity indispensable for such establishments. By a most commodious platform you pass to a terrace which leads into a vast portico ; and thence, by two superb staircases, you ascend to the majestic vestibule of the edifice. Upon the stairs, as well as in the corridors above and the gallery of the church, are seen inscriptions under the busts and statues of marble or plaster, which attest the piety and charity of our ancestors.—*Bancheri*, p. 18.

As these inscriptions have been characterized as “pompous and uniform,”\* we are induced to say a word upon the subject. Ordinarily speaking, indeed, it is one of little interest. But those of our countrymen who have visited Italy cannot fail to have been painfully struck by the contrast between the public inscriptions of the two countries :—here, tawdry, fulsome, in bad taste, seldom venturing beyond the humble vernacular, and if in a classic language, cold, stiff, formal, and unnatural ; there, chaste, easy, elegant, and of a Latinity that might put our universities to the blush. The lapidary styles of England and Italy might, in some points, be taken as not inapt representations of the national characters of the two people. However, our business is not with the *form* of the inscriptions in the hall of the Albergo ; but they breath a spirit which to us appears extremely beautiful and simple, as well as touching in the highest degree. No empty enumeration of the styles and titles of the benefactor ; all is devoted, with the utmost simplicity, to the history of his charity. A favourite idea, which struck us forcibly as running through them all, is Job’s holy boast, that he was the “*father of the poor*.” One man, dividing his inheritance ; makes the poor co-heirs with his children ;† another consoles himself for the failure of male issue in the idea that it is happier to be the father of the poor than the founder of a nume-

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\* Forsyth’s Italy, p. 6.

† HIERONYMVS DE GRIMALDIS  
 PECVLIVM DITISSIMVM FILIIS CVM PAVPERIBVS  
 INDIVISE RELINQVENS,  
 HEREDES VOCAVIT AETERNOS  
 TER HILARIS DATOR  
 PLENA MANV ARGENTEOS 60,000  
 ERGABAT.  
 CIVIS BENEFICENCIAE AETERNVM DVRATVRÆ  
 COMMENDATORES PAVPERES OMNES  
 SEMPER HABEBIT.

rous race;\* a third voluntarily observed a life of celibacy, that he might possess in the poor a more numerous progeny.† There is in all, too, a beautiful facility of adopting the phraseology of Scripture, which is extremely charming. The “treasures in heaven,” the “hundred-fold reward,” the “hidden treasures,” are introduced with the happiest effect. Everywhere you meet most appropriate mottoes from the sacred page: “*Pater eram pauperum;*” “*Videant pauperes et lætentur;*” “*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus;*” “*Neque dicas, non est Providentia.*” Nor is that retribution in prayer for the living, and suffrage for the dead, forgotten, which Catholic piety teaches us to expect from the poor whose wants we relieve. May not the Christian simplicity with which the

## \* JACOBO PHILIPPO DYRATIO

DIVITIARVM, AEQUE AC VIRTVTVM PATRITIO OPVLENTISSIMO  
 QVOD MVLTVM HVIC DOMVI AERE PROLEGATO  
 CENTUM INSVPER, ET QVINQVAGINTA MILLIVM ARGENTEURVM  
 INDEFICIENTEM THESAVRVVM  
 DEFICIENTE MASCVLA STIRPE CONTVLERIT  
 FELIX VT ESSET PAVPERVM PATER  
 SI DESINERIT ESSE NEPOTVM AVVS.

## † SALVATORIS MASSOLO

QVOD ADHVC CHARITATEM SPIRAT  
 EXSANGVE HOC SIMVLACRVVM  
 SALVATORIS MASSOLAE PIETATEM REFERT  
 NON SVSCEPTIS SANGVINE LIBERIS  
 VT INNVPVVS  
 PLVRES SIBI FACERET CHARITATE  
 PAVPERES ADCIVIT IN FILIOS  
 IN TANTAE VIRTVTIS ET CHRISTIANAE LIBERALITATIS  
 MONIMENTVM  
 ILLVSTRISSIMI MAGISTRATVS DIPLOMATE  
 MARMOR HOC PAVPERVM VOTIS EXPOLITVM  
 P.P.P.  
 MD.CCXX.

The following is a curious specimen of the particular taste of a play upon words which we sometimes see in epitaphs or other inscriptions. It is under the statue of Marco *Luciano*, and has for its motto, “*Abscondita in lucem produxit.*”

LVCIANVS CENTVRIONVS Q. AGAPITI  
 PATRITIAE NOBILITATIS SPLENDORI

SPLENDOREM ACCRESCENS  
 QVOD LVCEBAT IN NOMINE EXPRESSIT IN OPERE  
 ABSCONDITAS DIVITIAS IN LVCEM PRODVENS  
 MAGISTRATVM PAVPERVM—AEREDEM SELIGENS  
 TANTA LVX NE SVB MODIO OBLIVIONIS PONATVE  
 SIMVLACHRO ERECTO CAVTVM EST.  
 ANNO 1687.

inscription transcribed below\* as it were enforces this spiritual contract, put to shame the fulsome stuff in which most of our monumental panegyrics tell of the charities of the deceased,—dwelling upon the past alone, without one thought for the future, and almost forcing upon the mind the startling fear, “*Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam?*”

The church of the Albergo dei Poveri is very beautiful, and arranged with great judgment and consideration for the convenience of the inmates. To secure the separation of the sexes—a principle rigidly maintained—and to prevent the possibility of all communication with externs, the church occupies the centre of the building, which is in the shape of a Latin cross; and thus forms the meeting-point of four extensive halls, from each of which the altar, sanctuary, and pulpit are distinctly visible, while, by means of open latices, as well as of the elevation of the church above the level of the halls, it is rendered impossible for the occupants of either hall to see those who are in the remaining three. The hall to the left of the altar is assigned to the females; that upon the right, to the males; the rear is set apart for the old and infirm, while the front is open to the public at large. In these halls the inmates are assembled for morning and evening prayer, for the adorable sacrifice, and for the other stated devotions of the day, as well as the duty of catechetical instruction. The prayer, which they recite in common, is that composed by St. Vincent of Paul; and we cannot conceive a scene more affecting than the evening service of this destitute, but not forgotten flock,—at which we once had the happiness to assist. Puget’s exquisite figure of the Madonna of the Immaculate Conception, which surmounts the altar, appeared almost preternaturally beautiful. The mellow light of the hour softened all its outlines. It seemed as if it were the protecting angel of the little family. The alternate recitation of the verses and responses from the opposite halls, in which every variety and pitch of voice—young and old, boy and girl—was brought into contrast, and all blended into harmony; the occasional outburst of common prayer, in which every voice united in the recitation; and, above all, the sweet and touching nature of the

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\* IL SIGNOR EMMANVELE BRIGNOLE DI PIA MEMORIA COMMANDA NEL SVO TESTAMENTO RICEVVTO DAL NOTARO GIO: BATTA CAMERE L'ANNO 1677 CHE IN SVFFRAGIO DELL' ANIMA SVA SI FACCIANO IN QUEST' ALBERGO LE SEQVENTI PREGHIERE: CHE OGNI ANNO SI CANTI VNA MESSA SOLENNE NEL GIORNO CHE MORI E DA' POVERI IN QUEL GIORNO SI PREGHI PER LVI, CHE OGNI PRIMA DOMENICA DEL MESE SI RECITINO AVANTILE LITTANIE DELLA SANTISSIMA VERGINE VNE SALVE ET IL DEPROVVDNIS.



prayers themselves,—which, while they breathe all the fervid and sublime devotion of their sainted author, are admirably adapted for the young and unlettered minds for which he designed them;—all combined to produce upon our mind an impression which we never can forget. It spoke to us of the great triumph of the Gospel, of that true Christian benevolence which unites religion with charity, which recollects that man's nobler nature should ever be the first object of Christian solicitude, and that it is but a low-minded and ignoble charity (if indeed it deserve the name), which contents itself with consulting for the physical wants of those whom it undertakes to cherish and protect.\*

It remains to speak of the internal arrangement and administration of the institution. It is capable of accommodating above two thousand persons, and the actual number of inmates amounts to eighteen hundred. Like the *Ospizio* of San Michele in Rome, it is open for the relief of almost every variety of distress; the poor, the aged, the orphan, the foundling, the disabled, find admission within its ample halls; and it is even employed, in certain cases, as a house of correction for delinquents of a particular class. Nor are its benefits confined to those who live within its walls. In virtue of a number of charitable bequests, the administration is charged with the distribution of gratuities in bread, broth, clothes, bedding, and money, to extern paupers who present themselves for relief; and, by other similar bequests, provision is made for bestowing dowries upon virtuous and deserving young females, trifling, perhaps, in our eyes, but sufficiently considerable when we regard the simple habits and limited wants of the humble classes in Italy, for whom they are intended. The pleasing task of dispensing the alms thus allocated was sometimes reserved to the family of the donor. "The noble family of Kugara," says Eustace, "were accustomed to lay out, each day, a sum equivalent to thirty-two pounds English in providing food for all the poor who came to claim it. Another nobleman, having no heirs, devoted his whole property, even during his own life, to the foundation of an asylum for orphan girls, who, to the number of five

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\* We need hardly direct the attention of those among our readers who may chance to visit Genoa, to the exquisite bas-relief, by Michael Angelo, of our Lady imprinting a kiss upon the forehead of the dead Christ. To those who have seen, or are about to see, his *Madonna della Pietà* in St. Peter's, it possesses very great interest.

hundred, were educated, and provided with a settlement for life, either married or single, at their option.”\*

The right of admitting to the institution is vested in the administration, and, like all their other executive powers, is exercised by the majority of voices. In conformity with the will of the founder, no distinction of country or religion should be made; but it has been found necessary, since the revolution, to confine the privilege of admission to natives, or, at least, residents of Genoa. The infirm are admitted at every age; boys, from three to fourteen; females to a still more advanced age, as long, indeed, as their poverty may be supposed to expose them to danger; and the old of both sexes, from sixty upwards. These are the classes to whom it is principally sought to administer relief. The able-bodied, except in particular cases, are regarded as inadmissible. Those who enter at an age sufficiently early, are instructed in whatever trade they may themselves prefer; and when the ordinary time for their removal comes (their education being completed), the well-conducted and meritorious are allowed the option of remaining in the asylum or going into the world. The females, in case of their marrying, or entering a religious state as lay-sisters, are entitled to a dowry of two hundred livres, and in some cases a larger sum.

The manufactures of the institution are well worthy of attention, especially those of silk, calico, woollen cloth, and carpets. A capital of two hundred thousand livres is employed by the institution in these manufactures; and the profits, except a certain portion which goes to the support of the institution, are divided among the inmates, according to their proportion of labour. There is an annual exhibition of the manufactures, and prizes are distributed to the most successful in each department.

The boy-schools of the establishment are entrusted to the Brothers of the Christian doctrine, those of the females, to the “Sisters of our Lord on Mount Calvary,” commonly called Brignoline,—an association resembling our Sisters of Mercy, except that their vow is not perpetual. The neatness, order, and decorum of the entire are beyond all praise; and the internal arrangements, without exception, are truly worthy of the charity and good taste of Genoa.

“The windows are large and airy, the floors are all of marble, as are also the numbers inscribed over the head of each bed, and

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\* Eustace, *Classical Tour*, iii. p. 480.

the slabs which are fixed in the wall, to hold whatever is necessary for the use of the patient : and to preserve them from the cold of the marble when they have occasion to get out of bed, the space between the beds is covered with little carpets. The beds are of iron, painted green, and I might almost call them elegant, being closed in with hangings of white and azure stuff. The infirmarians, both male and female, are numerous. There is an altar for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, at which the men and women have an opportunity of assisting. The care of the sick is entrusted to the pious ‘Sisters of Our Lady of Refuge on Mount Calvary.’ The different quarters of the poor are furnished in the same manner, with the exception of the curtains and mattress which are provided only for the sick. These things remind one of the Ospizio of the *Fate bene fratelli*, in Milan, another city proudly distinguished by its numerous asylums of charity and beneficence. It must be observed that the sick are ordinarily sent to the hospital; and that it is only by special exception that individual cases are permitted to remain in the infirmary ; either those slightly attacked, or those who are suffering from chronic maladies, and cannot find ready admittance to the Hospital of the Incurables, and, in the judgment of the Rectors of the house, deserve special attention, or those who, being seized with sudden illness, could not be removed to the hospital without danger. The internal government of the females, which has been entrusted since the establishment of the institution to the ‘Sisters of Our Lady of the Refuge on Mount Calvary,’ commonly called Brignoline, (because they were, in a certain sense, founded by our Emmanuel,) cannot be sufficiently commended. They carry with them the piety of almost two centuries. An ecclesiastical prefect and a secular, with several assistants, watch over the good conduct of the men. A parish priest superintends the spiritualities and the church, and is assisted by four chaplains and confessors. All these are dependant on the rector, who is subject to the managers of the establishment.”—*Bancheri*, pp. 13, 14.

To those who have read of the charitable institutions of Rome, the name “Conservatorio” cannot be unfamiliar. Like Rome, Genoa is amply provided with these blessed retreats, in which the young female is protected at that age when the worst dangers beset her upon every side, rendered doubly formidable by the poverty and destitution from which it is the object of the Conservatorio to rescue her. The Conservatorio delle Fieschine takes its name from Dominico Fieschi, a Genoese noble, by whom it was founded in 1763. It is a magnificent building, which, from its commanding position, cannot fail to attract the notice of every visitor. In form it is an oblong square, five hundred feet in the length of the greater side. It is capable of accommodating six hundred



persons. Unlike many similar institutions in other countries, this admirable establishment continues its protecting care long beyond the time when it is absolutely necessary for the physical wants of the inmates. The piety of Genoa would revolt at the idea of casting them out upon the world the moment they are supposed capable of providing a maintenance for themselves; and they have the option of remaining in the *Conservatorio* until a suitable marriage, or, if they should feel disposed for the religious state, the adoption of the religious habit, places them beyond the reach of danger or distress: in either case they receive a dowry of five hundred livres. The inmates, besides an excellent religious education, are trained in embroidery, needle-work, and the other branches of female industry. There is one in which, as our lady readers are well aware, they particularly excel, the manufacture of artificial flowers. The flowers of the *Fieschine* of Genoa are celebrated throughout Europe for their delicacy, elegance, and natural simplicity. The profits of their labour are divided into two parts, one of which goes to the support of the establishment, the other is placed at their own disposal.

The *Fieschine* may be taken as a specimen of the *Conservatorio* of Genoa, which in every respect resemble those of Rome, described in a former article. But there are several others. The *Madonna del Rifugio* was founded in 1641. It owes its origin to the piety of a noble Genoese lady, a member of the *Centurioni* family, though better known by the name of that into which she married, the *Grimaldi Bracelli*. The object and plan of this asylum are very similar to those of the *Fieschine*, and it is capable of accommodating three hundred inmates, whose wants are all amply supplied while they remain in the institution, with the same charitable and judicious provision in case of their marrying or entering a religious life. There is another *Conservatorio* attached to the hospital of the *Pammatone*. But we must refer to the author for a detailed description.

It hardly comes within our present plan to speak of the schools and educational institutions of Genoa; but there is one to which we must briefly advert. It is true there can be but little novelty in the description of a deaf and dumb institution; but while we are upon the subject of the charities of Genoa, it would be injustice to the memory of the admirable man to whom we owe the deaf and dumb school of the city, to pass it over in silence. The name of this meritorious individual was *Ottavio Giambattista Assarotti*. Like the immortal

Abbé Sicard, he was an humble ecclesiastic; and his zeal appears to have been stimulated by reading of Sicard's labours and success. His first essay was made in 1801, and was entirely unaided, except, perhaps, by the contributions of a few charitable friends; but the success which attended his disinterested efforts induced the government, in 1805, to assign to him a house, with funds for the maintenance of twelve children. Owing, however, to the unsettled condition of politics at that period, it was some time before this disposition took effect, and he continued to struggle on with the limited means which he was himself enabled to command. In 1812 the noble house which they now inhabit, beyond the *Acqua Sola*, formerly the Convent of Mercy, was assigned to them, and has since been much improved and adapted to the necessities of its new occupants. After the restoration, the establishment was taken into the royal protection, and placed under the management of a commission, of which the cardinal archbishop for the time being is the head. Since 1824 the utility of the institution has been much increased, by the formation of a school for extern pupils. The inmates are at present about sixty in number, of whom thirty-seven are boys. Of these, eighteen are supported by the king, two by the civic body, and the rest by the charity of private individuals. The extern pupils are nearly as numerous, though their number is more variable. The age for admission is from ten to sixteen, and the time spent in the establishment is ordinarily five years. The course of instruction is judiciously accommodated to the disposition of the pupil; and, when promising subjects are found, is often very extensive. Many of these interesting children are intimately acquainted with the Italian, French, English, Spanish, and German languages, and are able not only to read, but even to write in them with ease and correctness. The boys who are found deficient in literary talent are instructed in those arts or trades for which they may manifest a disposition. Painters, engravers in wood and copper, scriveners, and draughtsmen of very considerable merit, have had their education in this admirable institution. Four of the principal engineers and designers in the employment of the government were among the pupils of the pious *Assarotti*. Each of the trades, too, has its representative among them; as printers, bookbinders, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors; and the females are instructed in needle-work, embroidery, and the manufacture of artificial flowers, in which Genoa is so distinguished.

In 1827 the institution sustained a severe loss in the universally-lamented death of its benevolent founder. The present superior, the Abbate Boselli, had long been his intimate friend and assistant; and in naming him to succeed the Abbate Assarotti, the king, in testimony of approval of his past services, conferred upon him the honourable distinction of the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus. The administrative staff consists of the director, four priests, who direct the religious instruction and watch over the morals of the pupils, four mistresses for the female pupils, and six servants. The prefects of the several subordinate departments are selected from among the deaf and dumb children formerly trained in the establishment.

The system of charitable loans, known by the name of Monte de Pietà, was early established at Genoa. It would seem that the most ancient Monte de Pietà was that founded at Perugia towards the commencement of the fifteenth century. We find the system introduced, with the papal sanction, at Orvieto in 1464, and at Viterbo in 1471. The Genoese government was not slow to follow the pious example. In 1483 a decree was passed by the senate, placing the bank under the direction of a public officer, and drawing up such regulations for its management as would enable the poor to derive the greatest amount of benefit from the allocation of the funds at its disposal. Much of its early prosperity is due to the zeal of an humble Franciscan, Francesco Angelo da Cranerio. By his pious and eloquent exhortations, numbers of his wealthy fellow-citizens were induced to offer their redundant wealth,—some gratuitously, some at the lowest rate of interest,—to form a capital for circulation among the poor. Numberless bequests and donations were added to the fund, and in progress of time the bank had a capital of six hundred and seventy thousand livres, and was able to circulate above a million. But, unhappily, the rapacious and turbulent spirit of the French party in Italy proved as fatal to the Monte de Pietà at Genoa as to the other pious establishments of every country to which their arms extended. In 1806 they were obliged to suspend their business; nor was the bank reopened till 1810. It has since slowly recovered from its embarrassments, and, at this moment, is again in full activity; and the amount of good effected by it can only be estimated by those who, familiar with the habits of the Italian people, are able to understand the nature of their wants, and the severe privations to which the temporary withdrawal



of their humble and precarious means of subsistence must subject them.

It remains to close this notice, already extended beyond the brief limits we originally proposed, with a short account of the principal hospitals of the city. The most ancient hospital of Genoa is the Spedale del Pammatone, an establishment which, in its magnificence and utility, may take a place among the noblest institutions of Europe. Like most of the other charities of Genoa, it owes its origin to the benevolence of an individual. A celebrated lawyer, Bartolomeo Bosco, erected it at his own expense in 1420, and in 1427 bequeathed his entire property for its maintenance, confiding the administration to the pious care of his wife, the partner, or rival, of all his projects of charity. It was originally designed for females alone: but in 1441 the addition of a large pile of building enabled the directors to extend its advantages to males also; and, after some time, the government undertook the principal burden of its maintenance, till, by successive additions, the building gradually extended to its present colossal proportions,—the admiration, not only of Italy, but of Europe. It is a rectangular building, about three hundred and thirty feet in length, by two hundred in breadth; but the length of the wing which looks towards the north is considerably greater, this wing having been prolonged to the west, for the purpose of affording accommodation for an hospital of convalescents. The principal gate leads into a magnificent hall, sixty feet in length, on either side of which are the medical and surgical laboratories of the establishment. From this hall the visitor, by a majestic staircase of white marble, ascends to a spacious court, surrounded by twenty doric columns; on the left of this beautiful square are the anatomical hall, the school of anatomy, and the fever ward, with a distinct hall for those cases which require peculiar and separate treatment; and on the right is the surgical ward, with the school of the surgical lectures. But it is only in the portion of the building assigned to the female patients one can form an idea of its extent and magnificence. It occupies the entire second floor of the hospital, extending around the four sides of the rectangle. The floors are of marble, the white coverlet and hangings of the beds present a very pleasing appearance; and the perfect neatness, order, and indeed elegance, of the arrangements, completely divest the scene of the painful and oppressive character which we are apt to attribute

to such receptacles of human misery.\* As in the Albergo, the walls are decorated with a profusion of statues, busts, and inscriptions, to the memory of the benefactors of the institution. Within fifty years from its foundation, its revenues, from private contributions only, had swelled to four hundred thousand livres.

From the dimensions given above, it may be inferred that the number of patients to whom relief is afforded must be immense. But the utility of the Pammatone does not end here. Its ample halls are open for the reception of foundlings of both sexes. The boys are maintained and educated till they grow up to maturity, and are capable of providing for themselves: and the females, till they choose to leave the establishment for the purpose of marrying, or entering a religious state. The number of orphans and foundlings is of course variable, but has frequently exceeded three thousand.†

Notwithstanding the vast extent of the Pammatone, which is open to all nations, without distinction, there is a class of patients whom, as in most similar institutions, it is found necessary to keep apart from the ordinary cases admitted into the hospital. Accordingly, in 1524, the Hospital of Incurables was founded by a nobleman named Hector Vernassa. Since that time many successive additions have been made to the building, which thus, from want of uniform plan, presents an irregular, though not unimposing appearance. The female hospital is a separate establishment, connected with the other by an arcade. The main building itself is very much broken up into separate wards; and indeed a casual visitor could form no idea of the enormous extent of the hospital, which only can be conceived after a careful and leisurely inspection. This immense institution, as well as the Pammatone, is under the care of religious sisters in every way resembling our Sisters of Charity and Mercy. The spiritual wants of the patients are tended by the good Capuchins of a neighbouring community; and a thousand little offices of charity and tenderness are discharged by the members of several religious con-

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\* The Magazzino, or store-house of the hospital, is well deserving of a visit. The tasteful arrangement of the linens, &c. upon the shelves which surround the apartment, produces a very singular but pleasing effect; and (*ex pede Herculem*) the scrupulous neatness of these minute particulars may serve as an evidence of the attention which is paid to the essential wants of the inmates.

† Starke's Italy, i. p. 170. In the Conservatorio attached to the establishment is a beautiful chapel, in which the body of St. Catherine Fieschi is preserved upon the precise spot in which she died in 1510.

fraternities in the city, which rival those of Rome in their devotedness and zeal.

It would carry us beyond the space at our disposal to particularize several other institutions, less splendid than those already specified, but each, in its own sphere, the centre of incalculable good, and all in themselves extremely interesting. "The hospitals of Genoa vie with its palaces in magnificence, and seem more than sufficient for all the disease and misery that could exist in so small a state."\* But we cannot omit at least to mention the new Manicomio, or lunatic asylum, which has just been opened, and which may well challenge competition with even the most glorious charities of the olden city.

In concluding this brief notice of the principal charitable institutions of Genoa, there is one feature characterizing them all, to which we cannot help adverting,—the thoroughly religious character which they all present. It is impossible to enter a Genoese hospital or asylum without feeling at once that, if there be suffering there, it is not of that dark or gloomy cast which leads to despair. Wherever you turn, every object reminds you that the charity which here ministers to the wants of its fellow-creatures, is the true charity of the Gospel. Religion has everywhere set its stamp. No matter what may be the nature of the distress which seeks relief, or the sorrow which asks for consolation, every object speaks the consoling admonition which is inscribed upon the wall of the Albergo, "*Neque dicas non est Providentia.*" What a contrast between the purchased and perfunctory attendance of the nurses of an English hospital, or the hired menials of an English work-house, and the loving and gentle ministrations of a sister of mercy in the Pammatone, or a pious member of those confraternities which devote themselves to the care of the Albergo! It is not alone by the amount of physical comfort provided for the poor that the charity of the donor is to be estimated,—this would be a low and unworthy standard; it is by the spirit in which it is done, and the self-devotion which it bespeaks. And indeed there is everything in the arrangements of the Genoese institutions to prove that the adoption of the touching title of the "Father of the poor," in the inscriptions on the walls, is no idle boast. Enter one of those noble establishments. Everything which meets your eye reminds you that, amply as all the temporal wants of the inmates are tended and relieved, the more

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\* Forsyth, p. 7.



important concern of their eternal interest is still more anxiously watched over. The thousand little devices, simple, though solid, which Catholic piety has invented, to keep before our eyes the recollection of God's presence, and of our own immortal destinies, are here employed with the most consoling effect. The holy altar, distinctly visible from every bed, in every part of the hospital; the little image of our blessed Lord upon the cross, or of her whom from that cross He gave to be our Mother; the words of hope and consolation which are printed upon the walls, and meet the eye of the sufferer whithersoever he turns; still more the tender and unfailing attentions of the pious sisterhood, who watch every look, and hang upon every word of the patient that gives hope of conversion to God; are admirably calculated to soften the most obdurate heart, and draw it back to religion, however long and wayward its wanderings may have been.

We remember to have met, in one of our English tourists, a sneer at the pious attentions of the Italian clergy to the spiritual wants of the sick in the public hospitals. The writer was speaking of the hospitals of Genoa. His philosophical benevolence could not reconcile itself to this intrusion upon the quiet of the dying hour; and his sensitiveness was shocked to find "priests and choristers in the hospital of the incurables, chaunting between two rows of wretches, whom their pious noise would not suffer to die in peace."\* We are sure there are few who will admire the tender-heartedness of this sentimental scoffer; and we are satisfied there are still fewer who will covet for their last hour the peace which is purchased at such a price. For our own part, we can never forget the impression which our first visit to an Italian hospital produced upon our mind. The calm and contented looks of the poor inmates told us that, whatever were their physical sufferings, at least there was peace within. Here and there, by the bed-side of the patients, were seated the Capuchin confessors of the establishment, whispering consolation and counsel into the ear of the dying man. Sisters of mercy, with noiseless step, were flitting from place to place, like angels of peace; now ministering to some of the sufferers, now stopping to address an enquiry or an exhortation as they passed along, followed by the grateful looks and thankful benedictions of those to whom they were thus devoting their lives. Members of the confraternities, in their peculiar habit,

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\* Forsyth, p. 6.

which effectually conceals the person, and levels all distinction of rank, were praying with those whose danger was most imminent, and where the stole (the sign of jurisdiction) placed upon the foot of the bed, indicated that extreme unction had been administered, there stood the chaplain, the sentinel of the Church in this last hour, — a post which he is bound by his office not to desert till the final struggle is over. The frescoes and paintings which decorated the walls were well calculated to assist and encourage the pious impressions thus produced. They held forth to those who were in grievous pain, holy Job upon his dunghill; to the desponding they pointed to our Lord healing the mother-in-law of Peter, or calling Lazarus from the dead; to the impenitent they denounced the terrors of God's judgment in another life; to the despairing they shewed Magdalen, or the woman taken in adultery; to all they told of the mystery of our Lord's love for us, and hushed every motion of doubt or despair, by the consoling example of the thief upon the cross, and the last words of our Lord for his enemies and persecutors.

We shall not stop to contrast this blessed scene with the picture which we might draw of one of our London hospitals, or compare this "pious noise" with the peace in which the unhappy sufferers are there "permitted to die." We are well assured there are few, even of those who differ from us in creed, that will hesitate as to the preference. Nor shall we place the tenderness and delicacy with which every want is there relieved, so as to divest poverty, as far as possible, of its humiliation, with the barbarous principle of English charity, recently introduced in our Irish poor-houses,—to give to the poor the least possible degree of relief, and throw every possible obstacle in the way of their receiving it. For ourselves, we frankly acknowledge that this solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the sick and the poor, this happy and judicious union of charity and religion, is in our eyes the great charm of the public institutions of Italy; and that it far outweighs the munificence (though this, too, is beyond all praise), which has always distinguished the nobles of this misrepresented country, "whose chief gratification has always consisted in amassing wealth, for the laudable purpose of expending it on public works and public charities."\*

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\* Starke's Italy, ii. p. 171.

ART. IV.—*Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusur Canori.* Collegit atque edidit Henricus Drury, A.M. Cantabrigiæ: Typis Academicis excusus. M.DCCC.XLI.

THIS is an exquisite volume. We have read it over and over again, and still with increased pleasure. Every page is set with jewels of beauty—every leaf glitters with Heliconian dew. Here we have some lovely lyric, as sweetly breathed as if Apollo had dictated it; there, some gentle ballad of the olden time, the very name of which hurries us in fancy back to sylvan scenes and sunny landscapes. We renew our acquaintance with Prior, and Ben Jonson, and Suckling, and Shakspeare, and Herrick, and Gray, and Goldsmith, until we are surfeited with luxuries. Nor are we presented with the originals only of those charming writers; but with brilliant and elegant translations also into Greek and Latin, which stand by them, side by side, and reflect even new lustre upon their prototypes. Occasionally, too, we find some pretty vignette peeping through the crowd of songs, like rose-flowers through the foliage, and absolutely compelling us to linger over the pictured page; while, for readers of a stoical cast, who care little for engravings, we have the superior attraction of the names of Bishop Butler, and Porson, Wrangham and Drury, Merivale and Hodgson, whose poems greet us every moment, and gratify all tastes by their excellence and variety. In a word, we do not know a book in the world that better deserves the compliment with which good old Henry Stephens introduced the Teian Anacreon:—

“At tu quicumque es, natus meliore palato  
Nectare et ambrosiâ qui satur esse cupis,  
Qui veneres omnes, omnes gustare lepores  
Graii delicias et cupis eloqui,  
Qui vis Sirenas, Suadæque audire medullam  
Huc ades, huc aures verte animumque tuum,  
Namque his (Cecropio toto si lector Hymetto  
Te satiare potes, te satiare potes.”

And if we were asked what pleasant work we should select as a companion for our rambles, by hill or dale, in the purple morning, or at golden eve, we should have but one name upon our lips, and that *Arundines Cami*—the pleasant reeds of Cam.

For modern Greek and Latin *original* composition we entertain but little respect. It has always appeared to us in no other light than as a cold and lifeless picture of the radiant



and beautiful antique, and calculated to display the writer's knowledge of the "*Gradus ad Parnassum*," and his skill in artfully appropriating from Horace and Virgil the "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," rather than evidencing the labours of his own intellect, or the wealth of his own genius. Those who have worked in this vocation, have done little more than express common-place sentiments in indifferent Latinity; never striving to achieve anything new or great; never penning even one grand line, which would live and immortalize the author; but always confining themselves to the same dull and hackneyed metaphors, summoning to their assistance fauns and naiads, when forests or waterfalls were to be described, and dignifying their agrestic landscapes with the usual number of laughing Pans and zoneless Graces. Gray, the most famous, perhaps, of our modern Latin writers, has nothing to recommend him but the singular elegance of his versification; Vincent Bourne, though he has many couplets which savour of the old and better time, is careless, unpoetical, and uncouth; Sir William Jones makes no pretensions to novelty, and his flowery lines shew that he did not appreciate, or could not follow, the chaste and simple splendours of the Augustan age. When we have named these, we believe we have selected the three stars in our Latin literature; and if we have rightly characterized them, the reader will see how difficult it is to attain excellence in this department of composition, when the ceaseless exertions of Bourne, the classic fancy of Gray, and the golden imagination of Jones, could achieve a renown which, when compared with that of the writers of even the middle ages, is all but secondary.

But, for translations of our modern songs into the Greek and Latin languages, when they are performed with elegance, or fidelity, or talent, we entertain some consideration. They evidence an intimate acquaintance with the tongues into which they are turned; they are the very best specimens of humorous poetical composition, in languages that possess but few—(for can anything be colder than the wit of Martial, or less laughable than the jollity of Aristophanes?) they make us peruse the English originals with more gratification; and they are, nearly in all cases, a species of literary curiosity. Why they should possess so singular a charm we cannot tell,—perhaps it is for the rhyme, perhaps for the eccentricity,—but we never met an accomplished classical scholar who did not enjoy their perusal even much more than the most finished longs and shorts of our greatest names. We have ourselves often got a song in Greek or Latin rhyme by

heart, and chanted it for hours, when we should never think of committing to memory the odes of Gray, or the pastorals of Jones; the monastic hymns of our Church, apart from their sacredness, have at times pleased us more than the most elegant *carmina* that Scaliger or Politian ever wrote; and there are moments when our eyes, glancing along our bookshelves, are irresistibly attracted by the roystering couplets of Walter de Mapes, when the lode-star stanzas of Beza, or Barberini, or Marullus, have vainly sought our notice. This taste of ours it is which makes us like the *Arundines Cami*.

This volume consists of two parts: the first glittering all over with fun;—humorous ballads, nursery rhymes, and laughing couplets, with their accompanying versions in Greek and Latin, being thickly interspersed with the ludicrous melodies of Rogers and Haynes Bayly; the second is of a more solemn cast, and consists principally of religious musings and beautiful Church hymns, right well rendered by the editor into the language of Catholic Rome. For the boisterous gaiety of the first the compiler apologizes (though we hardly think it was necessary to do so), and to the sacred character of the second he thus alludes in his graceful and modest preface:—"Utrum feliciter necne conati sumus monachorum hymnos rythmicos imitari, judicent alii; unum id in hoc loco jure lamentamur, quod ista species carminum, tam casta, tam pulcra, tam plena exercitationis idoneæ, cum in ludis publicis, tum apud academicos nostros, penitus omitta videatur. Quis autem ignorat quam egregia sit hodie ad versiones sacras opportunitas, seu quis illius *Lyræ Apostolicæ*, fila sollicitet, sive circa dædalos flores *Anni Christiani* fundantur vatum examina?" Of the truth of this there can be no doubt. The old Catholic hymns are among the most enchanting pieces of poetry ever devoted to religion; and the men of Cambridge, like those of Oxford, prove the excellence of their taste by appreciating these—the melodies of our Church. They have already got back to the *strains* of the Vatican,—we suppose we shall soon find them returning to the surplices and sacraments. And perhaps O'Connell is not very much mistaken in his prophecy after all, and we shall yet live to hear the storied aisles of Westminster Abbey resounding once again with the music of the Mass.

In our notice of the *Arundines* we shall introduce, incidentally, the labours of one or two other gentlemen in this species of composition, and show that our own Alma Mater—though, little to her credit, she has never sent forth a volume like the

present—numbers, nevertheless, among her *alumni* men who might combat, not unsuccessfully, with the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. Of these the first was the late Dr. Maginn,—a man of great genius and learning. The next is Mr. Serjeant Murphy,—a gentleman of extensive classical attainments. The third, Mr. Edward Kenealy, who is also a member of the bar. From the Greek and Latin prolusions of these gentlemen, which have been given to the world, we shall select a few specimens, which, we think, do no dishonour to Trinity College, Dublin. If we were acquainted with any other Trinity men who have written in this style, we would gladly give extracts from their publications, but we believe these three comprise the entire number;—and a more melancholy proof of the indolence of our university it would be difficult to discover. We hope, however, for better things from her members before long. Have they no ambition? Has not our college been too long pointed at with scorn as the “silent sister”? We would overlook much of her bigotry, if we saw her shine brilliantly in literature.

Come we now to our extracts. The first we lay our hand upon is a polyglott production of Mr. W. J. D. None of his translations are quite perfect.

“THE OLD GENTLEMAN OF TOBAGO,

“There was an old man of Tobago,  
Who lived on rice, gruel, and sago;  
Till much to his bliss,  
His physician said this—  
‘To a leg, Sir, of mutton, you may go.’”

GAMMER GURTON.

“SENEX TOBAGENSIS.

“Jamdudum senior quidam de rure Tobagus,  
Invito madidas carpserrat ore dapes,  
Sed medicus tandem, non injucunda locutus,  
‘Assæ,’ dixit, ‘oves sint tibi cœna senex.’”

“Γερων τις, οἰκῶν τοὺς Τοβαγίους μύχους,  
ἔδειπνοποιεῖ σαγινὴν δηρὸν τροφήν·  
τέλος δ’ ἵατρος εἶπε, χαρμονὴν κλύειν,  
φάγοις ἂν ἤδη πρόβατον, ὦ μάκαρ γέρον.”

“J’ai entendu parler d’un vieillard de Tobag,  
Qui ne mangea longtems que du ris et du sague :  
Mais enfin le médecin lui dit ces mots,  
‘Allez-vous-en, mon ami, au gigot.’”

“Un vecchio, che visse nel Tobago,  
Da lungo tempo inghiottiva sago :  
Ma enfin il medico disse un grato detto ;  
‘Mangiar carne arrostita io vi permetto.’”

To translate “rice, gruel, and sago,” by such a phrase as “*madidas dapes*,” displays great poverty of language, and we



should like to know how many *oves* he was to eat for supper. *χαρμονην κλυειν* ("much to his bliss"), is as bad Greek as we remember ever to have seen. The French appears to us to be defective in its rhymes, as violating the principle of alternate masculine and feminine rhymes, *i. e.* ending with consonants and vowels. In Italian the proper word is *sagù*, and not *sago*; as also *enfin*, in the third line, is not Italian, but Spanish.\*

Exquisitely rendered by Mr. Henry John Hodgson, are those lovely lines of Mrs. Norton—

## THE BLIND MAN'S BRIDE.

When first beloved in vanished hours  
The blind man sought thy hand to  
gain,  
They said thy cheek was bright as  
flowers  
New freshened by the summer's rain.  
The beauty which made them rejoice  
My darkened eyes might never see,  
But well I knew thy gentle voice,  
And that was all in all to me.

At length as years rolled swiftly on,  
They talked to me of Time's decay,  
Of roses from thy soft cheek gone,  
Of ebon tresses turned to grey.  
I heard them; but I heeded not;  
The withering change I could not  
see;  
Thy voice still cheered my darkened  
lot,  
And that was all in all to me.

And still, beloved, till life grows cold,  
We'll wander 'neath the genial sky,  
And only know that we are old  
By counting happy hours gone by.

## CÆCUS AD UXOREM.

Tempore præterito cum te, dilecta pe-  
tebam  
Conjugio mecum jungere cæcus ego;  
Ipsa (susurrabant) ibas pulcherrima  
rerum  
Flore prior verna qui recreatur aqua.  
Quæ tam grata aliis, qui te videre, ve-  
nustas  
Fulserit—heu! oculis abditur illa  
meis;  
Sed blanda est auri tua vox bene cog-  
nita nostræ:  
Id fuit e votis omnibus omne mihi.

At quia labuntur reduces velociter anni,  
Jam formæ memorant plurima damna  
tuæ;  
Quod nigri albescant rugosa in fronte  
capilli  
Quod rosa sit teneris deperitura  
genis.  
Inscius audiui; nec sunt mihi talia  
curæ;  
Effugiant veneres, non ego testis ero;  
Mulsit adhuc mea me vocis dulcedine  
conjux;  
Id fuit e votis omnibus omne mihi.

Sic, dilecta, una sub cœlo errabimus  
almo,  
Dum brevis in nostro pectore vita  
calet;  
Et nisi felices quando numerabimus  
horas,  
Immemores erimus nos simul esse  
senes.

\* The editor sent this criticism to a literary friend, from whom he received an impromptu, which he ventures to insert, as he thinks some readers may prefer it to the version in the text:—

In Tobago vivea un vecchio strano  
Che di riso e sagù era satollo;  
"Puoi di castrato pur mangiar un brano"  
Disse gli il medico, e rallerghello.

Thy cheek may lose its blushing hue,  
 Thy brow less beautiful may be,  
 But oh the voice which first I knew,  
 Still keeps the same sweet tone to  
 me.

Quod si non vultu maneat color ille  
 rosarum,  
 Frons etiam uxori sit minus alba  
 meæ;  
 Vox tua suaviloqua me cepit imagine  
 primum;  
 Vox tua dat liquidum, quod dedit  
 ante, melos.

We think it would not be easy to find, in the entire collection, a match for this sweet and simple version. It realizes Coleridge's definition of good writing,—“the best words in the best places,” to the very letter. There is not a florid word or expression from beginning to end, but all flows on easy and beautiful, like one of Ovid's epistles. The third verse is perfect in its Latinity; and the whole composition adheres strictly to the original. Those who have read Charles Fox's Latin poems, will observe a strong likeness between the structure of his lines and those of Mr. Hodgson. We are sorry we cannot say anything in praise of his version of Goldsmith's “Mad Dog.” It is an indifferent composition; but is well atoned for by the following excellent translation:—

## LOUISA.

Though by a sickly taste betrayed  
 Some may dispraise the lowly maid,  
 With fearless pride I say,  
 That she is healthful, fleet, and strong,  
 And down the rocks can leap along,  
 Like rivulets in May.

And smiles has she to earth unknown,  
 Smiles that with motion of their own  
 Do spread and sink and rise;  
 That come and go with endless play,  
 And ever as they pass away  
 Are hidden in her eyes.

She loves her fire, her cottage home,  
 Yet o'er the moorland will she roam  
 In weather rough and bleak;  
 And when against the wind she strains,  
 Oh might I kiss the mountain rains  
 That sparkle on her cheek.

Take all that's mine beneath the moon  
 If I with her but half a noon  
 May sit beneath the walls

## LOUISA.

Rusticam spernant alii puellam  
*Simplici myrto folia allaborent*  
 Suscipit gratum mea lingua munus  
 Musa refert,  
 Quam *salus* illam decoret vigorque;  
 Quamque veloci pede per profunda  
 Saxa decurrat redeunte sicut  
*Flumina* Maio.

Ridet huic risus similis dearum  
 Qui suas toto veneres in ore  
 Prodit, alterno refluens fluensque  
 Molliter æstu;  
*Pertinax* circumvolitare lusu  
 Sedulo frontem; aut roseum cubile  
 Deserens vultus, oculi in protervis  
 Ignibus abdi.

Parvulo contenta focum paternum  
 Et lares *parvos* amat; at procellæ  
 Immemor grata vice pervagatur  
 Devia montis;  
 Dumque ibi in ventos animosa certat,  
 Imbrium gemmas utinam oscularer,  
 Qui genis in *purpureis pudica*  
 Luce coruscant.

Deme quot rerum videt alta luna,  
 Sit reclinato mihi eum puella  
 Sole fervente aut veteris sub antri  
 Rupe morari;

Of some old cave or mossy nook  
Whene'er she wanders up the brook  
To hunt the waterfalls.

WORDSWORTH.

Aut in umbroso nemorum recessu,  
Fertur ut montis per amata rura aut  
Abditos fontes petit in ruentis

Margine rivi.

H. J. H.

The words we have marked in italics are the only blemishes of this version, and we hope they will be amended in some subsequent edition. The second line is a mere rehash from Horace,—“*Simplici myrto nihil allabores*” (Carm. Lib. i. Od. xxxviii.)—and conveys no idea whatever: *salus* is a foolish word for “healthful”; *flumina* nowhere signifies “rivulet”; *pertinax* should be altered,—*obstinacy* of *smiles* being too poetical for us; *lares parvos*, “little lares,”—we do not remember this phrase in any good writer; the Penates were always about the same size, and the word *parvos* does not express the cottage simplicity of Wordsworth; *pudica luce*, a *modest* light, is perfectly unintelligible; we can comprehend Gray’s “purple light of love,” but a modest light sets us at defiance. May we beg Mr. Hodgson to “reverse his style,” and blot out these faults from his really good translation?

Prior’s song of *Euphelia and Chloe* is translated by Lord John Manners. His lordship’s version we consider inferior, in some respects, to that which accompanies the original in the edition of Prior’s works. We insert the three:—

#### EUPHELIA AND CHLOE.

The merchant, to secure his treasure,  
Conveys it in a borrow’d name;  
Euphelia serves to grace my measure,  
But Chloe is my real flame.

My softest verse, my darling lyre,  
Upon Euphelia’s toilet lay;  
When Chloë noted her desire,  
That I should sing, that I should play.

My lyre I tune, my voice I raise,  
But with my numbers mix my sighs;  
And whilst I sing Euphelia’s praise,  
I fix my soul on Chloë’s eyes.

Mercator vigiles oculos ut fallere possit,  
Nomine sub ficto trans mare mittit  
opes;  
Lene sonat, liquidumque meis Euphelia  
chordis,  
Sed solam exoptant te, mea vota,  
Chloë.

Ad speculum ornabat nitidos Euphelia  
crines,  
Cum dixit mea lux, Heus, care, sume  
lyram;  
Namque lyram juxta positam cum car-  
mine vidit,  
Suave quidem carmen, dulcisonam-  
que lyram.

Fila lyræ vocemque paro, suspiria sur-  
gunt,  
Et miscent numeris murmura mœsta  
meis;  
Dumque tuæ memoro laudes, Euphelia,  
formæ,  
Tota anima interea pendet ab ore  
Chloës.



Fair Chloe blush'd, Euphelia frown'd ;	Subrube illa pudore, et contrahit altera
I sung and gaz'd ; I play'd and trem-	frontem,
bled ;	Me torquet mea mens conscia, psallo,
And Venus to the loves around,	tremo ;
Remark'd how ill we all dissembled.	Atque cupidineâ dixit Dea cincta co-
	ronâ,
	Heu fallendi artem quàm didicere
	parùm.

## LAVINIA ET CHLOE.

Trans mare mercator falso sub nomine currit,  
 Ut vehat intactas dissimulator opes ;  
 Non male perjuram decorat Lavinia musam ;  
 At mihi lux vera est, veraque flamma Chlœ.

Molle meum in thalamo cultæ Lavinia mensæ  
 Addiderat carmen, dulcisonamque lyram ;  
 Quum me blanda Chlœ, quod erat, cantare rogavit,  
 Et non indocta verrere fila manu.

Sollicito chordas, vocemque e pectore mitto ;  
 Sed gemitus inter carmina triste sonant :  
 Dumque audit falsam de se Lavinia laudem,  
 Totus adorato figor in ore Chlœs.

Erubuit formosa Chloe ; Lavinia frontem  
 Contraxit ; cecini contremuique simul :  
 Et Venus ipsa suo ridens clamavit amori—  
 En tria facundis prodita corda genis ! J. M.

We think the lines—

“Lene sonat, liquidumque meis Euphelia chordis  
 Sed solam exoptant te mea vota Chlœ,”

contrast unfavourably with—

“Non male perjuram decorat Lavinia musam,  
 At mihi lux vera est, veraque flamma Chlœ.”

The two lines, “*Molle meum*,” &c., are obscure ; nor can we satisfactorily say *why* his lordship introduces the idiom “*quod erat*” into the third? We question whether *adorato figor in ore* is classical Latin ; and the concluding conceit,—

“En tria facundis prodita corda genis”

certainly holds no comparison with the older and simpler verse,—

“Heu fallendi artem quàm didicere parùm !

The nursery rhymes, to which we alluded in our first pages, may here be noticed. So satisfied are we with them, that we have transcribed nine. We think it would be almost impossible to make them better ; and they will be a source of rich amusement to those who can be pleased with this species of

literature. The Greek version of "The Man of Thessaly," by Bishop Butler, is, perhaps, the least perfect; but the Anacreontic metre into which "The Queen of Hearts" is rendered, is worthy of Henry Stephens himself; and Porson's "Three children sliding on the ice" might have been written by Aristophanes.

## I.

Taffy was a Welshman, and Taffy was  
a thief,  
Taffy came to my house and stole a bit  
of beef;  
I went to Taffy's house; Taffy wasn't  
at home;  
Taffy came to my house and stole a  
marrow bone.  
I went to Taffy's house, Taffy was in  
bed,  
I took up the marrow bone and beat  
about his head.

## II.

As I was going to sell my eggs,  
I met a man with bandy legs,  
Bandy legs and crooked toes:—  
I tripp'd up his heels and he fell on his  
nose.

## III.

Four and twenty tailors  
Went to kill a snail;  
The best man among them  
Durst not touch its tail.  
She put out her horns  
Like a little dun cow,  
Run, tailors, run,  
Or she'll kill you all now.

## IV.

The Queen of Hearts  
She made some tarts  
All on a summer's day;  
The Knave of Hearts  
He stole those tarts,  
And took them quite away.

## I.

Taffius in Cimbris natus fur Taffius  
idem;  
Accessitque fores nostras, carnemque  
bovillam  
Surripuit: frustra pulsabam limina  
Taffi,  
Ille aberat—rediitque meos, velut ante,  
penates,  
Osque medullosum malus abstulit. Ipse  
reversus  
Invenisse domi furem lectoque reclinem  
Lætor, et osse caput raptò sine iudice  
cædo.

F (RANCIS) H (ODGSON).

## II.

Ibam forte forum vendendis impiger  
ovis;  
Obvius incurvis vir mihi fit pedibus,  
Cruribus et varis; mihi supplantare  
misellum  
Sors erat; in nares incidit ille solo.  
F. H.

## III.

Sex quater exhibant sartores impete  
magno,  
Viribus ut junctis limax spumosa pe-  
rurret;  
Nec fuit e numero qui auderet tangere  
caudam!  
Cornua nam extrudens sæviissima sicut  
in agris  
Vacca rubens et nigra, croci contincta  
colore  
Illa suos hostes tremefecit—abite fu-  
gaces  
Sartores, vos dira manent dispendia  
vitæ  
Præsentemque viris intentant omnia  
mortem.  
F. H.

## IV.

Cordium Regina fecit  
Quam suavissimas placentas  
Die diligens æstivo.  
Cordium Fur ille primus  
Princeps idem primo natus  
Furabatur has placentas,  
Penitusque subtrahebat.

The King of Hearts  
He miss'd those tarts,  
And beat the Knave full sore ;  
The Knave of Hearts  
Brought back those tarts,  
And stole them never more.

CANNING.

V.

Ride a cock-horse  
To Banbury cross,  
To see an old woman upon a black  
horse ;  
With rings on her fingers,  
And bells on her toes,  
She shall have music wherever she  
goes.

VI.

This little pig went to market,  
This little pig staid at home ;  
This little pig had a bit of bread and  
butter,  
This little pig had none ;  
This little pig cried wee ! wee ! wee !  
I can't find my way home.

VII.

There was a man of Thessaly,  
And he was wondrous wise ;  
He jump'd into a quickset hedge  
And scratched out both his eyes :  
And when he saw his eyes were out,  
With all his might and main  
He jumped into another hedge,  
And scratched them in again.

VIII.

Hey my chicken, my chicken,  
And hey my chicken, my deary ;  
Such a sweet pet as this  
Was neither far nor neary.

Cordium Rex iracundus  
Novit perditas placentas,  
Acriterque verberavit  
Furem simul filiumque.  
Reddiditque Fur placentas  
Princeps idem primo natus,  
Cordium Fur ille primus  
Neque rursum spoliavit.

F. H.

V.

I, puer, acer eques ; rapiat te mobile  
lignum,  
Crux ubi Banburie plateas exornat avi-  
tas,  
Ut vetulam nigro videas equitare ca-  
ballo :  
Cui gemmæ in manibus, cui tintinna-  
bula plantis  
Plurima, concordii sonitu comitantur  
euntem.

F. H.

VI.

Porculus ille forum se contulit ; ille  
remansit  
Usque domi ; panem butyro porculus  
ille  
Perfusus arripuit ; nullum miser ille ;  
sed eheu !  
Ter repetens ' eheu ! ' clamabat porcu-  
lus ' eheu !'  
Ille ' ego porcinos nequeo reperire Pen-  
ates.'

F. H.

VII.

Ἐξ οὗ τυχόντων Θέτταλος τις ἦν  
ἀνὴρ  
'ὅς ἔργον ἐπεχειρήσει τλημονέστατον  
ἀκανθοχρηνοκοκκόβατον ἐσιήλατο,  
δίσσας τ' ἀνεξώρυξεν ὀφθαλμῶν κόρας.  
ὥς οὖν τὰ πραχθέντ' ἐβλεπεν τυφλὸς  
γεγώς  
οὐ μὴν ὑπεπτηξὺς οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐνκαρδίως  
βάτον τιν' ἄλλην ἡλατ' εἰς ἀκανθίνην  
κάκ τοῦδ' ἐγένετ' ἐξαυτὶς ἐκ τυφλοῦ  
βλέπων.

S (AMUEL) B (UTLER.)

Thessalus acer erat sapiens præ civibus unus,  
Qui mediam insiluit spineta perhorrida sepe,  
Effoditque oculos sibi crudelissimus ambos.  
Cum vero effossos orbes sine lumine vidit,  
Viribus enisum totis illum altera sepes  
Accipit, ut raptos oculos cito reddit egenti.

F. H.

VIII.

O mea pullula blandula,  
O mea pullula suavis,  
Procul in terris aut prope  
Non est, ut hæc, rara avis.



Here we go up, up, up,  
 And here we go down, down, downy,  
 And here we go backwards and for-  
 wards,  
 And here we go round, round, roundy.

## IX.

Three children sliding on the ice,  
 All on a summer's day,  
 As it fell out, they all fell in—  
 The rest they ran away.  
 Now had these children been at school,  
 Sliding upon dry ground,  
 Ten thousand pounds to one penny  
 They had not all been drown'd.  
 You parents that have children dear,  
 And eke you that have none,  
 If you would have them safe abroad,  
 Pray keep them safe at home.

Hic en! ascendimus cœlos,  
 Et hic ubi locus est imus;  
 Hic rursum et prorsum cursamur  
 Et circum, et circum redimus.

F. H.

## IX.

ΚΡΥΣΑΛΛΟΠΗΚΤΟΥΣ τρίπτυχοι κό-  
 ροι ῥοὰς  
 "Ὡρα θέρουσ ψαίροντες ἐντάρσοις ποσὶ  
 Διναῖς ἐπιπτον, οἷα δὲ πιπτευν φιλεί,  
 Ἀπαντες εἴτ' ἔφευγόν δι λελειμενοί.  
 "Ἄλλ' ἐπερ ἤσαν ἐγκεκλεισμένοι μοχ-  
 λοῖς,  
 "Ἡ ποσὶν ὀλισθάνοντες ἐν ξῆρψ πέδψ,  
 Χρυσῶν ἂν ἠθέλησα περιδύσθαι σταθ-  
 μῶν,  
 Εἰμὴ μέρος τι τῶν νέων ἐσωζέτο.  
 "Ἄλλ' ὦ τοκεῖς ὅσοις μὲν ὄντα τυγχάνει,  
 "Ὅσοις δὲ μὴ, βλαστηματ' ἐντέκνου  
 σποράς,  
 "Ἦν ἐντυχεῖς εὐχησθε τὰς θυράζ' ὅδους  
 Τοῖς παισιν, ἐν σφᾶς ἐν δόμοις φυλασ-  
 σετε.

R. P.

It would be idle, and perhaps impertinent, to comment on the admirable finish of these versions. They half lead us to think that the venerable Gammer Gurton was an old Roman or Athenian lady, and that the above rhymes may have been chaunted in the ears of the infant Socrates, or sung while Scipio was dandled on his nurse's knee.

The paucity of Greek compositions in this collection strikes us with surprise. Does Latin only flourish in Cambridge?—or is it preferred to the beautiful language of Hellas? In this entire garland we believe we could not number a dozen; and, strange to say, not one is to be found in the flute-like metre of Anacreon, or the majestic stanzas of Sappho. A translation of Lily's little madrigal, "Cupid and Campaspe," by Mr. George Caldwell, gives us an opportunity of inserting a couple of versions by Serjeant Murphy. To the Greek we particularly point attention, for, with the exception of one or two hasty metres, it is perfectly Anacreontic.

## CUPID AND CAMPASPE.

Cupid and my Campaspè play'd  
 At cardes for kisses;—Cupid pay'd:  
 He stakes his quiver, bow, and arrows,  
 His mother's doves, and teame of spar-  
 rows:  
 Loses them too;—then downe he  
 throws  
 The coral of his lip, the rose

## AMOR ET CAMPASPE.

Ludebant simul alea Cupido et  
 Campaspe mea pignore osculorum:  
 Hæc rapto fruitur; sed ille postis  
 Arcuque et pharetra suis sagittis,  
 Materno pare passerum et columbis,  
 Jactu perdit et illa; perditisque,  
 Promit curalium labri, rosamque  
 Miris ingenitam modis genarum;

Growing on 's cheek (but none knows  
how),

With these the crystal of his brow,  
And then the dimple of his chinne,—  
All these did my Campaspè winne.  
At last he set her both his eyes,—  
She won—and Cupid blind did rise.

O Love, has she done this to thee?

What shall, alas! become of me?

LILY.

Ilis et marmora frontis et latentem  
Addit purpureo sub ore risum ;  
Quæcumque opposuit rapit puella.  
Certat in geminos dehinc ocellos  
Exsurgitque oculis minor Cupido.

O factum male vel Deo! sed in me  
Mortali misero ah quid est futurum?

GEORGE CALDWELL.

BY MR. SERJEANT MURPHY.

Ερως τ' ἐμῇ ταιρῇ  
Καμπάσπα συγκυβέονον  
Φιληματ' ἦν δ' αἶθλα.  
Λυσεν τ' ἐρως ὀφληματ'  
Τοξον, βελη, φάρετρην  
Και μητερος πελειας,  
Στρούθων ζυγον τέθηκεν·  
Ἀπώλεσεν τ' ἀπαντα·  
Χειλους τίθησ' ἐρυθρος  
Ροδον τε των παριων  
(Πως οὐν μὲν οὐτις οἶδεν),  
Κρυστάλλον ἠδ' ἐθήκε  
Τον ἀγλαον μετωπον  
Σφραγισμα και γενειου·  
Καμπάσπ' ἀπαντ' ἀνείλεν.  
Τελος δὲ ὀμματ' ἀμφω  
Ἐθῆκε· ἐτεύξατ' αὐτῷ·  
Τυφλος τ' ἀπώχετ' ὦ' ρος  
Εἰ ταῦτα σοι μεγιστε  
Κακ' ἠδ' Ἐρως ποιήσε,  
Φεν ἀθλιωτάτῳ τι  
Μέλλει ἐμοὶ μῖνεσθαι ;

I.

Nostra Campaspe levis et Cupido  
Aleâ nuper statuere ludos,  
Merx ut hinc illinc foret osculorum—  
Solvit at ille.

II.

Pignerat sorti pharetram, sagittas,  
Par columbarum, Venerisque bigas  
Passeres—eheu, puer aleator  
Singula solvit.

III.

Tum labellorum roseos honores,  
Mox ebur frontis—simul hanc sub imo  
Quæ manu matris fuerat cavata  
Rimula mento.

IV.

Solvit—at postquam geminos ocellos  
Lusit incassum, manet inde cæcus,—  
Sic eum si tu spoliâs, puella!  
Quanta ego solvam?

The editor's contributions now claim our attention. We will insert two;—one in the very highest vein of humour, the other formed on the model of our old Catholic hymns, and not unworthy of the best times.

UNFORTUNATE MISS BAILEY.

A captain bold in Halifax, who dwelt  
in country quarters,  
Deceiv'd a maid, who hanged herself  
one morning in her garters ;  
His wicked conscience smited him, he  
lost his stomach daily,  
Then took to drinking ratafia, and  
thought upon Miss Bailey.  
Oh, Miss Bailey! unfortunate Miss  
Bailey!  
Oh! was there ever such an unfortu-  
nate Miss Bailey?

BALA INFORTUNATA.

Acer in hybernis Halifaxi ad mœnia  
ductor  
Virgineam falso prodidit ore fidem;  
Illa periscelidis nodum trabe vinxit ab  
alta,  
Et mortî infidos se dedit ulta Deos;  
Hunc impermissi torsit mens conscia  
facti,  
Nauseaque exanimis quotidiana  
gulæ;  
Acrior inque dies ardentia vina bibe-  
bat—  
Sed læsæ haud potuit non memor! esse  
Balæ.  
Heu nympha infelix, et iniquis nata  
sub astris!  
Infortunatæ ah perdita fata Balæ!

One night he went to bed betimes, for  
 he had caught a fever;  
 Says he, "I am a handsome man, but  
 I'm a gay deceiver;"—  
 His candle just at twelve o'clock began  
 to burn quite palely:  
 A ghost stepped up to his bedside, and  
 cried "Behold Miss Bailey!"

"Avaunt, Miss Bailey!" then he cried,  
 "your face looks white and mealy;"  
 "Dear Captain Smith," the ghost re-  
 plied, "you've used me ungenteely;  
 The crowner's quest goes hard with me  
 because I've acted frailly,  
 And Parson Big won't bury me, though  
 I am dead Miss Bailey!"  
 Oh, Miss Bailey, unfortunate Miss  
 Bailey!  
 Oh! was there ever such an unfortu-  
 nate Miss Bailey?

"Dear ghost," says he, "with you and  
 I accounts must once for all close,  
 I have a one-pound note within my  
 regimental smallclothes;  
 'Twill bribe the sexton for your grave;"  
 —the ghost then vanished gaily,  
 Saying, "bless you, wicked Captain S.,  
 remember poor Miss Bailey!"

## MORAL.

The ghost was thievishly inclin'd who  
 clear'd the captain's riches,  
 For with his one-pound note we find,  
 she stole his leather breeches!  
 Oh, Miss Bailey, unfortunate Miss  
 Bailey!  
 Nor yet quite so unfortunate, as ras-  
 cally Miss Bailey!

G. COLMAN.

Quadam nocte ierat cubitum maturius  
 æquo;  
 Febre calens jacuit, nec sopor illud  
 erat:  
 Dumque ita—"Bellus ego, sed bellus  
 proditor"—hora  
 Ter quater insonuit; pallida lampas  
 erat:  
 Umbra toro illapsa est, dixitque pro-  
 caciter—"Hæc est  
 Forma puellaris, frigida forma, Balæ."

"In magnam Bala tota cruce!" ca-  
 rissimus ille  
 Clamitat—"os album, pollonis in-  
 star, habes."  
 "O Veneri, Vulcane, tuæ quæ retia  
 texti!  
 Auctor tu sceleris, tu necis"—umbra  
 refert.  
 In me Quæsitore Conjuratique severi  
 Quod laqueo interii, quæ tua culpa,  
 sedent;  
 Pontifice a pingui tumuli mihi justa  
 negantur;  
 Nec tranem Stygios fas inhumata  
 lacus.  
 Væ mulier misera, et blando male  
 credula amor!  
 Infortunatæ ah perdita fata Balæ!"

Miles ad hæc—"Ventum est ut ad ul-  
 timam, dulcis Imago,  
 Viginti solidos hæc mea bracca  
 tenet;  
 Hos cape et exequias, omnis timor ab-  
 sit, habebis;  
 Lætusque excipiet te sine lite Cha-  
 ron."  
 Vix ea fatus erat, subitoque evanuit  
 Umbra;  
 Sique fides, vati, risus in ore fecit;  
 Dixit et egrediens—"Per faustos sis  
 memor annos  
 Infortunatæ, Dux scelerate, Balæ!"

## FABULÆ ACCOMMODATIO.

Nec mora prodigiis!—cum solis vellet  
 ad ortum  
 Quod fuerat moris, miles abire domo,  
 Sensit (nec fas est, qui fur sit, furta  
 queratur)  
 Cum solidis braccas surripuisse Ba-  
 lam!  
 Proh nympha infelix at iniquis nata  
 sub astris!  
 Infortunatæ ah perfida facta Balæ!



Herrick's Litany of the Holy Spirit is thus admirably rendered. We have already got it by heart:—

## LITANY TO THE HOLY SPIRIT.

In the hour of my distress  
When temptations sore oppress,  
And when I my sins confess—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When I lie within my bed,  
Sick in heart and sick in head,  
And with doubts discomfited—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the house doth sigh and weep,  
And the world is drown'd in sleep,  
Yet mine eyes their vigils keep—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the passing bell doth toll,  
And the furies in a shoal  
Come to fright my parting soul—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the tapers all burn blue,  
When the comforters are few,  
And that number more than true—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the priest his last has prayed,  
And I nod to what is said,  
'Cause my speech is now decayed—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When (God knows) I'm toss'd about,  
Either with despair or doubt;  
Yet before the glass runs out—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the tempter me pursueth  
With the sins of all my youth,  
And half damns me with their truth—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the flames and hellish cries  
Fright my ears and fright my eyes,  
And all terrors me surprise—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

When the judgment is revealed,  
And that open which was sealed,  
When to thee I have appealed—  
Sweet Spirit comfort me!

## AD SANCTUM SPIRITUM.

Hora in calamitatis,  
Cum tenter et prober satis,  
O! ut solvar a peccatis,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Cum capite et corde æger  
Miser intus lecto tegar,  
Ne in tenebras releger,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Quando domus flet et gemit,  
Atque sopor mundum premit,  
Nec vigiliis me demit,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Quum campana sonat mortem,  
Furiæque vim consortem  
Jungunt, rapiant ut fortem,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Lampas fuscas dat colores;  
Pauci adstant qui dolores  
Levent—veri pauciores!  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Cum sacerdos summa dabit  
Verba, quæ nutu probabit  
Caput hoc, si vox negabit,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Cum huc illuc (Deus novit)  
Ferar, sicut terror movit,  
Nec stat sanguis qui me fovit,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Cum peccatis me juventæ  
Serpens premit violentæ,  
Vero heu! consentiente,  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Aures gemitus obtundunt!  
Ignes oculos confundunt,  
Nervi sine te succumbunt!  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

En judicium declaratur;  
En patet quod celabatur;  
En vox iras deprecatur—  
Solare, dulcis Spiritus!

Those who are conversant with studies of this nature must have read and admired the exquisite Latin translations of the late venerable and amiable Archdeacon Wrangham. To the

present collection he has contributed several; of the skill with which he has performed his task, the two following specimens will furnish the reader with a tolerable idea:—

I'd be a Butterfly born in a bower,  
Where roses and lilies and violets  
meet;

Roving for ever from flower to flower,  
And kissing all buds that are pretty  
and sweet!

I'd never labour for wealth or for  
power,

I'd never sigh to see slaves at my  
feet,

I'd be a Butterfly born in a bower,  
Kissing all buds that are pretty and  
sweet.

Oh could I pilfer the wand of a fairy,  
I'd have a pair of those beautiful  
wings;

Their summer day's ramble is sportive  
and airy,

They sleep in a rose when the night-  
ingale sings.

Those who have wealth must be watch-  
ful and wary;

Power, alas! nought but misery  
brings;

I'd be a Butterfly, sportive and airy,  
Rock'd in a rose when the nightin-  
gale sings.

What though you tell me each gay  
little rover

Shrinks from the breath of the first  
autumn day,

Sure it is better when summer is over  
To die when all fair things are fading  
away.

Some in life's winter may toil to dis-  
cover

Means of procuring a weary delay—

I'd be a Butterfly, living a rover,  
Dying when fair things are fading  
away.

Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,  
Rosæ ubi liliaque et violæ halent;  
Floribus advolans, avolans, osculo  
Gemmulas tangens, quæ suave olent.

Sceptra et opes ego neutiquam postulo,  
Nolo ego ad pedes qui se volutant—

Ah! sim Papilio natus in flosculo,  
Osculans gemmas quæ suave olent!

Magicam si possem virgam furari,  
Alas has pulcras, aptem mi, *cheu!*

Æstivis actis diebus in aëre,  
Rosa cubant Philomelæ cantu.

Opes quid afferunt?—curas, somnum  
rare:

Sceptra nil præter ærumnas, *cheu!*

Ah! sim Papilio, die volans aëre,  
Rosa cubans Philomelæ cantu!

Quemque horum vagulum dicis horrore  
Frigora autumnî ferire suo:

Ætas quando abiit, mallet ego mori  
Omni quod dulce est cadente pulcro.

Brumæ qui cupiunt captent labore  
Gaudia, et moras breves trahunto,—

Ah sim Papilio: *vivam in errore!!*

Concidamque omni cadente pulcro.

Examining this critically, we have discovered only two faults: the reader will find them marked in italics. The word *flosculo*, in the first verse, is decidedly bad, — it is no translation of the “bower” in the not very sensible original; and *vivam in errore*, does not certainly mean “living a rover.” The archdeacon has not succeeded well in the rhyme. Translations of this kind must needs be perfect in that respect,

otherwise they grate horridly on the ear. Can anything be more musical than Mr. Kenealy's version into Greek of the old Irish song of "Castle Hyde"?

## SWEET CASTLE HYDE.

As I rode out on a summer's morning,  
Down by the banks of Blackwater  
side,  
To view the groves and meadows  
charming,  
And pleasant gardens of Castle Hyde.  
It is there you will hear the thrushes  
warbling,  
The dove and partridge I now de-  
scribe,  
The lambkins sporting each night and  
morning,  
All to adorn sweet Castle Hyde.

If noble princes from foreign places  
Should chance to sail to this Irish  
shore,  
It is in this valley they could be feasted,  
As often heroes had done before.  
The wholesome air of this habitation,  
Would recreate your heart with  
pride,  
There is no valley throughout the na-  
tion,  
With beauty equal to Castle Hyde.

There's a church for service in this fine  
harbour,  
Where nobles often in their coaches  
ride,  
To view the streams and pleasant gar-  
dens,  
That do adorn sweet Castle Hyde,  
There is fine horses and stall-fed oxen,  
And a den for foxes to play and hide,  
Fine mares for breeding and foreign  
sheeping,  
And snowy fleeces in Castle Hyde.

The richest groves in this Irish nation,  
In fine plantations you'll find them  
there,  
The rose and tulip and fine carnation,  
All vie with the lily fair.  
The buck, the doe, the fox, the eagle,  
Do skip and play by the river side,  
The trout and salmon they play back-  
gammon,  
In those clear streams of Castle  
Hyde.

## "Ἦδυν Πυργ-"Υδεον.

Βαδίζων ἄρτι ἡματι θερίνῃ  
Παρ' ὄχθας κρηνῆς μελανύδρου,  
Ἐχαίρον ἰδεῖν κάλλει ἑαρίνῃ  
Στίλβοντας κηποὺς Πυργ-"Υδεον.  
Ἐνταυθ' ἀκουσεῖς ὄρνεις μέλποντας,  
Τρήρωνος ψῆδ' ἡν καὶ κοράκιον,  
Ἀμνοὺς μὲν οὔφει καὶ ἀθυροντας—  
Κόσμημα μέγα Πυργ-"Υδεον.

"Ἡρώες' εἰ μὲν χωροῖς πλώοιεν  
Ἀλλοτριόις εἰς τὸ νησιον,  
'Ἐν ὕλῃ ταυτῇ κρεῖας φαγοίεν  
"Ἡμετεροὶ ὥς γε πρότερον.  
Τὸ πνευμ' οἰκισκου τοῦ ὕγεινόν  
Τῇν κραδίην μὲν ἀρεσκοὶ σου,  
Ἰμεροῦν' παν τ' ἐστ' ἐρατεῖνον  
Ἀμφ' αλσέα γὰρ Πυργ-"Υδεον.

Ἐν λίμνῃ ἴσταται νεῶς μὲν ψυχὰς  
"Ἡγεμονων σωζέειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
Θεοὺς μηδέποτε λεγουσὶν ἔνχας,  
Πυργὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιούτων οὐρανός.  
Βοεὶς καὶ ἑσὶν, ταυροὶ τε ἵπποι,  
Ἐστ' αλωπηξὶ ἄντρον δῆπον,  
Οἷς εἰσὶν ὄνοι καὶ πίπποι  
Ἐν ταῖς ἀρουραῖς Πυργ-"Υδεον.

Τουτοῖς μὲν δρόμοις ἀνθῶν ἀνάσσα,  
'Ρόδον ζηλοῖ τὸ λείριον,  
'Ο κόσμος ἔνυχος καὶ ἱερὰ πᾶσα  
Οὐκ ἔχει χώρον ευφορότερον.  
'Ο' ελαφὸς τ' αἶετος ποιζοῦσι  
Σὺν αλωπηξὶ πάρα πόταμῳ,  
Ἰχθυεὶς αἶι καὶ πεσσενοῦσι  
Καλῇσι ῥοῇς' ἐν Πυργ-"Υδεον.



I rode from Blarney to Bally-Kenealy,  
 To Thomastown and sweet Done-  
 raile,  
 To sweet Kilshannock and gay Rath-  
 cormick,  
 Besides Killarney and Abbey-fail.  
 The river Shannon and pleasant Boyne,  
 The flowing Barrow and rapid Bride,  
 But in all my ranging and serenading  
 I saw no equal to Castle Hyde.

Βλαρνέας ὕλαι καὶ Βαλλή Κενεαλη,  
 Τὸ Θῶμας-αστυ καὶ Ἰλαρον,  
 Ράθοκορμάκος τὲ φίλ' Αββήφαιλη  
 Θαμὰ μὲν κραδίην ἑβασκάνον.  
 Εωράκα μὲν Σεννάνον ῥοας  
 Βαρρῶν ῥέεθρα καὶ Βρύδεον,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδαμ' ὄψω ῥέεθρ' ἢ πόας,  
 Ομοία τούτων Πυργ-Υδεον.

Thus it is that translations of this kind should be rendered, —want of melody being a fatal fault. The Archdeacon has, however, succeeded better in his adaptation of Suckling. We have ransacked it closely for an error, and have failed to detect one. The rhymes too are good.

## WHY SO PALE.

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?  
 Prythee why so pale?  
 Will, when looking well can't move  
 her,  
 Looking ill prevail?  
 Prythee why so pale?

Why so dull and mute, fond lover?  
 Prythee why so mute?  
 Will, when speaking well can't win  
 her,  
 Saying nothing do 't?  
 Prythee why so mute?

Quit, quit for shame! this will not  
 move,—  
 This cannot take her;  
 If of herself she will not love,  
 Nothing can make her,—  
 The devil take her.

## CUR PALLES.

Cur tener palles amator?  
 Fare, cur palles?  
 Quod rubenti denegatur  
 Tune pallens id feres?  
 Fare cur palles?

Cur puer taces amator?  
 Fare cur taces?  
 Eloquenti quod negatur  
 Idne tu tacens feres?  
 Fare, cur taces?

Abstine, abstine, pro pudorem!  
 Istud haud movet;  
 Sponte ni sentiat amorem  
 Nil eam flectet,—  
 Orcus occupet!

F. W.

Having thus slid into the transcription of rhyming songs, we may as well introduce here a portion of one by Dr. Maginn. It would be difficult to find any more perfect in language, music, and fidelity to the original. Its rich and radiant humour, also, will serve to amuse our readers: and its example may, perchance, serve to make our Cambridge men look a little more carefully to their rhymes in future, and not fright us with such Cockneyisms as the following:—

“Illa adamantino stringitur cordi

Nexu et vinculo — scilicet *audi!!*” [aurdi, Cocknicè.] p. 179.

or this,—worthy only of a Ratcliffe-highway cobbler:—

“Abiit, abiit; sed reminiscimur

Tremuli, mæsti; en sedes *ipsissima*.” (ipsissimar.) p. 181.

BISHOP ANDREWS.

## II.

I love no rost but a nut browne toste,  
 And a crab laid in the fire ;  
 A little breade shall do me steade,  
 Much breade I not desyre.  
 No frost, nor snow, nor winde, I trow,  
 Can hurt me if I wolde,  
 I am so wrapt and throwly lapt  
 Of jolly good ale and olde.

## III.

And Tyb, my wife, that as her lyfe  
 Loveth well good ale to seeke,  
 Full oft drinkes shee, tyl ye may see  
 The teares run downe her cheeke.  
 Then doth she trowle to me the bowle,  
 Even as a malt-worm shuld,  
 And sayth, "Sweet hart, I took my  
 parte  
 Of this jolly good ale and olde."

DR. MAGINN.

## II.

Assatum nolo — tostum volo —  
 Vel pomum igni situm ;  
 Nil pane careo — parvum habeo  
 Pro pane appetitum.  
 Me gelu, nix, vel ventus vix  
 Afficerent injuria ;  
 Hæc sperno, ni adessit mi  
 Zythi veteris penuria.

## III.

Et uxor Tybie, qui semper sibi  
 Vult quærere zythum bene,  
 Ebibit hæc persæpe, nec  
 Sistit dum madeant genæ.  
 Et mihi tum dat cantharum,  
 Sic mores sunt bibosi ;  
 Et dicit, "Cor, en ! impleor  
 Zythi dulcis et annosi."

The masterly skill with which Mr. Serjeant Murphy has translated the following melody does not require our praise. There are one or two words which might be altered, but on the whole it is a fine version.

BY MR. SERJEANT MURPHY.

Wreath the bowl  
 With flowers of soul,  
 The brightest wit can find us ;  
 We'll take a flight  
 Towards heaven to-night  
 And leave dull earth behind us.  
 Should Love amid  
 The wreath be hid,  
 That joy th' enchanter brings us,  
 No danger fear  
 While wine is near,  
 We'll drown him if he stings us.

'Twas nectar fed,  
 Of old 'tis said,  
 Their Junos, Joves, Apollos ;  
 And man may brew  
 His nectar too, —  
 The rich receipt as follows.  
 Take wine like this,  
 Let looks of bliss  
 Around it well be blended,  
 Then bring wit's beam  
 To warm the stream,  
 And there's your nectar splendid.

Στεψωμεν ουν κοπελλον  
 Τοις ανθεμοισι ψυχης,  
 Τοις φερτατοις φρενες γ'α  
 Ημιν δυναιντ' εφευρειν.  
 Ταυτη γαρ ουρανονδε  
 Τη νυκτι δει πετασθαι  
 Ταυτην λιποντες αιαν.  
 Ει γ' ουν ερωσ λαθοιτο  
 Τοις στεμματεσσ' α Τερψις  
 Ημιν μαγος διδωσιν,  
 Ουπω ροβος γεινοιτο  
 Ως γαρ παρεστιν οινος  
 Βαψωμεν ειγε κεντει.

Ως μοι λεγουσι νεκταρ  
 Παλαι επινον ΗΡΑΙ  
 Και ΖΗΝΕΣ ηδε ΦΟΙΒΟΙ.  
 Εξεστι και βροτοισιν  
 Ημιν ποιειν το νεκταρ'  
 Ποιητεον γαρ ωδε'  
 Τουντον λαβοντες οινον  
 Του χαρματος προσωποις  
 Αμφι σκυφος στεφοντες  
 Τότε φρενων φαινην  
 Ποτω χεουντες αυγην  
 Ιδου παρεστι νεκταρ.

Say why did Time  
 His glass sublime  
 Fill up with sands unsightly,  
 When wine he knew  
 Runs brisker through  
 And sparkles far more brightly?  
 Oh lend it us  
 And smiling thus  
 The glass in two we'd sever;  
 Make pleasure glide  
 In double tide  
 And fill both ends for ever.

Τιπτ' ουν Χρονος γε ψαμμῷ  
 Τὴν κλεψυδραν ἐπλησε  
 Τὴν ἀγλαὴν αἰκεῖ;  
 Εὐ μὲν γὰρ οἶδεν, οἶνον  
 Ταχύτερον διαρρεῖν  
 Στίλπνωτερον τε λαμπεῖν  
 Δος οὖν δος ἡμῖν αὐτὴν  
 Καὶ μειδιῶντες οὕτως  
 Τὴν κλεψυδρὰν σχίσαντες  
 Ποιήσμεν γέ διπλῶ  
 Ρεῖν ἡδονὴν ρεθρῶ  
 Εμπλησομεν τ' εταῖροι  
 Ἀμφὶ κутη ἐς αἰεῖ.

Mr. Kenealy translates into Greek with similar ease. We have all listened to, and laughed at, Brian O'Linn, in his English dress; it remained for a young lawyer to introduce him to the fireside circle of King Otho, and the Latin conversaziones of Hungary—a feat accomplished by Mr. Kenealy in spirited versions, which our space, unfortunately, forbids our inserting.

There is one distinguished ornament of Cambridge, whose writings, though not extracted from in the *Arundines*, are eminently worthy of a place therein. We allude to that accomplished scholar, Mr. Justice Williams (himself formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.) We have been favoured with a privately printed copy of some Greek poems by his lordship, and so greatly do we admire the Athenian elegance and spirit with which they are composed, that, pressed as we are for space, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing here two epigrams, by which we have been particularly struck. This species of writing seems to have not a little engaged his lordship's attention, and he has succeeded in transfusing into his compositions the simple and delicate beauty which characterised the *epuscula* of the old men of Hellas, and which renders the *Anthologia* the most delightful record that we have of the classic grace with which Greek intellect adorned all that it touched.

The pleasure to be derived from a perusal of these polished trifles, epigrams, is thus happily illustrated by his lordship: "Ut in statuâ, aut picturâ, dummodo probetur, pars nulla eminentior esse debet, sed ex totâ contemplanti sensim elucet pulchritudo; sic in iis epigrammatibus quæ laudantur maximè, ita afficitur lector, ut delectari se sentiat, nec causam delectationis planè intelligat, perlegenti autem diligentius atque animum intendenti crescit admiratio." And the most excellent commentary on his words that we can give,



will be to insert here an epigram which in every way exemplifies what he has said :—

## ON DEATH.

1839. "Ἡλιε χαῖρε μέγιστε, καὶ ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα Σελήνης,  
Καὶ νυκτὸς βλεφάρων λαμπάδες οὐράνιαι,  
'Ανθρώπων τε γένος θεοειδές, ποικιλοβουλον,  
'Ελπίς' ἐπαλλήλοις ἀντιμεθελκομένον'  
Φροντίδες αἱ πολιοκρόταφοι, τύχη, ἄλγέ', ἄεθλα  
'Ερρώσθ',— εἰν Αἰδῇ τον γλυκύν ὕπνον ἔχω.

We have attempted a paraphrase, but with no hope of doing justice to an epigram, whose attic sweetness and moral are worthy of Meleager himself :—

Farewell—farewell, thou glorious Orb of day,  
And thou Selenè, with thy silv'ry eyes;  
Farewell ye Stars that gild th' empyreal way,—  
Fortune, and Fame, and Deeds of high emprise,  
Man born to win and rule the radiant skies!  
And haggard Care, and Grief, and Hope, and Pain,—  
All, all farewell! My franchis'd spirit flies  
Heavenward, to shine within its new domain,  
Nor earthly thought nor wish ever to feel again!

Those who have studied the *Anthologia* need not be reminded of the truly Greek spirit of the last line.

The second extract we shall make is loftier in pretension, but is not more beautiful than the first; it is —

## ON THE STATUE OF APOLLO.

1815. Οὐρανίων κλιμάτων συλήσας αἰθάλοεν πῦρ  
'Ο κλέπτῃς ὁ πάλαι θνητὸν εἰενξε γένος'  
Αὐτὰρ ὁ θαυμάσιος γλυπτὴρ πινυτόφρονι τέχνῃ  
'Αθανάτων δύναμιν καὶ μένος εἰργάσατο—  
Εκτέταμαι θυμὸν — ποιος τις κυδεῖ γαίων;  
Οὐ τύπον εἰσοράεις, ὦ γαθὲ, — παντα θεός'  
Αὐτὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ τοξευτής, αὐτὸς Ἀπολλων  
Θρώσκει ἐπὶ κρήπιδ' οὐπανόθεν καταβας.

THE ABOVE PARAPHRASED BY THE HONOURABLE MR. BARON ALDERSON AND MYSELF.

## [TO THE SCULPTOR.]

If that Prometheus stole the fire divine,  
What was his daring, when compared to thine?  
He did but warm to life the senseless clod,  
But thou hast made the marble seem a god ;—  
A present god! as on that form I gaze,  
A present god! I cry in wild amaze:  
Fresh from the triumph, glorying in his might,  
The all-conquering Archer, lord of heat and light,—  
Apollo's self confest before our eyes  
Bounds on the base, new lighted from the skies!

Would that we had room for more. All are elegant,—all worthy of the romantic land of muse and demigod in whose language they are written. But we have already trespassed on our space, otherwise we should do ample justice to this charming little book. We conclude, inserting the words of the late Lord Tenterden, written in court to Mr. Justice Williams, on receiving some of his lordship's Greek *scripta* :—

“ Si quali cuperem referre possem  
Græco carmine gratias referrem ;  
Hunc linguâ accipias precor Latinâ  
Nec tu versiculum poeta temnas.”

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ART. V.—*Reports of the Children's Employment Commission.*  
Presented by command of Her Majesty to both Houses of Parliament.

THE extension of inquiry into the moral and domestic condition of the working classes, is among the best fruits of the growing Christianity of government. It is not doubted, that the welfare of society mainly depends on the minor and daily influences which mould the conduct, and determine the position of the people; and especially of the industrial classes. Nevertheless, until latterly, legislation has proceeded on a shallow knowledge of the actual state of the great bulk of the governed, and almost without regard to the sources of the evils which government exists to cure. We have legislated at far too great a distance from the objects of legislation. Our laws have grappled with the results, rather than the roots of the evil. A practical and intimate knowledge of the habits, thoughts, character, circumstances, and ignorances of the people, has been virtually, if not avowedly, deemed irrelevant to the duties of an office whose object is popular welfare!

A new page has been now opened in the science of government. A closer view of those committed to its care has been deemed advisable, and will be ere long systematised as essential. Power has descended from its state stilts, and visited the homes and haunts of the working people. The system of *laissez faire*, so judicious where administration feels its incapacity to legislate beneficially, is admitted to be criminal where it is competent and willing to administer wisely.

Legislative interference with the concerns of society cannot be approved or condemned *abstractedly*. No one can deny the benefit of an interposition productive of good; whether it be interposition of a public character, or with respect to the more private relations of life. A sense of what is right among the people is unquestionably the best security against the evils of immorality, or the physical grievances which cupidity may inflict on a state. We would far rather see a people set themselves right by reason, than kept right by authority. But this is not always possible. Laws are often indispensable to the fruition of the moral agencies. Religious ministry, of all others the highest moral agent, has often no access to the people, if the state do not open the way.

The Reports of the Children's Employment Commission on Mines afford a peculiarly striking evidence of this truth. The fearfully degraded state of this laborious class would never have been known without the official inquiry which has brought it to light, after centuries of concealment. Equally manifest is it, that no efforts of individual philanthropy would suffice to eradicate the evils of a system, which is carried on out of the sight of those who are sufficiently disinterested to desire its amendment and work out the remedy. Moreover the inveteracy of habit among miners, and the peculiarities and severity of mineral labour, effectually prohibit the access of instruction to their minds by any of the ordinary means of education. The daylight of life is consumed in the mines, to which children are consigned at an infant age; whilst the associations to which they are subjected, especially where females are employed, debase and demoralize. Hence we find a race, living and rearing generation after generation, alienated from the civilization of the land; shortening stature and life by premature and excessive draughts of strength in youth; engendering early decrepitude of body, and absolute darkness of mind; perpetuating habits which degrade the dignity of industry; outraging even the natural distinctions of sex and decency; and reducing no insignificant portion of the working classes, to a condition of life and labour on a parity with brutes. That this canker in our community cannot be remedied by appliances apart from the authority and universality of law, Mr. Wilson, a highly respected and experienced coal master in Yorkshire, has amply shown in his evidence. (Part I. 258.) He says—

“I have always found in uneducated men a great indisposition to work any new system which they do not approve or understand.



They invariably evade their duty, and are exceedingly ingenious in doing so; or they will enforce a rule, where it happens to produce a strong case of hardship, and thus throw odium on the regulation in order to get rid of it.

“This is a point well worthy of consideration, *because it might be thought that an employer had only to insist, and his orders would be obeyed*; or that, if not obeyed, he ought to dismiss his agent. But an agent who understands the practical part of his business, and attends to it, is too valuable to be lightly parted with, and especially when there would be no hope of better success with his successor.”

Where evils so extensive and obnoxious are thus irremovable by other means, there can be little doubt that legislative interference is an infringement on the rights of property, far more defensible, than the wrongs to society which property permits, and avows its inability to remove. It is futile to say the people are their own masters. No people in a state of dense ignorance are, ever were, or ever will be their own masters. They have not the power of choice; they have not the knowledge either to understand their own condition, or to see the means of mending it. This applies peculiarly to colliers.

The colliers in East Scotland were, till 1775, slaves by law; in that year they were emancipated, by the 39th Geo. III, c. 56. They were emancipated, but not educated; and the result was that they did not understand freedom, and *continued slaves* by force of habit, undergoing “barbarous and cruel slavery” for nearly thirty years,—a slavery but little modified at the present time. See the Report of R. H. Franks, Esq., on Scotland, § 14, *et seq.*

The neglect of the minds and comforts of the poorer, by the higher classes of society, has long ranked among the gravest crimes of communities, and foremost among the sins of England. The professed paternity of government has not prevented monstrous neglect of one half of its offspring. With free trade in all sorts of mental poison, and liberty in the wildest abuses of labour, amidst activity of evil and indolent knowledge, the masses have long lain in the abyss of ignorance and demoralization, fostered by the slumber of government and the dead repose of ministerial morals.

Of late years, individual philanthropy and Christian knowledge, if they have failed in removing the evil, have at least brought it into light. If we cannot congratulate ourselves on abuses effectually abolished, some are already mitigated; and we see cheering proof of the awakening energy of bene-

volence. The indifference of intellect to ignorance is passing away. The appreciation of the interests of intelligence is growing with the strength of higher and holier motives; and there is something more than a mere admission of the policy of educating those among whom we live, gaining ground amongst the Christian public. The peril to peace and property which ignorance engenders, has been long acknowledged; the efforts to remove it are day by day more and more empowered and sanctified by the perception of the Christian duty of uplifting our fellow-beings from a state of degradation and darkness, which preys on the vitality of their social welfare, renders them bad neighbours, bad members of families, dangerous citizens, and negligent workmen.

To Lord Ashley high praise is due for the development of this mighty peril in one of its worst phases. He has done *more* than this; he has given a practical rebuke to that indifference towards the poor, which has been the main cause of schism between the two great classes, on whose union the prosperity of both depends,—an indifference which tolerates ignorance, and aggravates the grievances of the poor and their peril to the rich.

The physical condition of the mining population has been already well and amply discussed; but the moral and mental state of the objects of this inquiry has yet to be exhumed from the large volumes which contain the researches of the sub-commissioners.

The evidence they give of the state of morals and minds in this important sphere of industry, appears to us to be among the most important revelations yet made on the subject of education. We therefore propose to gather the most graphic and illustrative portions of the evidence and facts from these interesting reports, which relate to morals and education.

The mines of Ireland presented far fewer circumstances of extreme toil or suffering than those of England and Scotland. The scandal of female labour in mines does not exist in Ireland; and whether arising from these facts, or from the serious indisposition of the commissioner, the reports on Irish collieries are remarkably sterile and pointless. We glean only the following facts. Speaking of the County Wicklow mines, Mr. Roper says:—

“There is a market at Avoca on the pay days: I was present at one, which was attended by most of the miners and their families, and many families from the neighbourhood; and although during

the day I should think there must have been upwards of one thousand people, yet not one instance of intoxication did I see. This market has all kinds of supplies, principally of food, likely to be wanted by the miners, for whose convenience entirely I believe it was instituted, not being an acknowledged market.

"I regret to say that, notwithstanding they have left off whiskey-drinking, they do not appear to have acquired any very provident habits as to the disposal of their money, if I may judge from the appearance of their cabins, for, generally speaking, more wretched, dirty, and filthy habitations I never beheld. I believe there are some of the miners who have money in the Savings Bank. There are Sunday and day-schools in the neighbourhood, and a national school; there is also a school in connexion with the Ballymurtagh mine, on the principle of the national school, and one about to be established at the Ballygahan mine; indeed the children of the poorer classes appear to be well provided with schools."

Far otherwise is the account of other districts. At the Allihies copper mines—

"The people are almost entirely uneducated; many of the young persons of whom I made inquiries could neither read nor write, or had ever been to school; many of the parents said it was as much as they could do, and sometimes more, to provide food for their families."

At the Kenmare copper and lead mines, Mr. Roper "regrets to say that they may be said to be almost entirely uneducated;" whilst at the Lackamore copper mine "Education is almost but a name among them."

In West Scotland Mr. Tancred speaks of the "utterly depraved state" in which a large portion of the colliery and iron-work hands are living; one, he elsewhere says, "upon the existence of which, in a civilized country, we cannot reflect without a deep feeling that it manifests something essentially defective in our religious and educational institutions."

Mr. Franks describes in the strongest terms the effects of the outrageous abuses of the East Scotland collieries. The colliers there spend whole nights in "beastly inebriety;" the mothers there are inapt in household work, and management of their homes; and the persons of their children swarm with vermin; "many unmarried females are particularly loose;" "the decent proprieties of domestic life" are disregarded; and so immoral and degrading is the effect of female labour prevalent in the mines, "that other classes of operatives refuse intermarriage with the daughters of colliers who are wrought in the pits." "The age at which the children



commence working, together with the hours of labour, entirely check their education, corrupt their morals, and forbid us to hope for any physical, social, or moral improvement in a succeeding generation, without a discreet limitation."

In Northumberland, though no females work in the collieries, and morals are, as is always the case, superior in chastity to where they are employed, the evidence abounds with accounts of their systematic deceit and other vices. The Rev. Hugh Nanny, vicar of Jarrow, writes:—

"The morals of the children here are very bad, their education almost none; their intellect very much debased, both from their habits at home and their employment in the pit. One great cause is large families being pent up in small habitations."

The religion of the colliers of Northumberland is more akin to superstition than piety:—

"It has been shown (says Mr. Morison) that persons employed about collieries possess prejudices of a remarkable nature, and a credulity which often sets the dictates of reason at defiance, peculiarities of the human mind that may be stated to be the rude fabric on which religion amongst all people is based. It will not, therefore, be wondered at, that however great may be the excesses of pitmen, a religion is a very important and essential feature in the constitution of their social economy. In a colliery village of any standing, we find two or three dissenting chapels devoted to the various offshoots from Methodism—Wesleyans, Ranters, Kilhamites, New Connexion, and Warrenites; sects which appear to differ from each other very little in points of government, and less in doctrinal points. The dissenting chapels at collieries are well attended, and prayer meetings are held in them during the week. In the county of Durham there are to be found most excellent clergymen of the Church of England, connected with churches near colliery villages, whose moderation exerts a beneficial influence over the minds of pitmen."

A far less favourable account is given by Mr. Daniel Liddell, of Newcastle. (Evid. No. 634, p. 710.)

"A very small proportion of the colliery population attend a place of worship on Sundays, and there are large collieries at which not a single pitman or any of his family attends the parish church. The chapels at collieries are for the Methodists, and the services in these are conducted by local preachers. On Sundays the older persons meet and pass their time in frivolous or impure conversation. The youths resort to the fields and engage in amusements; these amusements are frequently of a barbarous character, as many of the colliery boys have dogs. Few of the colliery population of Northumberland become inmates of the gaols, but crime prevails to a considerable extent among the colliery

population of Durham, which ranks lower in the scale of intelligence and respectability. At some collieries the mechanics are generally at work as usual on the Sundays."

The South Durham district, inspected by Dr. Mitchell, though it presents a much more favourable aspect than that, of the morals of the majority of the collieries, affords a painful evidence of the universal dearth of efficient religious instruction.

Yorkshire presents a less amount of actual vice than would be expected from the prevalence, in some parts of it, of female labour, which is common in the neighbourhood of Barnsley, and the thin seams of Flockton and Huddersfield. There, "sexual vices are of common occurrence;" but generally, says Mr. Symons, "the vices of collier children are decidedly less than those of the manufacturing class. This is owing to the colliers being more closely confined and tired when their work is done: also to their not working so continuously together."

The licence of the passions is greatest in Lancashire. The profligacies perpetrated in the pits where females are at work in a state of semi-nudity, and the men entirely unclothed, as is frequently the case in Yorkshire, are illustrated by the commissioners of both districts with a fidelity of detail which precludes our quotation of scenes so prurient. The habits and manners of colliers in Lancashire are thus vividly portrayed, and the picture applies to the generality of districts:—

"The houses of colliers are, for the most part, exceedingly filthy, and very much confined; many have only one room below and one above, in which the whole of the family sleep, many of them being crammed into one bed. I have been told by inhabitants that as many as six or seven have slept in one bed; young men and women and the father all sleep in the same room. There are entire streets in Wigan where the houses are placed back to back; there is only one room, and only one door, so that there is no possibility of ventilation. In many of these wretched hovels two or more families are huddled. The streets inhabited by the working class here are in an abominable state, totally devoid of sewerage, with the exception of the main streets. Filth, and water impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, are allowed to accumulate in the streets in a state of decomposition, producing noxious effluvia. These causes operate to a great extent to produce fever, which, in some periods of the year, prevails with great violence, especially when by fluctuation in trade the working class are deprived in a great degree of the proper necessities of life. The privies are not sufficiently numerous for the houses in the streets, and those which do exist are kept in such a filthy state that many do not go to them."

The habit of crowding whole families in one bedroom is very generally described as a cause of profligacy. The Rev. Dr. Besley, Rector of Long Benton Parish, Northumberland—

“Thinks the habit of lodging together so closely, and of the men washing half-naked in the presence of the women, are productive of evil, and render it impossible for the clergyman to take his lady with him, when visiting the pitmen’s houses. Although the pitmen marry early, yet, perhaps, out of twelve marriages, five would be very shortly followed by the birth of a child.”

Similar evidence abounds throughout the Report, and powerfully evinces the necessity of providing such alterations in the houses of the poor as shall, at least, obviate inevitable outrages to decency.

The Gloucestershire district exhibits the cheering symptoms of future regeneration. The southern part, says Mr. Waring,

“Has experienced a great moral change within the last half century. The colliers were formerly the terror of the surrounding neighbourhoods, and for gross ignorance, rudeness, and irreligion, were almost without parallels in any Christian community. The labours of those great reformers of life and manners, the celebrated Wesley and Whitfield, began a work which has been making progress ever since, in the hands of not only their disciples, but those of the National Church, happily aroused and stimulated by their example.

Mr. Fletcher, the Secretary of the Commission, describes the colliers of Lancashire as a

“Population proportionately prone to exhibit instances of ferocity and of gross self-indulgence : and yet the universal testimony is to the improvement which has already taken place upon the manners of the passing generation. To see so much animal vigour, and such extensive resources for comfort, or even enjoyment, still misused by so many, is very painful ; left, as they are, in a moral condition *little raised above that of the brutes*. But a considerable number of the colliers are men of better habits, attached to the ministry of the Church, or to the several dissenting congregations.”

In the Forest of Dean, a race, peculiar in their habits, sins, and character, present themselves. Mr. Waring portrays much crime, lightened, nevertheless, by the dawn of a religious feeling. The temptations to theft, held out by the loose protection to the Forest property, corrupted the people at an early period ; of which the fruits are still to be traced. The following is a sketch of one of their besetting sins:—

“A common and very ingenious mode of deer-slaying (says



Mr. Waring), described to me by an old forester, is worthy of relation. A man took a small bundle of sweet hay under his arm, and scattered it at the foot of some umbrageous tree near the haunts of the deer. The caitiff then climbed into the tree, taking with him two or three heavy stones, and concealing himself among the branches, silently awaited his prey. No sooner did the unsuspecting deer, attracted by the fragrant bait, commence his feed, than the stone was let fall, with unerring aim, directly between his antlers, stunning him instantly ; when the man had only to descend, complete the slaughter, and bear away his victim at nightfall, without having incurred any risk of alarm."

Drunkenness seems a more common crime at present.

"The Rev. Henry Berkin, incumbent of Trinity Church, who has grown old in the service of the Forest population, declared the beer-shops were doing more to counteract his religious labours, than any other source of evil. He mentioned having seen boys under twelve years of age 'staggering drunk'—an outrage on decent morals unheard of in 'the old times,' with all their defects. It is remarkable, that neither over their ale, nor on other occasions, are the Foresters addicted to political discussions. The Monmouthshire Chartists discovered this, much to their chagrin, when they sent a deputy in 1839 to make converts among the loyal miners ; for he was received so ungraciously, that he thought it expedient to decamp 'without tuck of drum,' or loss of time."

In North Wales, improvement has gone further than in Gloucestershire, and in no part of the empire are the morals of the colliers so good. The Sunday is "religiously observed, swearing uncommon, and the children are orderly, and, in general, free from vice." A desire is evinced, moreover, for education. The impediments of long hours of work, and labour at early ages, maintain a large amount of ignorance. Formerly much depravity existed, and the change is attributed to the exertions of the clergy, but chiefly of the Wesleyan Methodists. It is pleasing to find, if not an Oasis in the wilderness, at least one district where "temperance, morality, and religion, are spreading their hallowed influences."

In South Wales a widely different state of morals exists: the Rev. Mr. Williams, curate of Merthyr Tydvil, says:—

"The morals of the people are very bad ; illicit intercourse of the sexes is common in three cases out of four amongst the working people taken generally. You will find in some quarters of the town, in the lodging-houses, that young men and women sleep in the same chamber, married people as well : I have witnessed such in visiting the sick. Such places are Caedraw and Celéry, in Pontstonehouse, in this town. They are of course the resort of the lowest classes.

The working people here living grossly ; yet they are careful to keep up a good dress, which they manage to do by benefit societies ; their frequent processions foster this, and their constant appearance in public, at festivals of their societies, is an additional motive for their respectability of appearance. The employment of girls in the works tends greatly to their demoralization. They get habits of intemperance, and indeed all sorts of vice."

The Catholic priest of Merthyr says:—

"For the morals of the population, whilst children of both sexes are allowed by their parents to drink, smoke, swear, and talk obscene language, before twelve years of age, they cannot be expected to come up to the morality even of Canadian savages."

A singular instance of the tendency of the people of one district to intermarry exclusively among themselves, and to retain their character, unchanged by time, occurs in Mr. Franks' Report, in speaking of the district round Neath, in Glamorganshire:—

"The 'Merra,' is the name of a small plot of land adjoining the Knoll Colliery on the eastern side of the town of Neath. The community, who inhabit a long line of cottages built on this plot of ground, are descendants of a small colony of Staffordshire colliers, who were brought over by Sir H. Mackworth, about ninety years since, to work the collieries in this district. They have formed quite a separate caste, and are known by the name of the 'Merra people.' Their women are distinguished from the surrounding population by superior beauty, both of face and form, and yet it is only within a few years they have intermarried with the men of the Abbey Iron Works and Foundry, *where many Shropshire men* are employed. The 'Merra women' receive great praise, on all hands, for their marked industry and patient endurance: their principal occupation is to carry pottery, in heavy weights, on their heads, thirty miles and more in the day, to Cardiff and Merthyr: they wear neither shoes, stockings, nor stays: their dress of woollen fabric, of gaudy yet well-contrasted colours, sits loosely on their well-formed limbs. They are known as the least educated class in the neighbourhood; yet they exhibit a shrewdness in their dealings superior to others of their rank of life; and, what is more to their credit, their virtue and honesty have become as proverbial as their beauty."

Mr. Franks adds the following interesting account of the early marriages and improvident practices of the Monmouthshire miners.

"Intemperance seems rarely to be the vice of the women of South Wales, and however frequent and early the connexion of the sexes may be, the cases of bastardy are comparatively trifling; it

being usual, as I am informed, for a youth to marry a girl when discovered to be pregnant by him. Many instances of improvidence occur, as may be expected from such early marriage—a *mere child of fourteen years of age becoming a wife*, and her first important act is to open an account at the shop for goods, clothing, food, &c. This facility of procuring goods to the credit of her husband's labour induces extravagance. \* \* \* By a reference to the evidence of John Evans, schoolmaster, No. 270, you will see the effect of this. The witness says—'Nothing can exceed the mischief of these shops; men will go to the shop and get a pound of sugar, or what not, and take it to the public-house for drink. *I frequently myself take goods from the colliers instead of money; the colliers have no money.* I can't do anything else; I can't express myself sufficiently strongly on this subject. There is very seldom any balance for the working man to receive; they are screwed down to the lowest possible pitch.' David Edwards, schoolmaster, Blackwood, says—'I receive my fees sometimes in goods.' The system as at present carried on is much felt by the working people themselves, and is the subject of frequent complaint by them; and I cannot but consider it highly disadvantageous to the children as well as the men. These shops supply food, clothing—in some places articles of luxury, jewellery, &c., and furniture of all sorts—in short, in these districts, everything is supplied *but education.*"

The following statement of the drunkenness of the workmen in this district is horribly impressive. Until this mighty evil be subdued, all remedies are obstructed, and other vices, negligences, and ignorances, remain almost unassailed. Mr. Henrick, a witness examined in Trevethin, Monmouthshire, gives this startling picture. It is far from an uncommon one.

"There are in the parish of Trevethin 1962 drunkards out of a population of 17,196 persons. Perhaps some will be surprised that I could obtain an account of the number of drunkards, and anticipate a great reluctance to give information, but I did not find it the case; a certain collier being asked the number of drunkards in his house, said, 'Will you count them as I call their names?—there's my son John, Jim, and William, Dick, Thomas, Ned, and Joe, that makes seven; and there's myself,' and, pointing to his wife, 'there's the old woman, you may put her down, for she gets drunk as well as the rest of us!'—That was making rather a bad use of the maxim—'Train up a child in the way it should go.' I am sorry to add that the taste for ardent spirits is becoming more general; when I came into the parish, scarcely any one drank spirits, now boys of ten or twelve years of age will go into the bar of a public-house and call for a noggin of rum, and farmers' wives and daughters will take a glass of spirits on a market-day without



a blush. Do I overrate the evils of drunkenness in the parish? and am I wrong in saying that the proper nursery for all kinds of sedition and disturbance, of which we have had enough, is the beer-shop? Is it not the place where robberies are planned, where quarrels and assaults are promoted, from which discontent and rebellion spring, where the hard-earned wages of the artisan are squandered in riot and confusion, to the injury of his health and of his understanding, and to the ruin of his family? When wages are high, what becomes of the surplus earnings of the workman? they go to the drunkard's saving-bank, the 'beer-shop,' and I calculate that the workmen of the Varteg Iron-works alone, deposited in that kind of security 12000*l.* during the last twelve months."

Marriage far more generally follows illicit connexion among colliers than among artisans.

On the whole, though many instances of gross depravity prevail in collieries, we are confirmed in the belief, that even more deliberate and habitual crime characterises the populace in manufacturing towns; and to this conclusion we find that those authorities arrive who have had the best means of acquainting themselves with the character and crimes of both classes.

The Reports unfold a state of ignorance which, we apprehend, is wholly unparalleled in the empire. If the morals of the miners are matter for lamentation, their minds are in a state deplorable for themselves, and absolutely perilous to others. Even in Scotland, where education has been regarded rather as an element of welfare and an essential of life, than as the privilege of easy circumstances, we find Mr. Franks reporting, that out of 3,836 children, 150 can only write their names legibly, and that education is almost totally neglected. The Rev. Colin MacCulloch, of Denny, East Scotland, well observes on ignorance of the colliery children—

"The state of mind which this produces is contentment with the lowest standard, a complete and almost unconquerable distrust of self, a blind surrender to the judgment of another, and a thorough dislike of reading."

In the extensive collieries of the Tyne, Mr. Leifchild found that, excepting some favoured instances, the ignorance of the men and children was excessive.

"Several children and young persons, who averred their regular attendance at public worship, could or would attach no definite meaning to the most ordinary religious terms, and consequently while they had not lost, could not be deemed to have profited, by their attendance."

In religious knowledge many of the children are fearfully deficient.

"In one or two instances (Mr. Leifchild reports that) the answers returned to questions upon religious knowledge were too appallingly profane to admit of publication ; and it struck me as an astounding fact, when more than one boy, both in pits and iron-works (and even in one of the best conducted iron-works in a large town), being closely pressed upon the subject, confessed that their sole knowledge of sacred and *awful terms was derived from their daily desecration in the works!* The case of the witness, No. 586, aged fourteen, who states that 'he never heard of hell, except when he has heard the men swearing about it,' was, unfortunately, neither solitary, nor altogether uncommon."

In Yorkshire pains were taken to probe the knowledge and ascertain the deficiencies of the children. Mr. Symons reports that—

"With regard to the fruits of education, and with respect even to the common truths of Christianity and facts of Scripture, I am confident that the majority are in a state of heathen ignorance. The evidence of the children exhibits a picture of moral and mental darkness which must excite horror and grief in every Christian mind: I can most conscientiously say that it is anything but an overdrawn one. Some are indeed better instructed, but of those who work in collieries there is not above one out of three, or, *at most, two out of five*, who can answer the commonest questions relative either to scriptural or secular knowledge. I unhesitatingly affirm that the mining children, as a body, are growing up in a state of absolute and appalling ignorance; and I am sure that the evidence I herewith transmit, alike from all classes, — clergymen, magistrates, masters, men, and children, will fully substantiate and justify the strength of the expressions which I alone have felt to be adequate to characterise the mental condition of this benighted community."

The exact answers of the children themselves are frequently given in the evidence, they having been examined by the Commissioner apart from the presence of parent or overseer; and in most instances without any timidity or reserve on the part of the child. Here are some specimens:—

Joseph Holmes, aged 13:

"They never explain anything to us at the school; there is only a lad to teach us. If I'm a good boy I shall go to heaven when I die. Jesus Christ was a shepherd; he came a hundred years ago on earth to receive sin. I don't know who the apostles were. I must pray in order to be saved, that is to go to heaven."

Daniel Drenchfield, nearly 10 years old:

"I never go to play at night; I get my supper and go to bed. I have been to Sunday school, and I go to one every Sunday at Wortley; I can read *Reading made Easy*; they teach me religion; God made the world; but I don't know who Jesus Christ was, or whether he died on earth or not; it's not the clergyman but a master that teaches us; we learn spelling; I know I shall go to hell if I am not a good boy; I never learnt writing; twice ten is twenty, but I don't know what three times ten is; I don't know how many weeks there are in the year, nor how many months there are; I don't know whether London is the biggest town in England or not. (This boy repeated the Catechism, but had not the least idea what 'inheritor of the kingdom of heaven' meant, nor had he any notion of the meaning of what he repeated.)"

Isaac Beaver, aged 12:

"Has learnt religion pretty well. I don't know who Jesus Christ is; I never heard of him. I don't know what is the largest town in England. Three times ten is twenty."

Elizabeth Dey, aged 17, working in the Barnsley Colliery, says:

"We always hurry\* in trousers, as you saw us to-day when you were in the pit. Generally I work naked down to the waist, like the rest; I had my shift on to-day when I saw you, because I had had to wait, and was cold; but generally the girls hurry naked down to the waist. It is very hard work for us all; it is harder work than we ought to do, a deal. I have been lamed in my ancle, and strained in my back. \* \* \* I have never been at school. I had to begin working when I ought to have been at school. I don't go to Sunday school. The truth is, we are confined bad enough on week-days, and want to walk about on Sundays; but I go to chapel on Sunday night. I can't read at all. Jesus Christ was Adam's son, and they nailed him on to a tree; but I don't rightly understand these things."

Bessy Bailey, 15 years old:

"I go to the Methodist chapel every Sunday evening. They read the Bible at the chapel, but I don't understand it. I go to chapel because I think it is the best place on Sunday nights. Jesus Christ died for his son to be saved. I don't know who the apostles were. Twenty-two pence is three shillings and fourpence. I don't know how many weeks there are in the year. I don't know what Ireland is, whether it is a town or a country."

Mary Dey, aged 16:

"I go regularly to a Methodist Sunday school. I can read

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\* The technical expression for running along, pushing, or pulling the little coal waggons in the pits.



little words only. I hear about religion there. I have heard of Jesus Christ; but, 'please, sir, we haven't taken a deal of notice of that.' Four times five is twenty; five times six is forty. I don't know how many weeks there are in the year."

Both these girls have been burnt to death since, by an explosion of gas. Another says:

"I have been to Sunday school. I can read *Reading made Easy*. The Lord made the world. He sent Adam and Eve on earth to save sinners. I heard my grandfather tell about it; he's a great reader, but he can't see. I have heard of the Saviour; he was a good man, but he did not die here; he is in heaven. We must pray to be saved."

Ann Eggle, aged 18:

"I walk about and get the fresh air on Sundays. I have not learnt to read. I don't know my letters. I never learnt nought. I never go to church or chapel; there is no church or chapel at Gawber, there is none nearer than a mile. If I was married I would not go to the pits, but I know some married women that do. The men do not insult the girls with us, but I think they do in some. I have never heard that a good man came into the world, who was God's son, to save sinners. I never heard of Christ at all. Nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer; I never pray. I have been taught nothing about such things."

Elizabeth Eggle, aged 16:

"I cannot read; I do not know my letters. I don't know who Jesus Christ was. I never heard of Adam either. I never heard about them at all. I have often been obliged to stop in bed all Sunday to rest myself. I never go to church or chapel."

Mr. Scriven, who reports on the Halifax district, says:—

"In an examination, at the pit's bottom, of two hundred and nineteen, I found only thirty-one that could read an easy book, and of the same number fifteen could write their names; these had been taught, before they commenced work, in some day school: the rest were wholly incapable of connecting two syllables. They seldom or never attend places of religious worship, as it is only on the Sunday, for six months in the year, that they catch a glimpse of light, when they are but little disposed to submit to the ordeal of a Sunday school. \* \* \* Thomas Mitchell (No. 68), aged 13, whose condition would be a disgrace to the savage tribes of the most savage nation, for they have at least their gods in some shape, whilst he had no knowledge of the name, says, 'I have hurried four years for Thomas Mitchell (his uncle); I don't know what you mean by *uncle*; I never heard of *Jesus Christ*; I don't know what you mean by *God*; I never heard of *Adam*, or know what you

mean by *Scriptures*. I have heard of a Bible, but don't know what 'tis about. If I tell a lie, I don't know whether 'tis good or bad.'"

This staggers the Commissioner, whose surprise is thus relieved by the proprietor of the mine where Mitchell works:

"Mr. James Wilcox states: 'You have expressed some surprise at Thomas Mitchell not having heard of God. I judge that *there are very few colliers here about that have.*'"!!!

Education is proceeding quite as prosperously in Lancashire. One of the most intelligent and sharp-witted children examined by Mr. Fletcher:

"Went to the Old Methodist Sunday-school five months ago, but his father took him off three months ago, because he had such ragged clothes. Went before for a week or two to a Sunday-school i' th' Bunk [Bank]. Cannot say his letters. [Adds a few small numbers but has no notion of subtraction.] Has heard of hell in the pit when the men swear; has never heard of Jesus Christ; has never heard of God, but has heard the men in the pit say 'G— d— thee.' Does not know what county he is in; has never been anywhere but here, i' th' pit, and at Rochdale; never heard of London: has heard of the Queen, but dunnot know who he is."

Mr. Kennedy says:—

"It appears that out of 1113 males, between thirteen and eighteen years of age, 23.9 per cent. can write their names: that of 206 females of the same, 1.3 per cent. can write their names. When the children have stated they could read an easy book, I have put them to the test, and, with very few exceptions, I have found that their attention was so completely absorbed in the mechanical process of deciphering the letters and spelling the words, that they did not understand the meaning of a single sentence. \* \* \* Want of education is accompanied by a degraded moral sense, gross and brutalized habits, depravity, and crime."

In Derbyshire, Mr. Fellows reports that the state of education calls loudly for legislative interference.

In South Durham, Dr. Mitchell reports scholastic education to be in a very low state, and in Staffordshire neither very bad nor very good.

Even in North Wales, where the moral condition is undergoing improvement, Mr. Herbert Jones reports that—

"Amongst the collier boys not one in ten can read with anything approaching correctness, or so as to comprehend the sense of what he reads; those in the mines are almost, though not quite, as illiterate, probably because they do not go to work so early. Both classes are, however, utterly ignorant. It is an uncommon circumstance to meet with one who can read, write, *and* cast accounts.

"There is, however," he adds, "a growing desire for education evinced, but while children are at work from morning to night, and sometimes all night, there is little time in which to gratify this desire."

In South Wales ignorance reigns universally. Mr. Samuel Jones, cashier of the Waterloo colliery, in Merthyr, says:—

"The want of regular employment causes total neglect of education to the children; and I should be certainly within bounds by saying that not one grown male or female in fifty can read, and the farm-servants in this part are as ignorant as the miners."

Of this, Mr. Franks, the Commissioner, gives ample evidence from the mouths of the children. Morgan Lewis, 9 years old:

"I have never been at any day school; am sent to Mr. Jones's Sunday school to learn the Welsh letters; can't say I know them yet. I do not know what you mean by catechism, or religion; never was told about God. The sky is up above, and no one ever told me about Jesus Christ; cannot say what he is."

Sophia, the sister of Morgan, says:

"Mr. Jones tells us that Jesus is our Lord, but does not know what he means by our Lord, nor who is God. There may be commandments, but I never heard of any."

From such fruits the miserable poverty of the *means* of education will be easily guessed.

Reporting on Shropshire, Dr. Mitchell says:—

"The Sunday-school has the merit of bringing the children together, before Divine service, and securing their attendance in church or chapel; and a few of the pupils may learn to read; but that is all that a Sunday-school can effect in Staffordshire or anywhere else. Evening schools have been established at Bilston, and some others, to which the children may be sent; but it is considered a doubtful experiment. The children, who come home fatigued from the mines, get drowsy by the fire, and feel reluctant to go out."

These opinions are confirmed by the evidence of the whole kingdom. Day or evening schools have, under the present system, no place in the education of collier children. That the schools themselves afford education efficient neither in quality nor quantity, we find incontestable proof wherever the Assistant Commissioners investigated this important branch of inquiry. Not only are day schools unsupported; not only are the working children incapacitated from attending them, but they are useless when attended. In the first place, in day schools, where they exist, the master is often a dilapidated



collier, whose bodily infirmity is considered in Northumberland the strongest qualification for the office.

“His education and mental training have not been of that kind to raise him above the prejudices, passions, and moral feebleness (if the expression will be allowed) of his own class. From such a man, therefore, little improvement in the tone of thought and feeling of pitmen, can be expected. He cannot, because he does not know them, nor feel them himself, be expected to infuse into the minds of his pupils, those new feelings and principles which are essential for the improvement of the class of labourers. He is actuated but by one motive, that is, to eke out from his occupation so much as will support him, and after having heard, amidst the din and noise of his school, the boys sing over their lessons in reading, and administered a sufficient number of cuffs for past, present, or future, or real or imaginary wrongs, his scholars roar out a hymn, and are dismissed. His curriculum of instruction is reading, writing, arithmetic, and sewing, (girls being admitted to his school, in many instances, as well as boys,) a female of course superintends the sewing department. His scale of charges is a graduated one, and ranges from twopennee to sixpence per week, the higher scale embracing every branch of education taught; the lower one reading only. The books employed, are the ordinary spelling book, the New Testament, and any work on arithmetic.”

This account, which we extract from the valuable evidence of Wm. Morison, Esq., in Mr. Leifchild's Report, will serve as a perfect specimen of the character of day schools in the great bulk of collier villages. The existing means of education, enjoyed by the children of the mines, may be summed up in Sunday schools. That they likewise are inefficient for education, the result amply proves. Neither can there be a question that as regards secular knowledge and the rudiments of general education, they *ought* to be inefficient. The Sunday was no more designed for the exercise of the mechanism of the mind, than for the physical labour of life. Sunday writing, spelling, and ciphering schools are atrocities, to be tolerated as little by the philanthropist as the Christian. So long as children are employed at ages and for hours, such as wholly to incapacitate them for receiving instruction during the week (and this is well attested), it is obvious that the temptation is strong to alloy the Sabbath schools with a portion of secular teaching, for otherwise the elements of education were untaught.

“The Sunday schools (says Mr. Fletcher), unhappily, instead of being merely an ecclesiastical organization for the religious instruc-

tion for the young, are regarded as 'the schools,' and are mainly relied upon for secular instruction."

In many districts even this modicum of schooling is not profited by. In Dr. Mitchell's district of Staffordshire, the Rev. George Marsland and the Rev. Robert Leake, of West Bromwich, state,

"The greater part of the children, on going to labour, neglect the Sunday school altogether."

The instruction confined to one day in seven must almost necessarily be a series of beginnings; the child generally forgetting all he learnt in the interval between Sunday and Sunday. It nowise surprises us to find, that with the entire labour of *preparing*, as well as *informing*, the mind of the child upon their hands, to be condensed into a few hours once a week, the Sabbath teachers betake themselves to the resource of loading the memory alone, shrinking from the almost impossible task of educating the understanding.

Mr. Symons says—

"On being questioned as to the meaning of what they read, they stare with astonishment."

"In nineteen out of every twenty instances, the mind of the child is as much uninformed even after a couple of years' tuition as before it went to school. The notion is inveterately implanted in the mind of the great majority of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, that comprehension is no necessary part of instruction; and others seem to imagine it a matter of intuition, and are astonished that a child has not learnt what it has never had the means of understanding. 'Have I not been preaching justification by faith, by the law of Moses, and setting forth the essence of the Godhead, this very morning?' exclaimed a Calvinist preacher and schoolmaster in a paroxysm of amazement at finding that a group of scholars could not explain who or what Christ was! The chances against a child are very great; first, there are the chances that his teachers are themselves ignorant of what they ought to teach, which especially happens among the amateur instructors in Sunday schools; secondly, there is the chance that the teacher does not, or cannot, put himself in the position of a child, to feel its ignorances and supply them; thirdly, there is the chance that where apt instruction is given the child's attention is not gained, and which the elliptical system of questioning is so admirably adapted to secure. It therefore follows that, in the vast majority of cases, child and teacher jog on in the established ruts, so ingeniously devised to avoid the exercise of mind, and everything in the shape of instruction, save the mere mechanism of memory. From the

table of day schools, it appears that, according even to the return of the schoolmasters themselves, out of 1891 children at school in different villages, not near one-half can read the Testament, and little above one-third can write. The synoptical table of fifty collieries, taken at random, gives the following result as respects writing:—Total number of boys, 1640; number who can write their names, 350. In seven pits there are 172 girls, of whom twelve only can write: in fact education, in the proper sense of the word, scarcely exists at all among collier children.”

Mr. Fellows bears similar testimony in Derbyshire:—

“If I called a child to read, and afterwards asked the meaning of any particular word therein, in almost every case I have found them at a loss; for instance, I asked a very good reader what was the meaning of the word *weary*, he could not tell; I then appealed to the whole class; at last a boy said he knew—it was a lad who wore his clothes out.”

The Reverend Wm. F. Walker, curate of St. James’s, Oldham, thus sums up the matter:—

“As a means of religious instruction it is obvious, however, that schools, composed as these are, must be imperfect in the extreme. As secular schools, they do harm by lowering the people’s estimation of the value of secular instruction, and making them contented with less than they ought to have. Being gratuitous, too, Sunday school instruction is not valued so much as if it were paid for; and the interval of six days between each day of instruction delays the attainment of any obviously good result. In many schools the teachers will attend by rotation only once a month, and each may be carrying on a separate system. If the Sunday schools, however, insufficient as they are, were not to supply something, there is not sufficient desire for instruction among the people to make a demand for teachers at any time, or in any form, during the week. In the Sunday schools of the dissenting congregations the same deficiencies exist, and the ministers of those congregations neither do nor can pay much attention to them.”

Next to the inefficiency of the schools comes the indifference of the parent, which ranks among the chief causes of ignorance.

Mr. Morison, in the Northumberland Report, well observes:

“The absence of education in the parents is a certain guarantee of its great imperfection in the children. In the present generation, therefore, we see the imperfect ripening of the first seeds of education sown in a barren soil. It would hence be vain to look in this day for the hearty co-operation of the parents in the education of the children.”

The Commissioner also reports in the same district that,—



“The loss too of scholastic instruction is in nowise counterbalanced by careful domestic training ; for the parents, mostly destitute of information and self-government, are incapable of directing the minds of their children. Themselves swayed by the impulses of wayward feelings, their indulgence or correction of their offspring is alike capricious. Immoderate indulgences are usually but preludes to immoderate chastisement, and both tend to the development of frowardness in childhood, and rebellion in maturity.”

“Messrs. Richard Pemberton and Smith, owners of the Monkwearmouth colliery, believe that the parents do not take sufficient care of the children. There is plenty of time for them to learn, if parents would take care of their education.”

“Mr. John Jones, agent of the Rock colliery, in the parish of Bedwellty, in Monmouthshire, says : ‘There is but one small school in the populous village of Blackwood (population 1500) ; average attendance, ten to twenty. I do not think it would be of much use even establishing a free school here, *for the people, I fear, would scarcely think it worth while to send their children there.*’”

The Commissioner elsewhere adds : “They estimate even one penny per week as more than education is worth.”

In addition to the remissness of the parent, the independence of the child operates in favour of his ignorance. This arises from the contribution of his labour to the family income. The child soon feels his importance, and successfully resists control. Mr. Herbert Jones reports that in North Wales :

“It is observed that the children no sooner go to work than parental authority begins to cease ; the children soon form an estimate of their own value, and find how much the family depends on their earnings. Children thus emancipating themselves are too much left to their own guidance ; none, or at most only here and there one or two, will attend a night school, should there by chance be one.”

Hence, infant labour not only engrosses the child’s time for education, but it encourages his natural inclination to resist it. This infant independence is, moreover, the source of precocious immoralities, and the forerunner of a sceptical and turbulent spirit in after life,—thus cradled in the rebellion of childhood. The increase of machinery, by displacing adult, and employing child labour, has unavoidably tended to aggravate the same evil in our large town populations ; and it is a strongly corroborative fact, that three-fourths of the chartism and socialism of the day centres among youths who have emerged recently from the strongholds of this indepen-

dency of childhood. As regards the parent, the preference of the gain to be derived from the child's labour over the desire to educate him, is at the root of the evil. Nor will the appreciation of knowledge begin, till the temptation of gain ceases. They who are the most in need of education are precisely those who are least likely to obtain it, so long as it is left to the impulses of the parent. Mr. Fletcher well observes, that—

“It is not to be supposed that parents who employ their own children will be more scrupulous about their being set early to labour, than if they sold their services to others; and, accordingly, *the most improvident are pointed out by their fellow-workmen as those who have least mercy on the infantile capacities of their offspring.* ‘There are drunken blackguards,’ states one of these, ‘that would not mind at what age they took them. *They went themselves into the coalpit so early, that they do not know their own duties.*’ If there be justice for colliers’ children, as for factory children, God send it. ‘Certain parents bring children into the pit earlier than they did,’ and that if they can ‘merely sit down and keep the rats from their dinners, they will bring them down.’ I am inclined, however, to think that, though the worst characters unhesitatingly use up the whole existence of their children, from infancy, in labour, there is, in the best, a steady desire to free them during their early years, could they thereby ensure their getting any religious and useful instruction, through which they might enjoy a mental as well as a bodily existence.”

*If so, is it not doubly criminal to neglect affording such persons the means of gratifying their laudable wish? Such instances, however, do not constitute the rule. In nine out of ten cases the adult colliers are too ignorant to appreciate education. It must be enforced on them; for it cannot be too often repeated, that ignorance is a malady which conceals itself from him who labours under it. It cannot, therefore, be justifiably left to cure itself.*

If the parents cannot be trusted with the duty of education, still less can the masters. Mr. Symons observes:—

“The worst of all the many adversities which beset the mental and moral progress of the working classes, is, unquestionably, the indifference towards them of the higher orders of society. I have had many opportunities of witnessing its existence and its effects, in the course of this inquiry. It is a gigantic evil, prolific in ignorance, inhumanities, and hatred between classes whose interests are common, and on whose concord the peace and prosperity of society are based. It is a fearful thing to see how exempt the employers of labour often hold themselves from moral obligations of every description towards those from whose industry their own fortunes

spring. Even they who contribute at all to the education or moral improvement of their workmen, do so, in nineteen cases out of twenty, merely by money, and without personal pains or superintendence of their own. These vicarious benevolences are seldom availing."

Of a mass of evidence illustrative of the same negligence on the part of coal owners, Mr. Leifchild says:—

"I have excluded some testimonies merely vituperative of the tardiness of principals and agents in addressing themselves to the promotion of efficient and extended scholastic instruction; for such tardiness is sufficiently evident from the simple statement of the facts detailed above.....Even where employers and employed are sensible of the advantages of instruction, differences regarding the channels and modes by which it should be imparted are sometimes permitted to mature into insuperable obstacles. Schools and school-masters have been declared to be lamentably insufficient; and the supply of education corresponds in quantity and quality to the demand. The domestic management of children is rather perilous than profitable; and parental exemplars are more commonly to be shunned than imitated. The few exceptions to the paucity and poverty of secular schools are of very recent origin, and must be regarded rather as isolated efforts, than as experiments precursory to the extensive adoption of the systems."

Admirably put is the following contrast between the comparative zeal of the master, where *money*, and where *minds* are concerned,—where the worldly wealth of the owner and the everlasting welfare of the labourer are respectively in the scales:—

"Perhaps few parts of our country exhibit in such immediate and striking juxtaposition the wide disparity between commercial and educational enterprise. In the former, difficulties exist only to be overcome,—in the latter, only to be looked at and lamented. Enterprises the most hazardous and the most extensive, sometimes bounded by but dim prospects of success, are commenced, and pertinaciously conducted with untiring energy, and nearly limitless expenditure, while the contrast presented by the tardy progress of education is indeed depressing.

"Remarkable instances of this contrariety in the same colliery might be adduced, as at Monkwearmouth pit, with its shaft of nearly sixteen hundred feet in perpendicular depth, where no school was established, and where the morals of the boys were acknowledged by the owners and agents themselves to be low, and by neighbours affirmed to be grievously low.

"No vigilance is employed to ensure the presence of pupils, and no inspection to test their progress. Their presence is left to the



spontaneous desires of their parents—their progress to the spontaneous exertions of the teacher.”

The Rev. Wm. Williams, rector of Halkin, North Wales, among numerous witnesses, attests the same fact in that district:—

“Is there any pains taken by masters, parents, or others in their moral training?” “I am disposed to doubt it. With the exception of a little parental authority which may be exercised over them, there is, I think, none. I am not aware that masters or agents interest themselves in the moral welfare of the boys they employ.”

The vital need of a closer union between men and masters, is vividly testified throughout these reports. A host of humanizing and kindly influences are in the hands of employers; and yet how rarely are they exerted,—and how seldom are the masters aware of their own interest in the sound education and concomitant orderly conduct of their workmen! Charles Conway, Esq. has been the managing partner of the Pontrhydyrin tin works, in South Wales, for twenty years.

“I have (he says) no doubt whatever, generally speaking, that the best informed persons are the best conducted. There are, of course, exceptions. If one man is elevated by better opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or by a closer attention to self-education, there is a chance, when the masses are so ill provided with education, that he should have an undue influence. His knowledge is not sufficiently extensive to enable him to correct his own vanity, and the elevation to which he is raised by his compeers is apt to make him a demagogue. *I think much of this arises from the want of more mixing of the classes in society*—the employers and the employed. *The line of demarcation at present kept up is so rigid, that their interests are supposed to be incompatible.* Elevate the general mass, however, by a better system of instruction, and the demagogue is reduced to his proper level.

“Workmen almost invariably stick together, right or wrong;—they are always suspicious of any interference of the employers. I am not aware of a single person connected with these works being joined to any chartist societies during the late movements; yet I cannot conceal from myself, that they very considerably sympathised with the chartists.

Mr. Tremeneere,\* the school inspector, gives a painful instance of this deep distrust at Norwich, where Mr. Geary, a large employer of labour, has expended much pains and money in establishing means for the instruction, amusement,

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\* See his interesting report on the schools of Norfolk, to the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-41.

and exercise of his work-people. His efforts have, in great measure, failed, because the people cannot bring themselves to believe that anything emanating from the master-class can be honestly meant to benefit workmen. Nothing can break down this pernicious distrust, but the zealous, hearty, and untiring tender of sympathy and kindly effort. The repulses met with are only additional evidences of the need for perseverance in the same course.

Proportioned to the neglect of the minds of workmen by their masters, is the necessity for government interference. If it is not the masters' business, it is clearly society's business, that the people, who are the great vitals of the community, should be morally healthful. It is useless to assert the fact, that it is the business of the employer to educate the employed. Very true; but has he done it, and will he do it? Let Mr. Emmett, "principal" of collieries near Halifax, answer:—

"He knows nothing of their moral condition; does not know whether they attend Sunday schools, or a place of worship; he knows what the men are, but he is not bound to tell, because he may please himself about that; when I come over I may find out myself, if I can find them; he does not hold himself responsible for anything that occurs with regard to the boys; if one falls sick, his collier looks after another, without any reference to him; all he has to do is to pay the men for the coals they get; he has no damp, therefore he has no occasion to provide his men with safety-lamps; he looks after the gear and engine himself; he has no regulation with respect to the number of men or boys that come up or go down together, but he takes care that the ropes are sufficiently strong to bear two persons; has never met with an accident yet, except a lad having a bit of a squeeze, now and then, which he does not call an accident; he does not know whether the nature of the work is calculated to deform the lads or not; I had better ask the doctor about that; has no objection for his evidence to go before the board.

(Signed)

"GEORGE EMMET, Principal."

The committee of Yorkshire coal masters, which consisted of about fifteen of the most respectable owners in the county, evinced a different spirit. In their report on the subject of the enquiry they say:—

"To this great and indispensable work (a system of sound intellectual instruction), without which all other measures would be vain, they would earnestly claim the attention of parliament, and they doubt not that the coal owners would lend their utmost efforts to secure the efficient working of so desirable an object. In the mean time, they would recommend the adoption, by the whole

body of coal owners, of such measures as are within their power ; and, amongst the first, they would point to the exclusion of females from being employed underground, and children under eight years of age. These, which are the greatest abuses, they believe it is in the power of the coal owners, if they are unanimous, to put an end to.

(Signed)

“ THOMAS WILSON, Chairman.”

Mr. Wilson himself, however, in his evidence as an individual coal owner, who employed large numbers of colliers, states, as we have above said, that coal masters cannot enforce the adoption of obnoxious improvements in their own collieries. Moreover, the small pits, where most of the abuses centre, would not be bound by any such regulations, which, even in the best cases, the masters, unaided by penalties, obviously and avowedly have not the means of enforcing in mines out of sight, and into which not one-twentieth of the proprietors ever enter. Their “ recommendations ” would be perfectly impotent.

Besides, what is our experience of the past? Generation after generation of heathen ignorance has arisen, passing away, unheeded, to the grave, under the eyes of these very men who now ask to be the dispensers of a trust which it has been their habit, for centuries, to neglect!

The establishment of efficient schools, by adequate grants, and the compulsory attendance of mining children at them, appear to be the main means of meeting the evil.

The Rev. Mr. Collins, an experienced clergyman, of Ossett, Yorkshire, says:—

“ I decidedly think that the Factory Act ought to provide that education should be obligatory on the parents *before* they come into the hands of the employers at all, and that this should be extended to collieries. A certificate should be required of a certain amount of education—say the power, at least, to read a plain chapter in the Epistle of St. John ; this would be enough to begin with. This certificate should be made a *sine quâ non* to employment ; it would do vastly more for education than the present system of two hours a-day ; it would give a strong motive to parents to educate their children earlier, and it would give a stimulus to infant schools. The master and the parents would both have an incentive to educate. The former could not otherwise get workmen, nor the latter wages ; this would touch the parents, who are least disposed to educate through ignorance themselves. I had occasion to give prizes of Bibles to my Sunday school children, and I found that the youngest children carried off nearly all the prizes, and not the older ones, whom I wished to have them that they



might have their Bibles to take with them from the school. I found the cause was, that usually the younger ones were those who were having education in day schools, and that the elder ones were solely dependant on the Sunday school. Sunday school instruction, even in the hands of a good teacher, must be an inefficient thing. There is in the course of eight weeks as much instruction given in a day school, even in point of number of days, as in a whole year in Sunday schools; add to this the longer period occupied each day in instruction in the day schools, and then the constant repetition of education in the day school, whereas in Sunday schools they have six days' interval for forgetting what they learn. The elder ones are frequently disheartened, moreover, by finding the little boys getting a-head of them, whilst they are perhaps unable to read. Education will never be properly diffused until it be made obligatory, because that part of the people who want it most care nothing about it. I have spoken to several manufacturers on the subject of compelling education before the children are employed, and I found many of them in favour of such a plan. I consider it would in every way dispose the manufacturer in favour of it."

The plan of imposing penalties on the coal master who receives a child into his employment who has not gone through certain terms of schooling, has been tried, we believe, in England, at one or two isolated factories, and, as we learn, with vast success.\* In all these cases the means of education are of course first found.

Dr. Headlam, an eminent physician and a magistrate, of Newcastle, makes the following noteworthy statements:—

"As to education and morals, the colliery children suffer greatly

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\* The Messrs. Thomson, calico printers, of Clitheroe, were among the first to adopt the system of an educational qualification for employment. It is gratifying to find by the following letter from their manager to one of the partners (obligingly communicated to us by him), that the system succeeds, and is maintained in full vigour:—

"Primrose, Jan. 2, 1843.

"Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your esteemed favour of the 30th ult., and in reply to your inquiries respecting the regulations with regard to education, I beg to say that they have invariably been adhered to, and we find the system works admirably, as it causes the people to pay more attention to the education of their children, and produces a superior class of workmen. The only alteration we have made is in the higher and more skilful branches of the business—such as designing, putting on, engraving, and cutting. We now require the apprentices in these branches to practice six months at lineal drawing previous to being indentured; this is in addition to the learning required by our printed rules; the six months is not reckoned as a part of their apprenticeship, nor do they receive any wages for it, as we consider it is only qualifying them for their business. This is only done where the boy has had no previous practice in drawing; by this means we find out what branch the boy is best suited for; if he appears clever at drawing we take him for drawing or putting on, and if he turns out quite a dunce, we put him to other work requiring little skill."

from want of a regular system of education. *The only way of doing it is, that the owners should give every facility for education. Thinks it would be an admirable arrangement if no boy were receivable into a colliery before he could read and write.* Employers might stringently refuse to employ any at a certain age, say twelve or thirteen, who could not read and write."

"At Wolverhampton, the Rev. S. Webb and Rev. W. J. Skidmore, state that, 'Education, in the intervals of labour, is not likely to be very beneficial; nor will the mental or physical condition of the children be much improved until their earlier days are entirely devoted to instruction.'

Mr. Franks, the Commissioner, states:—

"That a restriction of the age at which children should be allowed to labour in the mines and works should be fixed, and young girls altogether excluded from such labour; and together with such measures that an educational qualification to labour should be established throughout the mining and manufacturing district of South Wales and Monmouthshire."

"The Rev. W. Bruce Cunningham, minister of Prestonpans, speaks the opinion of hundreds of others in saying, 'The country will be inevitably ruined unless some steps be taken by the Legislature for securing a *full education* to the children of the working classes; the landed proprietors should know this.'

Mr. Higgitt, steward to the Tinsley Park Pits, Yorkshire, near Sheffield,

"Thinks that the children ought to be made to come educated to the master, and that he ought to look after their morals afterwards. Thinks there would be no injury to the trade to prevent their working till eleven years old."

"In reply to the query, up to what age children ought to be allowed to remain at school, most of the ministers of religion (in Staffordshire) mention twelve, thirteen, and fourteen; some more generally twelve to fourteen. One gentleman (Rev. Wm. Gordon, of West Bromwich,) says, 'Perhaps fourteen, but that can never be. If there is plenty of work, they cannot be spared; if none, they have not the heart to come starving and badly dressed to school.' The Rev. Thomas Hardy, a Wesleyan minister, of Dudley Road, Tipton, expresses his doubt of the possibility of keeping children at school so long as desirable, by saying, 'Up to ten, *if practicable*.' The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of the Established Church, Bilston, seems to feel the great difficulty which there will be in this district in retaining children at school so long as desirable, but thinks 'a great benefit will be effected if poor children remained at school till they were ten years of age.' I entirely concur with those gentlemen (says Dr. Mitchell) who think that it is extremely

desirable that children should remain at school until from twelve to fourteen: but, at the same time, when I consider the poverty of the parents and the scarcity of boy labour in this district, and that it is *indispensable in the iron mines and thin-bed coal mines, for work which could not possibly be done by grown persons*, I fear that it would not be practicable to restrain boys of from ten to fourteen from going down into the mines. But if children could be kept at school till ten, which appears perfectly practicable, it would not impede the labour of the mines, *and would do the children the greatest good*.

How should we secure the *efficiency* of the secular and the essential purity and soundness of the religious education, of which a certain *quantity* only would be required? This is a question all friends of the people will ask. It is a question apart from the scope of this argument. It belongs to the topic of national education, and the question of how best to provide it. It is sufficient for our present purpose to assume that *it must be provided*.

The means being found, how shall legislation secure their availability to colliers? We believe Mr. Collins to have given in the above passages, reasons for enforcing education before labour begins, so amply confirmed, no less by the existing ignorances and negligences of the parents, than by the circumstances of labour itself, that it is unnecessary to dilate on the desirability of an educational qualification, as a *sine qua non* to employment. That this principle will eventually be found to combine requisites to a perfect system of national education, we entertain small doubt. In the mean time, the first point is to provide, that neither the age at which work begins, nor the number of hours to which it is protracted, may be such as to infringe on the period essential for adequate instruction, nor such as to incapacitate the mind of the child while working from its profitable pursuit.

Lord Ashley's Act (5 and 6 Vict. c. 99, s. 2), provides for this in one respect, by prohibiting the employment of all children under ten years of age. We fear that the necessities of the parent even under improved circumstances of trade, would render the observance of a longer period of inactivity next to impossible; and the evidence of some of the most humanely disposed, as well as experienced witnesses, attests the fact, that the child who begins work, say at nine or ten years old, will become adapted to it far more easily and beneficially to himself than one who begins work at thirteen or fourteen. A very large proportion of



the coal mines of the kingdom do not exceed forty inches in thickness of seam; in many of these it would not be possible to cut the galleries to a much greater height than this, consistently with the profit essential to make it worth while to work these seams. To abandon them would be to injure every industry dependent on coal, for its motive power, and to impoverish the thousands of families now deriving support from the thin coal pits. Moreover, it is sufficiently shown in the evidence, that children of ten years of age can work in pits not exceeding a yard in height with perfect impunity to health, where due hours of work, draining and ventilation, are properly attended to. Upon the whole it is difficult to controvert the view of the old collier who said,—

“If government keeps children out of the pits, they ought to provide something else for them to do. A child can’t be made a collier of who doesn’t begin before he is thirteen. It is not the age hurts them; it’s the long irregular hours they work.”

It appears to be admitted in fact, on all hands, that children must begin to work before thirteen years of age: but if they begin to work before that age, it is equally certain that their education cannot be previously finished. It would amount in nine cases out of ten, to that smattering which fosters conceit and engenders error; and seldom to the amount of knowledge which teaches a man to know himself, and estimate his relation to others and his true interest in life. On the other hand, it has been proved by a variety of witnesses, that any junction of daily education with daily work, is impossible in mines, and futile in factories.

Here is the resource.—

We quote from Mr. Kennedy’s Report on the Lancashire district; and a more important suggestion the whole Commission has not put forth:—

“It has been objected by persons who are well disposed to the education of the mining population, and who duly recognize the strong necessity for it, that it would be preferable to enforce the attendance of the collier children at schools *on alternate days*, rather than their attendance during portions of each working day. They state that the inconvenience of relays as peculiar to the coal mines would be, that in extensive mines much time would be lost in changing them: for example, a body of two hundred children might enter any factory and take their places within perhaps five minutes; whereas, in an ordinary mine, the distance from the pit-shaft to the place of work may be three hundred to four hundred yards, and in many mines half an hour’s time would be occupied in going there.

All the children cannot enter at once, but must descend by small numbers of three or four at a time; the operation of entering a factory is no appreciable expense, but every descent of the baskets is a positive expense to the proprietor, independently of the time lost. These difficulties have occasioned a suggestion of the following kind from Mr. Thomas Ashworth, the able agent of Lord Vernon, who is one of those who has turned his attention to the moral condition of the workpeople as well as the productiveness of their labour:—"No female," says he, "ought to be employed under ground, as it is a degradation to the sex; and boys ought not to be allowed to work under ground until they are ten years of age, and should be required to attend school previously, and then only three days of eight hours in each week until they are twelve years of age, after that age daily; and they should be required to attend a day school when not employed under ground, as very few colliers can either read or write."

"Benjamin Miller, underlooker to Mr. Woolley, at Staley Bridge:—How would two sets of waggoners under thirteen answer with day work?—Why, the expense of taking them up and down, and the loss of time in changing, would be very great; I don't think two sets for the day would answer; the consequence here would be that all under thirteen would be thrown out of the pits.

"How would it answer if the waggoners under thirteen were sent to school alternate days?—That would be better, a great deal; but Government should establish schools, and compel the children to attend them, for they will only get into mischief if they are left to themselves."

These excellent suggestions were embodied in Lord Ashley's first Bill, and we cannot but lament the rejection by the Upper House, of the plan of alternate days of labour and education. It appears to us to offer a beneficial means of combining the industrious occupation of children after ten years of age with adequate time for instruction, unimpeded by fatigue of body. We trust that this important suggestion will be unceasingly renewed. It is a manifest improvement on the system of Factory Act instruction; and one, which together with the requirement of preliminary education as a qualification for employment, will, we venture to believe, be found at least worthy of mature consideration.

The limitation of the hours of daily work is equally essential to the fitness of the mind for education.

Mr. William Bedford, a coal master at Drighlington, Yorkshire, says:—

"If the government wishes to regulate the hours pits work, I

believe they can do it no other way than by regulating the hours coals are drawn by the engine ; and nine hours ought to be allowed for pulling coals exclusive of meal-time, and pulling the men. Taking one with another, if this were done, no man or boy will remain in the pit longer than nine hours. Relays of boys would be very awkward. Many pits are drawn by horses, and they could not manage it all."

" I am confident, says Mr. Twibell, another coal master, at Barnsley, that children ought to be prevented from going into pits till ten years old. It has a bad effect on their minds, and tends to cripple their strength ; besides the men themselves depend at present too much on child labour, and are induced, by the leisure it affords them, to indulge in intemperate habits."

The limitation of labour is the more needed on account of the dull monotony, as well as toil of pit industry. It has been well observed that there is in it an absence of device,

" Furnishing no stimulus to the uneducated mind ; whilst the employment in iron manufactories, and many other mechanical callings, is calculated to excite an inquiring spirit, to exercise the observant faculties, sharpen the wits, and enlarge the comprehension."

Occupation so stupifying ought necessarily to be confined within the narrowest limits, for the sake of the minds, as well as bodies of those engaged in it.

The enforcement of these and the other provisions ought to be accomplished by inspection. Without it, all provisions will be evaded ; and the evil of a law violated with impunity, will be added to the abuses we shall fail in removing.

It is not indispensable for inspectors to descend pits ; they can see most of what they need see at the pit's mouth, where every child must pass twice a day. And there they can also ascertain without a single inquiry, by dint of eyesight alone, how long the pit works. Inspection however there must be, or the law will be a dead letter.

Such are among the chief of the regulations, which appear to us to be best adapted to open the road for a thoroughly adequate education of this benighted class of work people.

A sound religious and general education, is the best security for the observance of whatever provisions humanity requires ; without which we are convinced no effective amelioration will ever be achieved in the physical condition of the labourer, or security given to the peace and progress of society.

Degraded and dark as are the mining population, far be it



from us to deny the fruitfulness of the soil under due culture. The able and interesting account of the miners in the lead districts of Cornwall, by Dr. Barham, shows how near an approach to satisfactory morals and intelligence are compatible with pit labour. So long, however, as colliers are regarded as an inferior race and unworthy of benevolence, it is not to be expected that their capacities or qualities will invite cultivation. Mr. Wild, the chief constable at Oldham, gives the following picture of the state of feeling towards colliers:—

“It is certainly observable in the case of colliers that there is a great amount of rude callousness on the subject of accidents among them and their families; they are quite an uneducated set of people, who go to cockpits, and races, and fights; and many are gamblers and drinkers. In a day or two’s time, among such people, even their wives and children seem to have forgotten it. They will say at the time, ‘Oh, I am not a bit surprised, I expected it—I expected it;’ and it soon passes by. There are so many killed that it becomes quite customary to expect such things. The chiefest talk is just at the moment, until the body gets home, and then there is no more talk about it. People generally feel, ‘Oh, its only a collier!’ There would be more feeling a hundred times if a policeman were to kill a dog in the street. *In different neighbourhoods here there would be more bother and talk, is sure there would, about killing a dog than killing a collier; the colliers even amongst themselves say so; so that they learn which it is that is killed, that is all they think about it.*”

Mr. Franks makes the following excellent remarks in his Welsh Report:—

“It is much to be lamented that few or no efforts are made to facilitate a change in the habits of the manufacturing and mining population of South Wales. A little time and thought given to the welfare of the people would not only tend to wean them from the gross habits in which they indulge, but would produce an abundance of kindly feeling between the employer and the employed. It has been suggested that the establishment in mining or manufacturing districts of reading-rooms for the better sort, of decently-conducted coffee-rooms, with books, periodicals, &c., for the working man, together with familiar lectures on matters connected with the labour of each district, and this not conducted with too strict a hand, or under the imposing titles of Athenæum, Mechanics’ Institute, or Temperance Hall, but rather in an inviting and conciliatory spirit, than in the exclusive tone which too often mars the effect of such well-intended attempts; and in the villages a little more of wholesome incitement to excellence in the distri-

bution of small prizes for the best cottage, the best garden, &c., would be productive of immense good ; nor can these things be done with half the efficacy by others as by those who are resident amongst the people themselves. A personal interest in the people, and the distribution of but a small fund in each district to the humble purposes alluded to, would invite the labourer from the vulgar line he now treads in. As matters stand at this moment, in the largest manufacturing town (Merthyr Tydvil), the working man after labour has no resort but the beer-shop ; his boy accompanies him, his daughter often passes the evening there. It is unnecessary to pursue this further. It is not intended to be inferred that the collier, or mining, or manufacturing population is to be changed by one sudden movement ; but it is surely a source of deep regret that a small portion of the enormous wealth of the land, and some of the influence of large proprietors, should not be applied to the improvement of the moral and educational condition of its inhabitants—the productive sources of that wealth.”

There are materials enough to work upon. We might extract many such evidences as the following.

Even in the Vandal land of Lancashire, John Gordon, a collier, says :—

“It may be that a great portion of the colliers do not know the value of instruction, and therefore would not, even in good times, avail themselves of the opportunity to give their children time and schooling. \* \* \* A man with understanding knows how to govern himself, a man without understanding doesn’t.”

In Yorkshire, notwithstanding their gross ignorance and manifold vices, we find the Commissioner thus speaking :—

“I would especially recommend to your notice the resolution of above 350 colliers themselves. After a long discussion of the whole subject, passed in the following words, by the whole body, except five whose hands were held up for a counter resolution :— ‘That the employment of girls in pits is highly injurious to their morals ; that it is not proper work for females, and that is a scandalous practice.’

“When it is considered that many of the men who voted for the resolution, are themselves reaping money from the practice they condemned, it is an evidence of their sincerity and good feeling, highly creditable to themselves, that when called on for their deliberate opinion, they would not call that right which they felt to be wrong. Of all my experience with the working classes, I never enjoyed a more pleasing one than was afforded by the assemblage of colliers where this resolution was passed. The earnestness, honesty, and good order, with which each question put was discussed by them, the prompt condemnation of whatever was not

according to their belief of the truth, gave ample evidence that, whatever may be their ignorance and its contingent vices, there is a solid material of honest-heartedness among colliers which commends their hard condition, and that of their children, most forcibly to the kindly and active attention of the legislature."

In the forest of Dean,

"Notwithstanding all hindrances, the leaven of better principles is gradually working through the mass; and the old people represent the change in morals and manners, within the last thirty years, as truly thankworthy."

In Barnsley one of the established clergymen makes the following fearful statement:—

"At present I have no means of getting at them to pay them pastoral visits, though there are *many in a state of heathenism around us*; owing to their being in the pits all day, and being tired at night. I have adopted, however, a system of cottage lectures, held in the houses of cottagers once a-week, which are well attended, and prove very useful in reaching a class who are not in the habit of coming to church. Few colliers' children attend them. They are chiefly weavers, or their wives and families."

The real truth is, that colliers are a race who have hitherto lived under the ban of human sympathies, discarded and apart from all civilised, and kindly influences.

We have done little to gain the hearts of any class of work people; least of all of those who most need benevolence. Yet without gaining their hearts, we shall assail their vices and ignorances with small effect; and abuses, envyings, distrust, disaffection, and the whole host of passions, will continue to corrode the life-springs of society; and obstruct every tendency to physical, moral, or religious, progress.

To the Report on Mines has succeeded a voluminous mass of information on the condition of youths, and girls, in a variety of trades, not protected by the Factory Act. Its very recent appearance prevents our giving any detailed statement of its contents. In one word, we pronounce their character to be *appalling*. That so much suffering, ignorance, precocious crime, and early death, should exist among so large a portion of our labouring youth, will not fail to arouse whatever is Christian in the land. The most interesting details, as well as the most painful pictures, are those drawn by the gentlemen who inspected the print-fields of Lancashire, the milliners of London, and the cutlers of Sheffield. We borrow from the latter the following extracts:



"I believe," says Mr. Symons, "the vice prevalent among children, and especially among the class who intervene between childhood and manhood, is materially aggravated in Sineffield, by that system of letting out children to individual workmen, whether apprenticed or not, and rendering them independent of parental control, at an age when it is most needed. It removes moral subordination, gives independence without the means of self-government, and surrenders the child up a victim to his uninformed mind and undisciplined passions. Both as regards habits, hours, education, and religious instruction, children are their own masters at twelve years of age, in the generality of instances, throughout the industrial community. Socialism has been rife at Sheffield; and this, added to the prevailing system of infant independence, has peculiarly corrupted that most influential class, who are from thirteen to twenty years old; and which is peculiarly prone to imbibe errors agreeable to the passions, and which mainly biasses and moulds the younger ones who, invariably follow the elder youths as standards of opinion and models of manliness. I regard this as by far the most debased and debasing class in Sheffield. \* \* \* Habits of drinking begin at an early age; and the evidence might have been doubled which attests the early commencement of sexual and promiscuous intercourse among boys and girls. Their habit of frequenting beer shops together is sufficient proof of the fact."

Mr. Raynor, the superintendent of police, depones that—

"Lads, from twelve to fourteen years of age, constantly frequent beer houses, and have, even at that age, their girls with them; who often incite them to commit petty thefts. Girls begin prostitution as early as twelve or thirteen years of age. \* \* \* Promiscuous intercourse among the sexes, gambling at the game called pinch, and drinking, *are their prevailing habits.*"

Another policeman swears that—

"There are many beer shops which are frequented by boys only. I should say they begin to go to beer shops as early as thirteen years of age."

The evidence of the clergy of the different parishes, and a variety of other witnesses, even exceed the above testimony to the amount of this horrible and growing depravity. An insurrection of no ordinary character was discovered at the eve of its maturity, chiefly devised by boys and lads; and immense quantities of hand grenades, and weapons of various kinds, were found. Education is at the lowest ebb. The average duration of the stay of each child at school does not exceed nine months; and but a portion ever go at all. We must, however, drop the curtain for the present, upon this

fearful picture: one which, we may truly say with a clergyman of Sheffield, "lies in gloom, shadows and darkness resting on it." Vice in every form seems "rife and rampant;" and were it not for the relief we find in anticipating better things, when another generation shall have occupied the scene of the present, the view would be, indeed, "insupportable."

Our readers will have observed that we have confined ourselves, almost exclusively, to the development of the enormous evils which result from the want of moral and religious cultivation, among the poorer classes. To the remedies to that evil we have scarcely adverted; partly because of the exceeding difficulty of the subject, but chiefly because we are satisfied that the remedy must come from the Catholic Church, and that it is, consequently, from the Church that all suggestions ought to proceed. We trust, however, that our venerable prelates in their united wisdom,—or should there be any difficulty in their joint action, each in their respective dioceses,—will take the necessary steps for procuring the means of stemming this threatening danger. And, we venture to suggest that the first step to be taken should be to get together accurate statements of the extent of the wants of the Catholics of their respective dioceses, as to education and religious instruction; and we are quite satisfied that, when such statements are accumulated and urged upon the executive government, with that weight and influence which the Catholic Church must possess, no government can resist the appeal; and that our venerable prelates cannot fail in obtaining the UNFETTERED command of such temporal means as would, under the blessing of Providence, be sufficient, in their hands, to stop the progress of infidelity; which, if unchecked, threatens to overtake an existing generation with anarchy and ruin. It is in accordance with the views we have just stated, that we have thought it right to draw the attention of our Catholic readers to the details contained in this paper, which, interesting as they are, would in our opinion be found far less important than those which would result from the careful investigation of the actual condition of the Catholic population, in the dense masses of our manufacturing districts.

ART. VI.—*A compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford. London: 1840. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ, &c.* By the same. Third edition. London: 1842.

SEVERAL papers in our preceding numbers having been devoted to Mr. Palmer, it may be necessary to state our reasons for returning to him once more. Were he as distinguished for the qualities which give weight to religious controversy, as he is for his advanced post among the defenders of Anglicanism, we could simply say to our readers, that on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland Mr. Palmer had broached some strange opinions; that these opinions had been hitherto unnoticed, and that we deemed it our duty to refute them. But after the exposures already made of his errors, both in history and in theology, in questions of fact and of argument, in tracing the progress of the English schism, and in objecting against Catholic doctrine,—the utility of further refutation may, to many, appear questionable. We may prove, indeed, that in his notices of Irish history, his assertions are sometimes without proof, and often against evidence; that his censures are intemperate and calumnious, and that his contempt for the Catholic Church of Ireland would be intolerable, if it were not evidently affected; but what solid advantage can we gain by this labour? Can the authority of Mr. Palmer disturb the security of the Catholic, or give reasonable confidence to the conscience of the enquiring Anglican? Or do we expect to produce an effect upon those who continue to admire Mr. Palmer, notwithstanding the punishment inflicted on him in our May number, 1840?

We cannot indeed promise ourselves much success with his admirers. In his notices of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, they will find all those qualities united to which he owes his fame—zeal for his cause, unvarying boldness of assertion, and occasional dexterity in giving the air and tone of history to his own reflections upon a few isolated facts. We believe, too, that the convicting evidence supplied by preceding numbers is sufficient to destroy a character much less vulnerable than his; but we fear that Ireland, unfortunately, is a subject upon which the authority even of Mr. Palmer might be adopted by many without examination.



Some would not take the trouble of inquiry, when the history and character of the Irish Catholic alone are involved; others would adopt the opinions of Mr. Palmer, because they agree with long received and fondly cherished prejudices; and even those who already view him with distrust, might be startled by the confidence with which he appeals to Catholic writers in proof of his assertions. We shall therefore examine his opinions on our ancient doctrine and discipline,—his history of the rise and progress of the Reformation down to the death of Elizabeth,—and his calumnies on the memory of those men who, to his evident and deep mortification, preserved unbroken the chain of apostolical succession in the Catholic Church of Ireland.

The hostility of Mr. Palmer to the Catholics of Ireland is under many respects surprising, and, to a person unacquainted with the new system of Christian unity, utterly inexplicable. He appears to bring to the study of Irish history some qualities rarely united in any of the reverend gentlemen of his Church: for he is none of those who believe that nothing good can come from Ireland, nor does he appear to have strong prejudices against the faith professed by the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. His testimony to the ancient glory of the Catholic Church of Ireland is recorded with much apparent cordiality. "The apostolical labours of St. Patrick," he writes, "were rewarded by the conversion of Ireland. Palladius had been previously ordained to the same mission by Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, but dying soon, was succeeded by St. Patrick, A. D. 432. The Gospel, indeed, had already some adherents in that country, but Christianity now became general, and for the next four or five centuries learning and religion shed a bright lustre on that remote island, when barbarism and ignorance prevailed over the rest of Europe."\* The conversion of the Saxons he attributes "chiefly to several holy bishops and missionaries from Ireland,"† and at the close of the chapter from which these extracts are taken, he adds, "Christianity was now subduing the remnants of Paganism in England, and exciting there and in Ireland a spirit of apostolical zeal which disseminated the light of truth among many barbarous nations in the west of Europe. The Suevi, Boii, and Franks of Germany, were converted by St. Columbanus in the early part

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\* Palmer's Ecc. Hist. p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 72.

of the seventh century. St. Gallus became the apostle of Switzerland, St. Kilianus of the Eastern Franks, and St. Wilibrod and his companions (who studied in Ireland) of Batavia, Friesland, and Westphalia. These holy missionaries were all natives of Ireland, except the last.\* Other extracts we could give, but these, we think, sufficient for our purpose. The same apparently liberal appreciation of the sanctifying influences of the Catholic Church, and the same apparent sympathy with the heroism of her glorious saints, expressed in these extracts, are also manifested by Mr. Palmer in his notices of much more modern Catholics. In the chapters of his *Ecclesiastical History*, intitled "fruits of sanctity" in the Roman Churches, considerable justice is done to the merits and sanctity, not only of the holy men who lived and died in the Roman communion before the Council of Trent, but likewise of those who flourished long after that council. SS. Bernard and Anselm were "eminent saints."\* Peter Lombard, Alexander de Hales, Bonaventure, Aquinas, and Scotus, were "all men of ardent piety." Nay, when the clouds of popish errors were gathering thick, and closing over the Church, "the abundant good works and excellent piety of Lawrence Justiniani were worthy the brightest days of the Church." It is not denied that all these eminent and holy men were humble believers in transubstantiation and in the supremacy of the pope, and steadfast advocates, both by word and example, of all the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, such as they are professed and observed this day in the Catholic Church of Ireland. Even when these doctrines were receiving the solemn and unequivocal sanction of the Council of Trent, "they were announced in the Indies by the great missionary, Francis Xavier, during ten years of labour and success, almost unparalleled since the days of the Apostles." They were inculcated with all the energies of St. Charles Borromeo, "whose spirit of prayer and love of God gave to him remarkably the power of exciting and encouraging others to religion." They were embraced by 72,000 Calvinists, who, under the very eye of Beza, and in the sight of the cradle of the Reformation, could not resist "the disinterested spirit," the "conscientious firmness," and "the spirit of piety and meekness" of St. Francis of Sales; and finally, the creed and practice of the

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\* See for the marked passages, Palmer's *Ecc. Hist.* chap. 19 and 25.

Roman Church were enforced and observed, during every stage of his long and chequered life, by St. Vincent of Paul, and yet, in the words of Mr. Palmer, that "pious and profitable servant of God was called, at the advanced age of eighty-four, to his everlasting reward, amid the veneration and love of all men." These tributes to the sanctity of Catholic saints are offered by the Protestant hagiologist, not from any particular predilection, but on the broad principle universally applicable to Catholic virtue in every clime—that "it would argue a prejudiced and uncharitable mind to close our eyes on several bright examples of Christian holiness that have adorned the Roman communion in later ages, and refuse to recognise the impress of divine grace on lives adorned by *every virtue* which can flow from an ardent faith and charity."

If some Protestant minister of great talents, and of considerable influence with the members of the Anglican Church, were to step forth and propose, by a faithful history of Ireland, to dispel hostile bigotry and prejudice, what guarantee could we require for the faithful performance of his task, other than those involved in these extracts? Might we not confidently address him—You have allowed four or five centuries of glory unsurpassed to the ancient Church of Ireland; you have gratefully recorded her services in converting foreign nations, and in restoring the faith in England; you revere the virtues and canonize the memory of the saints to whom she prays; you cannot therefore deem it a crime in the Catholic priesthood to obey a hierarchy ascending, without interruption, to the golden age of Ireland;—you cannot stigmatize as criminal schismatics the prelates whose letters of ordination open to the humblest of their clergy free access to the shrines and altars of SS. Charles, Vincent and Francis of Sales;—*you* will not mock the miseries of a nation, nor call the penal enactments of the last three hundred years, judgments of an avenging God for disobedience to a law-established Church;—nor can you sanction that odious calumny, "the massacre in 1641 by Roman Catholics, in cold blood, of 150,000 Protestants;"\* a calumny invented to justify the wholesale plunder of Catholic property, and perpetuated to silence the cries of justice, and exclude the descendants of the plundered from every civil right.

Yet, gentle reader, all this, and much more, does Mr.

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\* Ecc. Hist. p. 266.



Palmer. You must not judge him by his own professions, nor by the rules by which you judge of ordinary men. His new system of the Church begets a new system of ethics, and his new system of ethics a species of charity peculiar to himself. *He* conceives how the examples of Christian holiness on the continent can be adorned by *every virtue*, though he must deny them *pure* religion, virtue's nursing mother; and his charity, unlike that of ordinary mortals (which generally begins at home), seeks the objects of its complacency exclusively in distant ages and in foreign climes. It kindles with admiration at the ancient glory of the Isle of Saints, and at the recent splendour of continental Churches, but turns into zealot's fire against the modern Catholics of Ireland. Not content with exhibiting our persecuted forefathers as objects of God's heavy curse, paying, in their loss of property and in penal laws, the penalty of disbelief in the state religion, he ranks them with the heathen and the publican,\* and consigns all, clergy and laity, to eternal perdition, precisely because we are in communion with the Churches of SS. Francis of Sales, Charles Borromeo, and Vincent of Paul, and profess that very faith which brought them happily to heaven, to receive there the reward "of every virtue which can flow from an ardent faith and charity."†

The ancient ecclesiastical history of Ireland is, perhaps, regarded by Mr. Palmer as an unexplored region, of which accounts the most extraordinary may be given, without fear of contradiction; or perhaps the labour of accurate and extensive research imposed upon the historian of the Universal Church did not leave time sufficient to examine the annals, and ascertain the doctrine and discipline, of the Catholic Church of Ireland. To the public it matters little whether the historian sin against the truth of history, by a deliberate perversion of facts, or by hazarding opinions upon facts of which he knows nothing. For the historian himself, indeed, it is a delicate and interesting point to measure and compare all the degrees in the ascending scale—from the dogmatism and hasty prejudice that decide questions, on which the wise and learned hesitate, up to the effrontery that deliberately affirms,

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\* Treatise on the Church, pp. 110 and 568, vol. i. second ed.

† Ecc. Hist. p. 305. Invincible ignorance of Elizabeth's right to found a Church by the sword *may* excuse the Irish Catholic, according to Palmer. We are all quite safe on that point. Our ignorance is, indeed, invincible.

without any proof, what is well known to be untrue. What precise place among faithless historians Mr. Palmer should hold, Mr. Palmer can best tell. Certain it is, that on the discipline of the ancient Irish Church he maintains opinions unsupported by the slightest proof, and scarcely reconcilable with his own recorded admissions. The law of ecclesiastical celibacy he allows to have been in force in the Latin Church at the time of St. Patrick's mission,\* and yet in the same breath he asserts, "*that down to the twelfth century the Irish bishops and clergy were generally married.*" The remarks with which this assertion is prefaced leave no doubt of its meaning. He does not mean only, that married men, while their wives were yet living, were often ordained bishops and priests,—who, however, were obliged to the continence imposed on married clergy by the laws of the Latin Church. He gives us plainly to understand, that, down to the twelfth century, the liberty and practice of the Irish clergy, bishops and priests, were precisely the same as those of the clergy by law established in Ireland for the last three centuries. Notwithstanding the admission of one of our historians, we had always believed that, so far from being an exception to the Latin discipline of celibacy, the Irish clergy were, on the contrary, ever singularly remarkable for their strict observance of that discipline; that they established it in other countries, during the four or five centuries of their apostolical labours; and that even during the wreck of all order, political and religious,—during the long and bloody invasion of the Danes,—the discipline of celibacy had not been violated, at least to such a degree as to require the interposition of Church authority to restore it. It would be strange, indeed, that St. Patrick did not establish that discipline in his infant Church. Was he ignorant of the canons of councils, and of the decrees of popes, enforcing it? or must we suppose that he sacrificed to the weak virtue or untractable temper of his spiritual children, a law which should bring such blessings on his labours,—since, according to Mr. Palmer, it makes its observers "most happy, and enables them to devote themselves entirely to God." "The priest," says St. Celestine,—"from whom St. Patrick received his mission,—the priest should not be ignorant of his canons, nor do anything opposed to the rules of the fathers: the people must be taught, not followed."† St. Patrick was not ignorant of his canons, nor was

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\* Palmer, Eccl. Hist. p. 116.

+ Epist. iii. ad Episcopos Calabriae et Apuliae.

it necessary to relax them. Never did any nation renounce more willingly than Ireland its vices and superstitions, or aspire at once with greater fervour to the full perfection of the Christian law. Monasteries rapidly arose in every quarter of the island,—proving by their number, by the liberality of their endowment, and by the almost incredible number of their inmates, the very highest esteem for the evangelical virtues. Accordingly, so far from finding the Irish clergy, bishops and priests, generally married, down to the twelfth century, we do not find, in our annals down to the twelfth century, one solitary instance of a married bishop or priest.\* The canon of St. Patrick† adduced by Usher, proves that married men may have been sometimes ordained to the order of Ostiarius, and perhaps a higher, as was often the case in the Latin Church; but there is no example recorded: and if there were, the wife's "veiled head," the emblem of chastity in those ages, would appear to suggest what is clearly proved by the penitential canons of St. Columbanus‡ and of Cummean, that the discipline of the Irish Church was, in the obligation of continence, imposed on the married clergy, exactly conformable to the well known discipline of the Latin Church.

That there was no relaxation of this discipline during the long and terrible devastation of the Danes, appears from the most unexceptionable evidence. Both Lanfranc and St. Anselm (the former in 1081,§ the latter in 1095),|| had correspondence with Irish bishops and princes. They strongly urged the reformation of some ecclesiastical abuses, stated to have then existed in the Irish Church. Gillebert, the associate of the younger days of Anselm, and bishop of Limerick,

\* Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, vol. iv. p. 365. To prove our assertion in the sense in which it is made, it will not suffice to adduce an example of an Irish priest, not separated "quoad habitationem" from his wife. St. Leo, Epis. ad Rustium Episcop. Narbon. c. iii., speaking of bishops and priests married before ordination, says, "Unde ut de carnali fiat spirituale conjugium oportet eos nec dimittere uxores et quasi non habeant sic habere, quo et salva fiat charitas conjugiorum et cessent opera nuptiarum." The council of Arles, 2um anno 452, can. iii. "Si quis clericus a gradu Diaconatus, in solatio suo mulierem præter aviam, matrem, sororem, filiam, neptem, vel conversam secum uxorem habere præsumpsint, a communione alienus habeatur."

+ Lan. Eccl. Hist. p. 366. "Et uxor ejus si non 'velato capite' ambula-verit," &c. &c.

‡ Can. xii. "Si quis clericus vel superior gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit sciat se adulterium commississe," &c. &c. See Lan. vol. iv. p. 367; and for Cummean, vol. iv. p. 366.

§ Lan. vol. iv. p. 476.

|| Lan. vol. iv. pp. 13-18.



in his treatise, *De Statu Ecclesiastico*, addressed to all the bishops and priests of Ireland, exerted himself to effect a conformity of ecclesiastical discipline with the Roman Church, but neither in that treatise, nor in either of the national councils, held in 1111 and 1118,\* under Gillebert himself and primate Celsus, nor in the letters of Lanfranc or of St. Anselm, is there the slightest indication of any difference of discipline on ecclesiastical celibacy between the Church of Ireland and the other members of the Latin Church. St. Bernard had, through St. Malachy, ample means of knowing our discipline; and, in his life of that prelate, enumerated and censured some ecclesiastical abuses, and severely reprov'd the vices of some of the clergy and people, but did not even hint at the marriage of the clergy,—a crime which St. Bernard certainly would not tolerate, had it existed. In the proceedings of the synod of Kells, in 1152,† there is not one word about the marriage of the clergy; and should Mr. Palmer desire to know whether there was any change in Irish discipline down to the Anglo-Norman invasion, we refer him to the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis,‡—as honourable to the Irish Church as it is unimpeachable, because of the writer's well known prejudice and decided hostility to Ireland. It is true that in the life of St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, we read of some incontinent ecclesiastics. But it was the lot of St. Laurence to fall upon evil days. He witnessed the humiliation of his country by foreign foes, and was obliged to repel from his Church, by ecclesiastical censures, the contagion of evil example, introduced in the train of the other evils of the conquest. In full council, assembled in Dublin, under archbishop Comin, immediate successor of St. Laurence, Allin O'Mulloy,§ the pious and learned bishop of Ferns, proved, without contradiction, that the law of ecclesiastical celibacy had been rigidly observed in Ireland, down to the arrival of some military chaplains of the Anglo-Norman adventurers. The Irish bishops and priests, therefore, were not generally married, down to the twelfth century. There is no proof of the marriage of any of them; and even were they married, they were bound by the laws of their Church to observe that discipline which makes men "most happy," and "enables them to devote themselves entirely to God."||

\* Lan. vol. iv. pp. 37, 38.

† Lan. vol. iv. p. 323.

‡ Lan. vol. iv. p. 267.

§ Lan. vol. iv. p. 265.

|| Palmer, Eccl. Hist. p. 115.

The independence of the ancient Irish Church is of course maintained by Mr. Palmer. The Roman supremacy, he assures us, was not acknowledged until the synod of Kells, A.D. 1152. It was then that her liberties, quietly enjoyed for seven hundred years, were, without one murmur of remonstrance, surrendered into the hands of a papal legate, by the Irish Church, presenting, if we believe Mr. Palmer, in the obsequious denial of her faith, a wonderful contrast to the firmness with which she had been hitherto known to cling even to the minutest points of her discipline. It is not our intention to enter fully into the arguments by which this imaginary independence of the ancient Irish Church is overthrown. The contemporary annals of the British and the Continental Churches furnish clear acknowledgments of the supremacy of Rome; and so intimate was the connexion between those Churches and Ireland, that, disagreement upon such a vital question as the existence of a common supreme authority, was utterly impossible. The position of Ireland, as exhibited by Mr. Palmer himself, was too conspicuous, and her zeal too active, to allow her to teach without contradiction her own exemption from Rome's universally admitted jurisdiction. The Irishmen who were welcomed as apostles, and are still revered as patrons of several countries of Europe, would have been denounced as abettors of a pernicious heresy; the schools of Ireland would have been deserted; nor would the title conferred upon her by the gratitude of the Church\* have been allowed, if the supremacy of Rome were not an article of the Irish creed. In our own annals, also, are found proofs of this doctrine,—though the course of the Irish Church was, of all others, little calculated to leave many internal evidences of the authority of Rome. That authority has been ever exercised principally in condemning heresies, in restoring ecclesiastical discipline, in stimulating the zeal of Christians. But in Ireland, for many ages, there was scarcely any necessity for such interference. Attaining at once, as we have seen, a proud eminence among Christian Churches for sanctity and Christian learning, she was blessed with children whose ardour for science was directed and made holy by charity. They were not puffed up by knowledge; there was among them no rash hand that, under the pretence of enlarging the bounds and of freeing the energies of the

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\* *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum.*

human mind, presumed to move the landmarks of faith fixed by their fathers. Fervent without fanaticism, and learned without pride, so universally did they adhere to their first faith, that, notwithstanding the intellectual activity of so many monasteries, supplied with all the then known treasures of profane as well as of sacred learning, there is not even one instance recorded of the operation, in any matter of faith, of that canon of St. Patrick, by which recourse and obedience to Rome, in disputed questions, was expressly and sacredly enjoined.\* “For,” says St. Columbanus, in his letter to pope Boniface, “among the Irish there is no Jew, no heretic, no schismatic; but the Catholic faith preserved unshaken, such as it was delivered by the predecessors of your holiness. For we are bound, as I said, to the chair of Peter, and though Rome is great and renowned, yet with us she is great and renowned *only* on account of that chair. By the two apostles of Christ, you are become almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world.”† This testimony of one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Irish Church is the more remarkable, as it expressly excludes the merely ecclesiastical and the political origin of the papal power, and expressly asserts the divine right. We have in the paschal controversy an unequivocal declaration of the sense attached to the canon of St. Patrick by the Irish Church. Assembling in synod, by order of Pope Honorius, the Irish prelates, many of them contemporaries of the disciples of St. Patrick, expressly declare, that they had been *ordered* by their predecessors to follow, *without scruple*, the decisions of Rome;‡ and accordingly deputed persons to Rome, as “children to their mother,” to learn the custom which it would be their duty to embrace. To these authorities we shall merely add, — the calm submission of the Irish Church to the spiritual claims of Gregory VII,§ and to the legatine authority of Gillebert, bishop of Limerick.|| Such frequent proof had the Irish given of devoted attachment to their creed and discipline, that they never would have allowed so momentous an article

\* “Si quæ quæstiones in hac insulâ oriantur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur.”—Lan. vol. ii. p. 391.

† Lan. vol. ii. p. 294.

‡ Cumman represents them as saying, “Decessores nostri *mandaverunt* per idoneos testes alios viventes, alios in pace dormientes, ut potiora et meliora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientia, et successoribus apostolorum delata *sine scrupulo* humiliter sumeremus.” Lan. vol. ii. p. 390.

§ Lan. vol. iii. p. 484.

|| Lan. vol. iii. p. 467.



as the supremacy of Rome to be inserted, without a murmur, into their profession of faith. Had they not previously acknowledged the pope, it would be as easy to persuade them that papal jurisdiction was not an usurpation, as it would be to persuade us that our forefathers have been taking the oath of supremacy for the last three hundred years.

We shall now examine Mr. Palmer's history of that period, when, in defence of her faith, Ireland showed a constancy as unshaken and as triumphant as her reception of the faith had been peaceful and fervent. In the sixteenth century, regal violence, often undisguised, sometimes thinly veiled by the crouching sycophancy of some corrupt ecclesiastics, sought to overthrow the Irish Church, to proscribe the Christian sacrifice, and to sever a communion consecrated and strengthened by the religious associations of eleven hundred years. The attempt has signally failed. The Reformers found in Ireland two races so different from each other, that they appear rather like two hostile nations than like fellow-subjects living in the same country under the same crown. They were of different origin, governed by different laws, and of political feelings and predilections so diametrically opposed, that in Elizabeth's wars they are found fighting on opposite sides, according to their different sense of political duty. The Anglo-Irish of all the great towns, and the inhabitants of the counties strictly called the English pale, continued faithful to the political sway of Elizabeth; but the event proves that they were not less determined Catholics than the native Irish, or than the *degenerate* (?) English families of Munster and of Connaught. Divided in politics, Ireland was still universally Catholic. We can easily conceive how, with feelings of pleasure, the Irish Catholic should look back to this period, when Irishmen unanimously spurned the royal creed, and when the Irish Church embraced with the alacrity and the martyr devotion of a young Church—the terrible trials reserved for her in these latter times. The arrival of St. Patrick was the dawning of that long and brilliant day, during which "learning and religion shed a bright lustre on Ireland." The Reformation ushered in another era of glory, but of far different character. For "four or five centuries after her conversion, the Irish Church sent forth her apostles to enlighten Northern Europe; for three centuries she was destined to reprove, silently by her constancy, and openly by her zeal, the weakness of her fallen

sisters. For four or five centuries, Catholics from every country in Europe were hospitably welcomed to her shores; for three centuries, her own sons, scattered in exile, assured the Catholic Church that the storm which had laid the altars of St. Aidan and St. Columba\* in the dust, was exhausting its vain fury against the parent Church of Ireland. Thus may the Catholic fearlessly invite attention to the sixteenth century, and contemplating the perseverance with which Ireland won and wore the martyr's palm, feel a pleasure, scarcely, if at all, inferior to that with which he dwells on the *aureole* of peaceful learning and sanctity of her first four or five centuries." But it is difficult to conceive how any person interested in the honour and security of the Church by law established in Ireland, can venture to provoke discussion on the Protestant proceedings of the sixteenth century, on the men and the means that effected the reforms of Henry VIII, of Edward, and of Elizabeth. Solicitude for the fair fame of the Established Church may excuse Mr. Palmer, but to attempt to give the air of a canonical act to the Irish Reformation, to assert that it was not effected by the strong and merciless arm of political power, is worse than useless—it is very imprudent. The high places are now filled by the *friends* of the Church by law established in Ireland. But there is among them one, whom the suppliant cry of the whole Irish Protestant episcopacy† could not deter from giving a terrible example of the *canonical* law, to which the Church by law established is subjected. His very name should be enough to make the mitres tremble on the heads of her remaining bishops, and to check the slightest aspiration to any other than a purely political existence. The Protestant Church of Ireland is at present blessed with all that her spiritual founders desired. Raised *for a time* high above all contact with popular prejudices, established by law, not in the affections of the people, but in the wide domains of the Church, she has the state for her proctor, and the landed pro-

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\* Both Irishmen, and founders, the former of the Northumbrian, the latter of the Scottish Churches.

† "To add to their (Irish Protestant clergy) afflictions, the *government*, in 1833, suppressed ten of the bishoprics, on pretence of requiring their revenues for the support of ecclesiastical buildings, although the bishops of Ireland, in a body, protested against such an act, and offered to pay the amount required from the income of their sees, provided that so great an injury were not done to the cause of religion." Palmer, Eccl. Hist. p. 267.

prietors of Ireland as her immediate vassals. She is not, indeed, blessed with many children, nor does she show many symptoms of Christian health, but wealth flows into her lap from the rich and the powerful of the land. Rich livings are in her gift, younger sons of the aristocracy must live, and so long as a sense of the interests of the whole aristocratic order, and gratitude for favours received, or hope for favours to come, can secure prompt compliance with her annual claims on her immediate supporters, so long does she appear secure in the possession of the only goods which her founders desired. The whole history of these founders proves that they sought not us but ours. The souls of the Irish gave them very little concern. Openly resting her right on parliamentary authority, and on the naked sword, imbibing her inspirations not in the commission to teach nations, but in the secular enactments of the statute book,—the Irish Protestant Church came amongst us, without the zeal of charity in her face, or words of peace and mercy on her lips. Never did she even once make those blessed words heard, when, in her name, blood flowed and famine stalked over the burnt fields of Desmond and Tyrone. The possession of the ecclesiastical property was the great, the sole object of her wishes. In vain did governor after governor call on the Protestant prelates to prove their gratitude to the royal power. In vain did Sydney call out for some Scotchmen who could speak Irish; that Spenser re-echoed the cry for only four good Englishmen to restore “the overthrowne Church;” that Mountjoy declared that Reformation should begin in their own house;—the Scotchmen came not; the English came, but could not speak Irish, and were scandalous characters; the Irish would not leave “their warm nests;” and the royal zeal, though recommended by all the authority of Elizabeth’s lay legates, found no response in the breasts of the prelates of the fallen Church. Smitten in her very infancy with all the disorders of a corrupt, superannuated, secular corporation, she was the mere puppet of the royal power; without even one thought of observing one ecclesiastical law, or of discharging any one regular function of a Christian Church. It was thus permitted by Providence, in order to preserve the Catholic faith, to remove temptation, if, indeed, from the Reformers temptation could come; and to leave evidence undeniable, that the Irish Reformation was the work of secular authority, and almost of that authority alone. We shall prove, by un-



suspected testimony, the character here given of the Elizabethan Protestant Church of Ireland.

Feeling, we suppose, that the ecclesiastical reforms of Henry and of his son, are utterly indefensible by any strained principle of Jansenistic canon law, or by any distorted precedent of ecclesiastical history, Mr. Palmer virtually abandons them with the remark, that during those two reigns not much was done. Much *was* done. More than enough to prove the utter contempt in which all ecclesiastical propriety was held by that courtly lady called "Reform." It was during those reigns that she learned to call dissent from royal theologians, treason; that she seduced some bishops by bribes, and terrified others by threats; and that she began to exercise herself to the use of the sword, which, after a passing rebuke from Queen Mary, she wielded with such dexterity over the poor Irish in the reign of Elizabeth. The reformed Church of Elizabeth, if we make some little allowance for the growth of years, is evidently identical with the reformed Irish Churches of Henry and of Edward, and must be content to take upon herself the responsibility of all their irregularities, since she never protested against them. We shall present a brief summary of those irregularities, having first merely stated, what we shall afterwards explain at length, that in the opinion of Mr. Palmer, the Irish Church was competent to abolish the supremacy and the mass, and to introduce the English Prayer Book, provided those changes were made by an act of the Irish Church herself, and not merely by secular power.

In the reign of Henry VIII, Mr. Palmer tells us—

"The abolition of the papal power in England, by the *united action* of the temporal and spiritual powers, was speedily, though imperfectly, imitated in Ireland. In 1537 the Irish parliament declared the king supreme head of the Church of Ireland, prohibited appeals to Rome, suppressed the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, and prohibited all pecuniary payments to the Roman see. The primate, Cromer, opposed, ineffectually, these regulations;—they were sustained by Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates; and it seems that the clergy took the oath of regal supremacy, and rejection of the papal jurisdiction, prescribed by act of parliament."

A few plain extracts will show how this imperfect imitation of the English Reformation was effected in Ireland. George Browne, *archbishop* of Dublin, having received a *commission* to abolish the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, informs Cromwell of the success of his *canonical* powers:—

“Most honoured lord,—Your humble servant, receiving your *mandate* as one of his highness’s commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his highness as their supreme head.....And do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction, laying a curse on the people whoever should own his highness’s supremacy.....It is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act, for they do not much matter his highness’s commission;—*the common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in the truth, at the beginning of the Gospel, &c.* 1535, Sept. 4.”—Cox, p. 246.

To overcome this universal resistance of clergy and people, parliament did assemble on the 1st of May, 1536; but so determined was the opposition to the royal measures by the clergy and their representatives, that though the latter were deprived of their right to vote, repeated prorogations deferred the final legislative triumph of the royal will until the 20th of December, 1537.\* Thus a year and a half were required to gain even this partial success. For a considerable time, Staples of Meath, and Brown of Dublin,† stood alone, apostates from their brethren. The primate, Cromer, still resolutely opposed; and in the contest, the “gravity and meekness of his demeanour”‡ present a striking contrast to the “lightness”§ and avarice of Brown. Parliament had indeed made laws, but could not change the religious opinions of the people, for, in April 1538, Brown informed Cromwell “that the people of this nation were zealous, though unknowing; that most of the clergy, though not scholars, were crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness’s orders; that when he had observed his lordship’s letters of commission, several of his pupils left him for so doing; that his reforms were opposed by his prior and dean, who had written to Rome to be encouraged; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long, before his highness can submit them to his grace’s orders; finally, that the country folk here much hated Cromwell, and despitefully

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\* Cox, p. 247.

† Moore, vol. iii. p. 299.  
 || Henry VIII. Letter to Brown.

‡ Ware.

called him, in their Irish tongue, the blacksmith's son."\* No attempt was made to assemble the prelates and clergy of the Irish Church, to pronounce on the lawfulness of the new changes. The bishops who did, before Henry's death, take the oath of supremacy, were, for the most part, successors to those sees which became vacant *after* the acts of parliament had passed, and the oath was tendered to them as the price of their admission to the temporalities of their respective sees. And yet Mr. Palmer represents these individual apostacies of some ambitious and corrupt priests as the concurrence of the *Irish Church* with the action of the temporal power. Cox, his favourite author, has an excellent description of the *action* by which the supremacy was enforced on clergy and people. We do not pledge ourselves to the perfect accuracy of the details, or to the order of events, but of one thing we are quite certain,—that they are neither canonical nor Christian:—

“It seems that the lord deputy had new instructions to oblige all the Irish, by indenture, to own the king's supremacy, and to renounce the pope's usurpation, &c. &c. ; and to effect this, the lord deputy marched to Offaley on the 17th June, and on the 18th encamped in O'Mulloy's country, and took the castle of Eglis ; on the 19th he took Bir and Modrymie, in O'Carroll's country ; on the 24th O'Kennedy submitted to him in Ormond ; and on the 25th Mac Brian Arra likewise submitted. On the 26th the lord deputy came to Abbyowney, where O'Mulrian, Ulick Burke, of Clanrickard, and Tybot Burke Mac William, made their submissions ; and so on the 28th he came to Limerick, where the mayor and aldermen took the oath of supremacy, and swore to renounce the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and the bishop of Limerick did the like without scruple ; and order was left for the clergy and commonalty of that city to follow that example, and that certificates of their performance be returned into chancery.....On the 4th of July the army came to O'Brian's Bridge, and had a skirmish with the *rebels*, and on the 6th demolished the castle and the bridge ; and on the 8th the lord deputy marched into Thomond, and took the castles of Clare and Ballycolome ; and on the 9th he came into Clanrickard, and took the castle of Ballyclare ; and on the 11th he came to Galway, and the mayor and aldermen followed the example of Limerick, and took the oath of the king's supremacy, and renounced the pope's usurped authority,—and here O'Flaherty, O'Madden, and Mac Yoris made their submissions. On the 21st the lord deputy removed to O'Kelly's country, where O'Connor

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\* Cox, p. 256.



Mac Henry submitted.....So on the 25th the lord deputy returned to Maynooth.\* And it is to be noted, that all those that submitted were bound by indenture, as well as oath, to own the king's supremacy, and to renounce the pope's usurpations. But when the king had an account of what was done, he answered, by his letter to the lord deputy, that their oaths, submissions, and indentures, were not worth a farthing, since they did not give hostages."—*Cox*, p. 253, A.D. 1537.

Thus, by marches and countermarches, by storming castles, and blowing up bridges, by appearing before affrighted churchmen and aldermen with all the pomp and terrors of war, was the royal supremacy canonically established throughout the land. The oath in one hand, and in the other the sword, which, by the execution of the Fitzgeralds, had lately sent terror and the bereavement of family affliction into most of the great families of the nation, the lord deputy propagated the new creed in the true style of Mahometan conquest. It would require an accurate knowledge of the precise limits of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction to enable the Irish, who took the oath at this early period, to distinguish between the submission thus exacted by military force, and that civil submission which had been often exacted from them by the armed hostings of the pale. At a later period, it is true, many of the Irish chieftains are said to have acknowledged Henry's claims. But they had before their eyes the specimen just given of the vigorous arguments by which these claims would be enforced. They had also the hope of political justice, of being allowed to hold the lands which had belonged to their ancestors. If they were dazzled by this unexpected gleam of royal justice, and submitted, their submission was not an act of the nation. Many of them forfeited the affections of their countrymen; others renounced the new honours; and, the souls of the Kerne and the Galloglass being as precious as those of their masters (though a stately religion may not think so), we can console ourselves for the misfortune of the chiefs, in the fidelity of the *Irish people*,—still Catholic to the heart's core, and as "zealous," according to Brown, "as the saints and martyrs for the truth."

The progress of the Reformation under Edward was worthy of its origin under Henry. The youthful reformer sent over a *proclamation* to Ireland, on 6th of February 1550, ordering

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\* The baronial residence of the earls of Kildare. Earl Thomas and his five uncles were executed by Henry, A.D. 1537. Maynooth was occupied by the king's troops, and was *then*, it would seem, a great centre of Protestantism.

the introduction of the English liturgy: "Edward, by the grace of God, &c. &c., wills and commands, as also authorizes you, Sir Anthony A. Leger, knight, our Viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests, within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and *obey*\* this our royal will and pleasure accordingly."† 2. In defiance of the primate Dowdal, and of the majority of the bishops assembled in synod, the royal order was received by Brown, of Dublin, saying, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king . . . unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cesar, in all things just and lawful, *making no question why or wherefore*,‡ as we own him our true and lawful king." 3. The English liturgy, in obedience to the royal will and pleasure, was introduced into several churches of the English pale without the consent of the bishops of the Irish Church, and contrary to the declared wishes of the majority of the synod in Dublin assembled. 4. To punish Dowdal's opposition, *the king and council of England* deprived him of his primacy, and transferred it to Dublin. 5. While Dowdal was yet living, Goodacre, the royal nominee, schismatically intruded into his see of Armagh. 6. In contempt of the ecclesiastical law of celibacy, received, and obligatory, in the Church of Ireland, Brown of Dublin, Travers of Leighlin, Lancaster of Kildare, Bale of Ossory, Casey of Limerick, and Staples of Meath, were married. All these changes were effected by the royal will and pleasure, and by the schismatical and heretical co-operation of a few bishops, without even the sanction of parliamentary authority, upon which Dr. Mant prudentially rests the rights of the Protestant Church of Ireland. They were execrated by the second order of the clergy and by the people, even in those dioceses over which schismatical bishops had been placed. If we believe Dr. Mant, Brown, and Bale, *bishop* of Ossory, were the most distinguished advocates of the liturgy. If we believe Bale, himself alone was worthy of peculiar distinction; for he complains of the "lewd example of his brother, of Dublin, and of his zeal ever slack in things pertaining to the glory of God;" while he dwells with complacency on his own exertions to enlighten the benighted citizens and clergy of

\* Var. Lec. Mr. Palmer alone, against King Edward *et omnes*, asserts that the royal proclamation only *recommended* the liturgy.

† Cox, p. 288.

‡ Cox, p. 290.

Kilkenny. "He treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church, and helpers he found *none*; but adversaries a great many among his prebendaries and clergy." His own words will best tell how utterly fruitless was the preaching of the most zealous of Edward's bishops: "On Thursday, the last day of August (after Mary's accession), I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstition of the Bishop of Rome, to the utter contempt of Christ and of his holy Word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and political order, without even statute or yet proclamation. They rang all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*—and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered and chaunted it with great noise and devotion. They banquetted it all the day after for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun."\* Thus, as if awaking from a hideous dream, did the clergy and people of the "faire citie" fling off, with the nightmare of Bale's presence, the worship imposed upon them by royal proclamation; and yet Mr. Palmer gravely assures us, that, for many long years after the accession of Elizabeth, those very aisles of the great temple were thronged with clergy and people, willing believers in that very doctrine which, at the accession of Mary, was rejected with so much unanimity and delight. Dr. Mant does not disguise the truth. He candidly acknowledges that "not much was done during this six years' reign because of the *untractable temper* of the people, and their *inveterate attachment* to the superstitions of Rome." It can be scarcely necessary to add, that had the Irish not been *inveterately* attached to Rome, we would have heard few complaints from Dr. Mant of their untractable temper.

From these proceedings in the reigns of Henry and Edward, we can easily judge of the value to be attached to Mr. Palmer's assertion, that the Irish Church cooperated with those monarchs in abolishing the supremacy, and in intro-

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\* For these extracts from Bale see Dr. Mant, Hist. of the Established Church of Ireland, reign of Edward.



ducing the English Liturgy. If there had been question—not of the sacrifice of the mass, but of some national ecclesiastical law regarding its celebration,—not of the supremacy of the Pope, but of some merely disciplinary and national regulation of its exercise,—if, in a word, the changes were such as could be lawfully made by a national Church in its own peculiar national discipline; yet would the means by which these changes were effected be utterly opposed to every principle of ecclesiastical law. Yet, for the tyrannical interference of Henry and of Edward, and for the schismatical and heretical opposition of some bishops to their brethren, Mr. Palmer has not one word of censure. His wrath is exclusively reserved for the *irregular* acts of Mary restoring the Catholic religion in Ireland. “In the reign of Mary,” he says, “the chief prelate, Dowdal, under royal commission in 1554, deprived and expelled from their sees the Archbishop of Dublin and three or four other prelates favourable to Reformation, and six bishops were ordained in place of the bishops expelled, or condemned to fly.” These proceedings he contrasts with the expulsion of Catholic bishops in the reign of Elizabeth. “Five bishops favourable to Reformation had been expelled irregularly by royal commission in the time of Queen Mary; two only out of the whole number of Irish bishops were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, in consequence of their opposition to measures approved by the rest, and it is to be observed that these two bishops (of Meath and Kildare) hath both intruded into their sees, the legitimate pastors being still alive, and deprived not by a synod, but by a single bishop, which was altogether contrary to the canons.” Hence it appears that Mr. Palmer can appeal to canons when he thinks they suit his purpose. We shall see immediately the number of bishops expelled by Elizabeth, and the approbation given by the Irish bishops to her measures; for the present we dispose of the irregular expulsion of five bishops in the reign of Mary by a single bishop, without a synod, and by royal commission. We have had already occasion to observe that Cox is an authority with Mr. Palmer. The simple text of Cox therefore may be more welcome than Ware, who, in his annals, confirms, or rather supplies the following narrative:

“George Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, who fled beyond the seas in the reign of King Edward, was now recalled and restored to the title of Primate of all Ireland. He held a provincial synod in Drogheda (Tredagh) where they made some progress towards restoring Popery and *depriving the married clergy*. But in April

it went farther, and the Primate and Dr. Walsh (elect Bishop of Meath) received a commission *to deprive them*, and accordingly Staples, Bishop of Meath, was for that reason deprived on the 29th day of June, and in the latter end of the same year the like was done to Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, and Travers, Bishop of Leighlin, and the two other Protestant bishops, viz., Bale, Bishop of Ossory, and Casey, Bishop of Limerick, fled beyond the seas."

Here, it is true, we have royal commissions to execute what had been already canonically decreed in synod—to punish, by deprivation, a few bishops who, by a proceeding altogether contrary to the canons, had taken wives, adopted the English Liturgy, and given more authority to the king and council of England, than to the opposing voice of the Irish church. Walsh, Bishop of Meath, and Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, therefore were not intruders, but bishops canonically instituted in place of Staples and of Lancaster canonically deprived—according to Mr. Palmer's system of canon law.

"For Elizabeth was reserved the glory of finally emancipating the Church of Ireland from the Roman usurpation, not, however, without the accompanying calamity of a schism which has continued ever since." So says Mr. Palmer, as he steps forth to vindicate the legitimacy of the Elizabethan Church of Ireland. Though he prudently reserved all his strength for the defence of Elizabeth, he honestly acknowledges the difficulty of his enterprise, which is nothing less than to refute what has been often asserted by friends and by enemies, and without contradiction, namely, that in the reign of Elizabeth religion was changed by merely secular and parliamentary power. Unwilling to acknowledge that to this violent interposition of temporal power, the people of Ireland are indebted for the blessing of a Reformed Church, every nerve is strained to prove that the notions generally, and without contradiction, and for three centuries entertained on this matter, are without the slightest foundation. The Irish Reformation was *not* the work of the civil power. It was the act of the Irish Church herself. It was *not* opposed by the people and by the clergy of the second order. The inferior clergy generally concurred, and the laity everywhere continued subject to their pastors and did not cease to attend the sacred offices. The Irish Church was competent to abolish the supremacy and to substitute the English Prayer Book for the Roman Missal, and she did so by the unanimous and authentic voice of her prelates.

“The Earl of Sussex was sent by the queen in 1560 to promote the adoption of these measures in the Irish Parliament; 1. and also to convene a general assembly of the clergy and secure their sanction. 2. In the parliament which met and enacted those regulations, nineteen prelates were present, of whom only two were opposed to their adoption. At this time we know that not more than twenty-six bishops were living in the Irish Church, probably not so many. Thus a great majority of the whole synod of Irish bishops assented to the measures in parliament, and the assembly of the clergy offered no opposition.”

These were assuredly brilliant prospects for the Reformation. Not only did it receive this sanction of the bishops in synod assembled, but was also approved by those who had remained at home in their sees; the whole body (generally) of the inferior clergy obediently submitted to their bishops—the people every where to their clergy; so that bishops, priests, and people, of the Irish Church were at once metamorphosed into pious Protestants, by the salutary agency of one short parliament of Elizabeth. Whence then the cloud that so soon darkened this fair dawn of Irish Protestantism? Whence the extraordinary change in the religious sentiments of the Irish clergy and people? How came it to pass that at the death of Elizabeth the survivors of her tyranny were almost exclusively Catholic? That Chichester complained of the very air of Ireland being tainted with Popery? That though “brayed as it were in a mortar by famine, pestilence, and the sword,”\* the Irish still clung to the Pope? Did Elizabeth and her officers slay all the believers who submitted so willingly, and who persevered so long, quietly frequenting the sacred offices of the Protestants? No, not the sword of the Virgin slew the bodies of the Protestants, but the machinations of Rome involved their souls in perdition. Their attachment to the state religion and all its fair worldly promises was shaken by the spiritual threats of Richard Creagh, schismatically intruded by the Roman Pontiff into the see of Armagh. But neither the exertions of Creagh nor of the other Roman emissaries would have succeeded, without the use of more carnal weapons than those hitherto employed. The people were very ignorant, and very barbarous, and superstitious; and some of them were deluded by various lying and extravagantly absurd stories and miracles. But the mass was sound, and would have had sense enough

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\* Sir John Davis, Reasons, &c. &c.



to continue Protestant, had not some Irish and Anglo-Irish lords been induced to rebel. They *did* rebel against the mild sway of Elizabeth; the Irish Catholic clergy were in front of the Rebellion—and, by various bloody and savage insurrections, the *Roman schism* was unhappily extended and consolidated. How? By wresting with armed hand concession and toleration from Elizabeth? By success in the field? No; but by the depopulation of three-fourths of the island; by the confiscation of a million of Catholic acres; by the application of the rope and of the axe to the necks of Catholic bishops and priests; by the vigorous enforcement of penal laws when they could be prudently enforced. Such were the means by which Ireland, universally Protestant for ten or twelve years after the accession of Elizabeth, was, at her death, universally Catholic!!! Whoever doubts the possible combination, in one learned head, of such a profound knowledge of history and of human nature as this sketch exhibits, can settle all his doubts by consulting Mr. Palmer's Treatise on the Church.

With Mr. Palmer's theology we have at present nothing to do. Without discussing the right attributed to the Irish Church, of rejecting the papal supremacy and the mass, we merely inquire whether the bishops of Ireland did really renounce these doctrines, and whether the decision of the bishops, if formally and authentically given, was at first universally received by clergy and people without opposition. Had Elizabeth's power in Ireland been equal to her hatred of Catholicity, she would undoubtedly have realized Mr. Palmer's fiction of the first years of her reign, if the attachment of the Irish to their creed were not stronger than their fear of death. She had elsewhere given proofs of the rigour with which she could dragoon an unwilling clergy and people into submission to her will, and could the same means be tried in Ireland, it would not be Elizabeth's fault if they were not attended with the same effects. But, fortunately, Ireland did not offer such facilities for the effectual enforcement of the penal statutes of 1560. Without entering into a lengthened detail of the very complicated Irish ecclesiastical affairs, of the forty-three years ending in 1603; without appealing to any other but Protestant authorities, we can show that at no period of Elizabeth's reign did the Irish acquiesce in the religious change, and that the consent, supposed to have been given by their prelates to that change, is a fiction of Mr. Palmer's. The royal authority was not sufficiently

strong in Ireland to compel the people to submission. Though laws had often been made, and armies often set on foot to break the power of the Irish and of the Anglo-Irish lords, and to abolish Irish laws, language, and customs, it is notorious that in the year 1560, not more than a few counties and some of the principal towns of Ireland were really subject to English power. Ulster was not divided into counties until late in Elizabeth's reign,—was not even then troubled with the permanent presence of English authorities, —and continued virtually independent, under the M'Guires, Mac Mahons, O'Donnells, and O'Neils, down to the submission of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. An English president was not appointed in Connaught until the year 1568. Previously to that time it had been entirely under the control of the two families of the Burkes, and of the native Irish families—O'Connor, O'Ruark, &c.; and even when the president was established, his tyranny and exactions often drove the inhabitants to resistance, and made his power precarious and inefficient. Over the greater part of Munster, the Earls of Desmond and the numerous branches of his family reigned like independent princes; and so utterly powerless was the royal authority, that it could not prevent, at least for some years after Elizabeth's accession, the baronial feuds of Desmond and Ormond, by which, we are told, the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, were almost laid desolate. An English president was not sent to Munster until 1568. Even in Leinster, the accession of Longford to the number of English counties was made in the reign of Elizabeth. She had no power in Wicklow; none in immense tracts lying on the borders of the counties of Carlow and Wexford; and her officers with difficulty maintained themselves in the King's and Queen's counties, against the very natural and very vigorous efforts of the O'Moores and O'Connors to recover their inheritance, of which they had been treacherously and tyrannically deprived. When to these we add, Clare in the hands of the O'Briens, and the northern portion of Tipperary in the hands of the O'Carrolls, we have a pretty correct view of the political state of far the greater part of Ireland when the penal statutes were passed in the parliament of the pale, 1560. If the clergy and people of three provinces of the island, and of a large portion of the fourth, did, for many years after Elizabeth's accession, frequent the sacred offices of the Protestant Church, they must have done so from pure love of Protestantism, for there was no power to compel them. His-

tory tells us that they did not willingly submit to the state creed. Almost all these portions of Ireland were, during the reign of Elizabeth, the theatre of almost continual war, whose professed political objects were, the abolition of the power of the Irish and Anglo-Irish lords; the compulsory surrender of a portion of their lands, to be held under English tenure; the plantation of English families, whenever it was possible; the payment of cess for the re-granted lands, and the destruction of Irish captainries. These political objects were effected by treachery, violence, undisguised injustice, and wholesale murder, unparalleled in the annals of the most savage warfare. All the oppressed were of the Catholic religion;—and often made that religion their rallying cry. Against that religion came Protestantism; established, not by preaching or teaching, but by the very same means by which the political objects were effected. “Civilitie, good government, and religion,” were always on the lips of English governors,—who established that religion against the will of a people,—“brayed, as it were, in a mortar, by famine, by pestilence, and by the sword.”

Nor did the pale itself, the stronghold of the English power, offer much greater facilities for the tranquil establishment of the Protestant creed. The pale was necessary for the support of Elizabeth’s power; it was identified in feeling with England, but remained firmly attached to the Catholic religion. The opposition apprehended may be judged from the fact, that out of nineteen *English* counties, only ten were represented in the parliament of 1560;\* and yet, even in this packed parliament, so determined was the resistance to the royal will, that Archdeacon Lynch assures us, the penal measures were passed through the house on a day on which a session was neither expected nor attended by many of the members.† Mary’s laws in favour of the Catholic religion were repealed. Acts were passed obliging all ecclesiastical persons, and those who held offices, to renounce, by an oath of supremacy, all foreign jurisdiction. Uniformity of public worship was decreed. Any clergyman refusing to use the English book of prayer, or using any other form of public worship, rite, ceremony, or manner of celebrating the Lord’s supper, *openly* or *privily*, was, for the first offence, to forfeit all the profit or income of his benefice for one year; for the

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\* Leland, b. iv. c. i. p. 225, vol. ii.

† Dalton’s History of the County Dublin, p. 411.



second offence, imprisonment at pleasure; and for the third, imprisonment for life.

Almost all our historians of note, both Protestant and Catholic, concur in representing the discontent produced in Ireland by this parliament, as deep and universal. "At the very beginning of this parliament, Her Majesty's well wishers found that most of the nobility and commons were divided in opinion about the ecclesiastical government, which caused the Earl of Sussex to dissolve them, and to go over to England, to consult Her Majesty on the affairs of the kingdom."\* During his absence, the government was intrusted to William Fitzwilliam; a person, says Dr. Leland, "Not considerable enough to enforce his authority among a people, who were only to be managed by a deputy of power and consequence, and were now particularly provoked by the violence offered to their religious prejudices. The partisans of Rome inveighed against the queen and her impious ministers. The clergy who refused to conform, abandoned their cures, no reformed ministers could be found to supply their places; the churches fell to ruin, and *the people were left without any religious worship or instruction*. Even in places of most civility, the statutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity. The ignorant were taught to abominate a government which they heard consigned to the terrors of divine vengeance." The evident prejudice, and warm Protestantism of this extract, recommended it strongly to Mr. Palmer's especial consideration. After an absence of two or three months, according to Ware, "Sussex returned to Ireland, and some time after, special letters arrived from Elizabeth, ordering a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion throughout the several dioceses of the kingdom." Hence it clearly appears, that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers attached much importance to the convocation of the Irish clergy. The authority of parliament alone was at first sought, and, three months after, it was deemed becoming to ascertain what were the opinions of the Church on matters which, with the sanction of heavy penalties, had been already arranged by parliamentary and by royal authority. Whether the nineteen bishops who, it is said, attended the parliament, were detained in Dublin for two or three months until the meeting of convocation; whether, if they went

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\* Ware's Annals.

home, any or all of them returned; whether, in fine, the convocation was attended by two or more bishops, we have now no means of determining.

The act, therefore, by which the Irish Church emancipated herself from the supremacy of Rome, and stood forth to the world in all the *noble independence* of Protestantism, must be the consent given by the presence of nineteen bishops when the penal enactments were hurried through parliament. Before we examine how far the presence of the bishops (if they were present), can be taken as a proof of their free consent and acceptance of the royal will, it may be necessary to ask, whether, if some, or all of the bishops dissented, Elizabeth could have tried an ecclesiastical *coup de main*, and deprived all the dissentients. That she had the will, no person doubts; that she had the means is very doubtful, because of the discontent of the people; and moreover, we know from the whole policy of her reign, that the penal statutes were not uniformly enforced,—they were relaxed, when political necessity required, and enforced when the existence of the English government would not be endangered by their enforcement. How then does the alleged presence of the nineteen bishops prove that they sanctioned the Protestant statutes? Did Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, sanction them? Certainly not, for they were afterwards deposed, because they opposed them, and yet both Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, were present in the parliament of 1560. The simple presence of the bishops, is not a conclusive proof, nor of itself any proof at all of their apostacy. Other arguments must be adduced to prove that Protestantism had even the parliamentary assent of the "*synod of bishops*" in the parliament of 1560, and other arguments there are none; but one, which if true, imprints indelibly the seal of royal violence on the origin of the Irish established Church. The seventeen bishops would be deprived had they dissented, say our adversaries; if so, the consent of the Irish Church was given not from free choice but under the influence of fear; and the *emancipation* of the Irish Church was not her own canonical act, but the violent effect of royal power. It does not, however, by any means appear, that the dissentients could be deprived. Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, must have been peculiarly obnoxious, because they had both been joined with Dowdal in the commission for the depriva-

tion of the married clergy in the preceding reign,\* and yet after the convocation, Walsh was allowed to retire to Trim, where he preached publicly against the oath of supremacy, and the book of English prayer.† What was to prevent other dissentients from retiring to their dioceses, and refusing to co-operate in the new reforms? Elizabeth's authority was strong in the dioceses of Meath and Kildare, and she could easily, as she effectually did, deprive Walsh and Leverous, but it would be a more difficult matter to send orders "to clap up in prison,"‡ a Munster, a Connaught, or an Ulster bishop. We defy Mr. Palmer to produce against all, or against more than one or two of the seventeen bishops, any other proof of apostacy, than their non-deprivation. Immediately after the parliament, in the very first nomination to the diocese of Armagh, "the high spirited queen," is commiserated by Dr. Leland, because she was obliged to renounce a statute passed in that parliament, and declared essential to the royal power and dignity. The *Congé d'Elire* was declared by parliament injurious to the queen, and yet the queen was obliged to issue a *Congé d'Elire* for the election of Loftus to the see of Armagh. Want of power therefore, to enforce the statutes of 1560, or rather a wish to obtain possession of all the sees gradually, as they became vacant, may explain what to Dr. Mant seems inexplicable. "Why," he writes, "those who had incurred the penalty of their confession of the reformed faith, were not restored to their see on Queen Elizabeth's accession, or why Bishop Casey was not restored till after the lapse of so long a period of deprivation has not been fully explained. Bishop Bale is supposed not have desired restoration, and possibly the others were dead, before the opportunity had arrived of restoring them. But in effect this conduct of the government, rather wears the appearance of lenity and forbearance towards the advocates of Popery, than of a just and equitable consideration for the martyrs of the reformed Church." In the conduct of the government there was forbearance, but it was a forbearance exacted by the same necessity which secured for many of the inhabitants of the pale a relaxation of some of the penal laws, during the whole reign of Elizabeth. From "*the answer of the Protestant Committee to the false and scandalous remonstrance of the bloody and inhuman*"

\* Dr. Mant's History, &amp;c. &amp;c.

† Ware's Annals.

‡ Ibid.



*rebels of Ireland, presented to the king at Oxford, A.D. 1644,"* it would appear that notwithstanding the 2nd of Elizabeth, there had been ten chief judges successively, and all the inferior judges of Irish birth and education,\* that several Irish papists had commands in the queen's army, and were governors of counties, &c., as the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, and even those who were unfit for it, &c.... and were Papists, were nevertheless upon an external and partial conformity only, continued in their spiritual dignities notwithstanding the 2nd of Elizabeth."† An example to be given immediately will show that there was not even an external and partial conformity in every instance; we have no proof but the assertions of the "answerers," that there was, in many, and even though there were some instances of external and partial conformity, who will dignify such conformity from persons "known to be Papists," with the name of canonical approbation of the parliamentary creed? We believe the "external and partial conformity," if any such there was, to have consisted rather in silence, and in an absence of vigorous resistance, than in any positive approval; for had the conformists taken the oath of supremacy, and read the English prayer, how could their conformity be denominated partial? It is certain, that very few of the bishops living in 1560, are ever charged by any of our Catholic writers with apostacy. Thus in the appointment of Strong to the see of Ossory, Thonory is mentioned without any note or censure which would imply that he had apostatized;‡ and he certainly never was recognized bishop by law.¶ Hugh Lacy, appointed by Mary to the see of Limerick, certainly never took the oath of supremacy, or read the Common Prayer in his Church,§ and yet he continued in possession of his see until the year 1571,¶ when he was deprived, and Casey, his schismatical predecessor, restored. In 1568, presidents had been appointed, both for Munster and Connaught; and thus the expulsion of Lacy would not be attended with such dangerous consequences as would have arisen had Elizabeth declared open war against the religion of the people whom she had not the means of awing by the presence of her officers, the Earls of Desmond and of Thomond, and the citizens of Limerick. Drury was

\* I. e. Papists, as appears from the context.

† VI. Appendix, Cox.

‡ Burke, Hib. Dom.

¶ Cox, p. 300.

§ Ware, bishops.

¶ Bruodin. Passio Martyrum, p. 429, 30, vol. i. Theatre of the Protestant and Catholic Religion, printed A.D. 1620.

the first English authority that set his foot in the palatinate of Kerry in 1576; so that unless the Catholic Earls of Desmond compelled Fitzmaurice bishop of Ardfort (from 1551 to 1576), to take the oath of supremacy, and to read the English liturgy, we have not the slightest doubt that Fitzmaurice never approved the parliamentary creed. When to these examples we add, that the Pope continued to appoint without control to the three bishoprics of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, through the whole reign of Elizabeth,\* we have assigned sufficient proofs that the Irish Church did not ratify the parliamentary creed of 1560. Miler M'Grath, it is true, was appointed to the see of Clogher schismatically by Elizabeth in 1570, but the revenues could not be got, and Miler was removed to Cashel. The Church and abbey lands of these three northern dioceses, continued, according to Sir John Davis, in the possession of the Catholic clergy, down to the accession of James; the most convincing proof that could be desired of the small progress the reformation had made in the north. The seizure of all the Church property would have been the first, as it was almost universally the only act of the Irish reformers for the advancement of their Church.

Having thus disposed of the imaginary act of the Irish Church emancipating herself from the Pope in 1560, we come to another parliament held in 1585, under Sir John Perrott. Of this parliament Mr. Palmer writes:—

“ In the Irish parliament under Sir John Perrott's administration, 1585, four archbishops and twenty bishops were actually present, and as we know that at this time three of the twenty-nine sees existing at the accession of Elizabeth, were held *in commendam* with others, and one at least was vacant, we see that at this time, all the dioceses of Ireland must have been possessed by the Church. Sir John Davis seems to have erred in saying that there were three northern dioceses, to which the queen never presented, as we find M'Grath made Bishop of Clogher in 1570. But at all events, the bishops of those dioceses must have been in communion with the Church of Ireland in 1585. Thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick, through a long line of venerable prelates, has descended continually in the Church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish society on the other hand, derived its mission and succession from the pope of Rome, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, and cannot in any degree derive itself from the ancient Church of Ireland, from which

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\* Leland, b. iv. c. ii. p. 248.

it separated. We may conclude from these facts, that the community of Romanists in Ireland, thus formed, was no part of the Church of Christ, for I have proved before, that voluntary separation from a Christian Church, and the establishment of a rival communion, is a separation from Jesus Christ and altogether inexcusable."

If a succession of the venerable prelates of the Elizabeth Church, have descended continually in Ireland down to the present day; the succession was not broken by the flight of the Protestant prelates in the interval between 1641 and 1560, or by the loss of ten of its episcopal links in 1833. A hierarchy, in Mr. Palmer's principles, is not interrupted by the flight of many or of all of its members, or by the violent suppression of some of its sees. Aided by the light which this principle supplies, we see clearly that this boasted parliament of 1585, in which all the prelates of Ireland were assembled in brotherly communion, by no means establishes the legitimate succession of the Protestant Church, nor interrupts the Catholic succession of the Irish Church. Looking over the list of bishops in Ware, we find that of all the prelates of 1560, scarcely one was alive in 1585. How were their parliamentary successors appointed? whence had they their mission? Not from the Church of Ireland, which as we have proved never gave an authentic sanction to the parliamentary creed of 1560. On the contrary, the Church of Ireland held through many of her sees, uncontrolled, undisputed communion with Rome, and through other sees maintained the same communion, notwithstanding secular violence, and the schismatical intrusion of Elizabethan bishops. When the parliament of 1585 was sitting, Richard Creagh, Catholic primate of Armagh, was closing his honoured life in the tower of London,\* protesting by the constancy of his death, as he had protested by the active zeal of his life, against the legitimacy of the parliamentary primates, imposed upon the Church of Ireland without her consent. At the same moment also, Moriarty O'Brien, Catholic bishop of Emly, was confessing the true faith in the dungeons of Dublin castle.† These and other zealous bishops who preceded and followed them during the reign of Elizabeth, were appointed by the Pope without any material change in the essential discipline received in the Irish Church before the Reformation,||

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\* Stewart's History of Armagh, p. 250.

+ Brennan's Ecc. Hist. of Ireland, v. ii. p. 129.

† Synodus et Opuscula S. Patritii, p. 336.



and never abrogated by any other than royal and parliamentary, and consequently incompetent, authority. It is true that of the eighteen or twenty bishops thus appointed, many were compelled to fly from their flocks, some died in prison and others sealed with their blood the faith, whose denial would have secured life, liberty, and Protestant promotion.\* But tyrannical violence could not interrupt canonical succession, and even in the worst times, bishops were found to cling to Ireland, and to maintain her faith. These bishops were the true Catholic pastors of the Irish Church; and though we allowed that royal nominees sat in the parliament of 1585 for all the sees in Ireland, we may regard them as temporal lords, or if you will, law bishops; but we cannot recognize them as legitimate links in the apostolical succession of the Irish Catholic Church. It was a bitter mockery to say to the people of Ireland, that the Act of Union was passed by her own representatives,—it being notorious, that the House of Commons was packed by English and Scotch creatures of the British minister, men who represented, not the sentiments of the people, but their own corruption, and the corruption of those who admitted them for money into parliament. More insulting still is it to the Catholic Church of Ireland, to assert that those bishops of 1585, the creatures of royal tyranny, were the true prelates of a Church which had never approved, but on the contrary, down to that moment had constantly opposed the parliamentary creed. They were not the true prelates of the Catholic Church of Ireland. They represented, not the Church but their own servility, and the edge of Elizabeth's sword. Her power had extended to a large portion of Ireland before 1585; her bishops, as we have already observed, were planted in the Church lands, precisely as the English undertakers were planted in the confiscated estates, and with these bishops the parliament of 1585 was packed.

Here, however, an interesting question arises. How does the presence of twenty-six bishops in that parliament prove that they were Protestants? Not having seen the rolls, we cannot vouch for the truth of Dr. Leland's assertion, that the bishops of Raphoe and Clogher were present. Sir John Davis assures us, that Elizabeth never presented to those sees, and Mr. Taylor declares, that the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, who sat in the parliament of 1585, were professed Roman Catholics.† It is certain that in the acts of that parliament,

\* Brennan, v. ii. p. 123.

† Taylor's Civil Wars, vol. i. p. 205.

as given by Cox and others, there is no express declaration of Protestantism, no statute expressly renewing or sanctioning Protestantism. It appears to have been convoked for purely political purposes, and if the oath of supremacy were not tendered, why might not Catholic bishops take their seats in the House of Lords, to deliberate on the temporal interests of Ireland.\* If we believe the answer to the remonstrance, places in the armies and courts of law were held by Catholics, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth. In moments of danger the penal statutes were relaxed: the hostile designs of Spain may have had some influence on the Irish councils of 1585; and Perrott certainly received a letter that year from Elizabeth,† ordering him not to tender the oath of allegiance to persons of “nobilitie and qualitie.” Allowing therefore, that the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe were present in 1585, it by no means appears that they took the oath of allegiance. But whatever may be thought of the extent of Sir John’s toleration,‡ we have not the slightest hesitation in asserting, that the Catholic bishop of Raphoe was not in the parliament of 1585 (in person), or if he were there, that he did not apostatize. Raphoe was held in that year by Donogh Magonail (Mac Congal), one of the three Irish bishops who had attended the Council of Trent.§ Had he renounced his faith, his name assuredly would have descended to us in company with those of Myler M’Grath, and Poer, of Ferns,|| the only bishops of those appointed after 1560, who renounced the faith. Bishop M’Congal died at Calebeg (Killybeg), in

\* Especially bishops from the north. The strength and national spirit of Ulster secured its inhabitants from much permanent molestation on the score of religion until the close of Elizabeth’s reign. The act of 1568, which vested the nomination of clergy for Munster and Connaught in the lord deputy, could not be extended with safety to Ulster. The Catholic clergy held possession of the Church and abbey lands until the fall of Tyrone. Perrott was reprimanded by Elizabeth for tendering the oath of obedience to the northern chieftains, and Tyrone’s religion, it is said, was never inquired after, much less punished.

† Deedes and Death of Perrott, p. 213.

‡ Sir John Perrott would not spare some Catholic clergymen. In 1582, writing to the queen, he recommends that all bards and rhymers, that infect the people, friars, monks, Jesuits, pardonners, and nuns, and such like, that openly seek the maintenance of the Papacy—a traitorous kind of people, be executed by martial law!!! In his last will, made by him under sentence of death, “He takes God to witness that he never had purpose to favour Maister Doctor Creagh, or ever saw him to his knowledge, but was desirous to take him . . . . neither did I ever favour fryars or such kind of vermyne, but I have suppressed more monasteries and fryars while I governed the lande of Irelande than was done by all the governors before for thirtie years, neither did I ever favour Papists for papistry sake, but I did justice to and for them upon any complainte.”

§ Ware’s Bishops.

|| Poer certainly, and perhaps Myler. M’Grath repented, and died Catholic.



the county Donegal, in 1589.\* The celebrity which his presence at the Council of Trent must have given him with his countrymen, makes silence on his fall, had he fallen, impossible. His reputation is, however, with all our writers, unsullied. The same arguments apply, with considerable, if not with equal force to the Bishop of Clogher. Among the names of the persons who took the oath of obedience during Perrott's visits to the north, the name of the Bishop of Clogher is not found.† There were also other sees not *possessed* by the Protestant Church in 1585. Killala, Kerry, and Achonry had not Elizabethan bishops at that time.‡ The see of Achonry was filled by the venerable Eugene O'Hart, who was appointed by Pius IV, on the 28th of January 1562, and having assisted as bishop in the Council of Trent in 1563, returned to Ireland, where, at the patriarchal age of one hundred years, he died in his own diocese, and was buried in his own church in 1603.§ He outlived the persecutions of Elizabeth's long reign, connecting in his own person, and in the constant profession of the same faith, the Catholic Church of Ireland with the venerable fathers of Trent, with whom he had pronounced anathema against all the heresies of the sixteenth century, the Anglican included. As he was a friar, it may be interesting to inquire how he escaped the dangers to which friars and monks were especially exposed. He could find a secure asylum with the O'Rourkes, of Breffney, as well as with the O'Connor Sligoes, their neighbours. O'Rourke's name does not appear among the submissions made to Perrott, in Connaught,|| and the commissioners sent to make *composition* in that province in 1585 "were doubtful how to meddle (i. e. did not meddle at all) with O'Rourke's country, considering the condition of himself and his country both uncivil and unruly."¶ In the rising out under Tyrone, O'Rourke was the last to lay down his arms, in 1603. Thus, through a succession of martyr prelates, was the Apostolicity of the Catholic Church of Ireland preserved, notwithstanding the persecution of Elizabeth and Mr. Palmer's Parliament of 1585.

It was about this time that Elizabeth attempted to deprive John Brady, Catholic bishop of Kilmore, and schismatically intruded John Garvey into that see, which, up to that time, had held undisputed communion with Rome. She had also in

\* Ann. iv. Mag.

† Life of Perrott.

‡ Ware's Bishops.

§ Hiber. Domin. p. 486.

|| Government of Perrott, p. 11.

¶ Government of Perrott, p. 85; i. e. "Unwilling to surrender lands held from their fathers, and pay cess for the portion English commissioners might please to give them back."



1570 schismatically deprived and cruelly imprisoned O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, who had assisted in the Council of Trent, 1563. Of the Catholic prelates, therefore, whom Elizabeth found in undisputed and lawful possession of their sees, she deprived, Walsh of Meath, Leverous of Kildare, Lacy of Limerick, O'Herlihy of Ross, Brady of Kilmore, and very probably Fitzmaurice of Kerry. When to these we add the bishops already mentioned, who were canonically appointed by Rome, but were prevented by parliamentary law from residing in their sees, already filled with parliamentary bishops, we have striking proofs of Elizabeth's pretended respect for the canonical rights of the Church of Ireland.

The conduct of the inferior clergy and people was worthy of the devotion of their prelates. From several authorities in our possession we now select a few, to prove what to many, indeed, may appear unnecessary—that Ireland was Catholic during the whole reign of Elizabeth. From the report of the privy council in 1565, it appears, "That as for religion (i. e. Protestant) there was but small appearance of it; the churches were uncovered and the clergy scattered.\* In 1576, inquiry was made into the ecclesiastical state of the country, and scarcely any churches or officiating curates could be found. The people had not adopted the Protestant religion, and the Roman Catholic clergy had either fled or had been expelled from their places. A commission was therefore appointed to rectify this deplorable state of ecclesiastical affairs."† In the same year, Sydney writes to the queen, "If this be the state of the Church in the best peopled diocess (Meath) and best governed countrie of this your realme, easye it is for your majestie to conjecture in what case the rest is,—where little or no reformation of religion (i. e. Protestant) or manners hath yet been planted and contynude among them."‡ It is a lamentable thing, writes Sir John Perrott to the queen, in 1582, "How generally, in that realme, they are so far off not only from true, but also in effect from any knowledge (i. e. Protestant) at all of God, that St. Patrick (the old religion) is more familiar and of better credit with them than Christ our Saviour (as preached by the English). How can a people so estranged from God (i. e. Protestantism) have any grace to know their lawful prince and their duty to her."§ To remedy these evils he proposes, in 1585, to induce the people to come to church, "he fyrst begynneth with religion, and therefor he addresseth

\* Cox, p. 319.

† Leland, v. ii. 321.

‡ Cox and Hooker, cit. Stewart, p. 266.

§ Perrott's Letter to the Queen, 1582.

his letters unto the buyshopes and prelates of the best account, *especially those within the pale*, for the repayer of the decayed churches, whereby the people might, *in time*, be the better induced to repayer unto them to heare divine service.”\* Spenser “says, therefore, the fault which I find in religion is but one—but the same is *universal* throughout all that country (Ireland)—that is, that they be all Papists by their profession;” and even though a good English minister should come, “what good can he effect amongst them by preaching or teaching to them which either cannot understand him or will not hear him.”† *He* also wished to allure the Irish to church by making the churches comfortable; “next care in religion is to build up and repair all the ruined churches, whereof most part lie even with the ground, and some that have been lately repaired are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomliness, thereof.”‡ It is strange, that the poet could have supposed the Irish would have any objection to a thatched church, since he acknowledges that they followed their persecuted priests, “who, lurking secretly in houses and in corners of the country, did more hurt and hindrance to religion (Protestant) than all the others could do good by their public instructions.”§ Finally, in 1599, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, commences his proclamation to his countrymen—“Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your profession Catholics, and that naturally I am inclined to assist you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hinderance, and the rather for that I did expect, in process of time, you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country, most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences—in helping the enemies of God, and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresies.”|| It is well known how this appeal to religion and to their country was answered by the Irish Catholics. The Catholic Earl of Thomond, with one thousand of his men, was engaged in Mountjoy’s army when Tyrone was defeated at Kinsale, and the very first in Mountjoy’s lines were the Earl of Clanrickard, Fleming, and Taaffe, all Catholics.¶

The proofs already adduced we think amply sufficient to

\* Deedes and Death of Perrott, p. 192. † Spenser, State of Ireland, p. 134.

‡ Spenser, State of Ireland, p. 247.

§ Ibid. p. 246.

|| Leland, v. ii. p. 364.

¶ Fynes Morrison, p. 6, 45, 49, vol. ii.



show that Mr. Palmer is a very bad authority on Irish ecclesiastical affairs. Nothing could be further from the truth than his picture of the tranquil submission of the inferior clergy, generally, to the parliamentary creed, and the docile attendance of the people to their pastors, *every where* reading the parliamentary service. It is a fact as well known as any in Irish history, that Ireland had scarcely any knowledge of the English language in the reign of Elizabeth. It is asserted by some of our writers that English was not known outside the walls of Dublin; this assertion may appear too strong to those unacquainted with the prevalence of Irish, even in the large towns of the south, within the memory almost of the present generation. It was expressly acknowledged by the parliament of 1560, that in most parts of Ireland priests could not be found who had the use of the English language, and that this was true, not only of the remote counties, but also of the pale, and even of the most English portion of the pale, is evident from the report made by Sydney, in 1576, of the state of the diocese of Meath, seventeen years after the accession of Elizabeth. Out of one hundred and two vicars, attached to one hundred and two churches in that diocese, only eighteen could speak English. If we allow for the seventeen years which had elapsed since the establishment of Protestantism, and consider the professed preference given from the very beginning to those who could speak English—a preference expressly ratified by act of Parliament eight years before, in 1568—it will not be too much to assert, in 1560 that there was not one person in these hundred and two parishes who could speak English. Sydney, it is true, asserts that there were in the same diocese fifty-two other parish churches better served; but adds, significantly, “badly.” If such were the case in the diocese of Meath, “the best governed and *most civilized* ? portion of all Ireland”—if Hugh Brady, the Protestant bishop, after thirteen years’ incumbency, could not find, to supply the places of the Catholic priests who fled, more than eighteen persons who knew English, there is decisive evidence that, though the priests of Ireland had all consented to read the Protestant service in 1560, their ignorance of English must have presented, for a considerable time, to almost all, an insuperable obstacle. How was this obstacle to be removed? The only plan permitted by the principles of the new religion, was the translation of the English liturgy into Irish, in order not to incur the guilt of adopting, in religious service, the use of an unknown tongue; “a custom in Protestant principles plainly repugnant to the word of God, and to the practice of the primitive Church.”



But it was treason to speak Irish; and was the liturgy to speak treason? Irish type, it was said, could not be found in the country, nor men to read the Irish, if printed. Accordingly, the Irish parliament of 1560, in its omnipotence, dispenses with the Divine law; and by a provision, "plainly repugnant to the practice of the primitive Church," sanctions the use of a Latin version of the English prayer, in those places where ministers could not be found having the use of the English language. "But in what way was the Latin version to be printed? was it by public authority? Of that there are no traces of information; nor does it at all appear probable. Was a translation, then, from English into Latin, to be made by each individual minister? Was each minister, then, sufficiently conversant with English to be able to translate from that tongue—if so, why could he not use it as prescribed in the English service? Was each minister sufficiently conversant with Latin to be able to translate into that language? Yet this is hardly consistent with the character of ignorance and illiteracy ascribed to very many of the clergy." Thus reasons Dr. Mant, to prove, we suppose, that the liturgy was not translated into Latin, either by public or by private authority; and that the parliamentary provision for a Latin version was generally at least as dead a letter as the instructions of deputy Croft, in the days of King Edward, for publishing scriptures and liturgy in the Irish tongue. With these facts before his eyes, how has Mr. Palmer asserted that all the clergy of Ireland were reading, until the arrival of Primate Creagh, "the sacred offices" of the English Church? Did congregations who knew nothing of English assemble to hear vicars stammer through a liturgy, of which vicars themselves were equally ignorant? Connect all that has been said, and the full truth flashes on the mind. We see why the churches had fallen to ruin in the most peaceable parts of the kingdom—why *our* historians have almost with one voice asserted that the people were left without any public instruction. The public celebration of the Catholic worship was proscribed wherever English governors could punish; and the churches abandoned by the people, and plundered\* by the "horseboy"† vicars appointed to serve them, presented, even in the diocese of Meath, one heap of ruins before the year 1576.‡ The annals of the world scarcely contain a more glaring instance of self-condemned guilt and folly than this Irish *Reformation*. In order to stock the Irish Church

\* Leland, v. ii. p. 274.

+ Spenser.

‡ Leland, v. ii. p. 221.

with vicars of "English habit and English language," the parliament of 1568 vested the appointment of almost all the livings of Munster and Connaught in the secular deputy of the kingdom; and at the same time, to prepare the people to profit by the instructions of the English vicars, munificently provides that in the shire town of each diocese there shall be *one English schoolmaster*, to teach the whole diocese English!!! Then, as ever since, a selfish and spiritless instrument, and slave of anti-Irish policy, the Established Church, denied her own doctrine, and renounced her only chance of success, by warring against the unparliamentary language of the people. While we bless that Providence which removed temptation from the Irish, and decreed that the language of St. Aidan and St. Columba should never speak Protestantism, we hold up to well-deserved contempt the self-convicted clergy who fattened on the revenues of the Church, while they could not speak the language of the nation.

Having disposed of the country parts of Ireland, let us proceed to enquire into the state of religion in the towns, during the reign of Elizabeth. Without one single exception, the towns continued stedfastly loyal to the English crown; and whoever doubts that they continued universally Catholic down to 1603, can easily satisfy himself of the truth, by consulting either Morryson or Cox on the proceedings at the accession of James. Were the affirmative and negative provisions for public worship enforced in those towns during the reign of Elizabeth? Were Catholics compelled, by pecuniary fines, to attend the Protestant worship? and was the private celebration of Catholic worship proscribed, according to the statutes of 1560? These questions could be answered satisfactorily on general principles, even though we had no direct evidence to solve them. There is every reason to suppose that those who would not take the oath of obedience would be equally unwilling to hear Protestant service; that the Catholic judges who filled the bench, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth, would be absent from church, notwithstanding the second of Elizabeth. It would appear natural that Elizabeth would enforce "obedience" more rigorously than conformity, and that she who, according to the Catholic lords in 1612 had "but sparingly executed the statute of obedience"\* against the inhabitants of the towns and of the pale, would sparingly execute the statute of conformity against the same persons, had they shown any decided repugnance thereto.

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\* Leland, v. ii. p. 444.

Indulgence to the towns was certainly in accordance with Elizabeth's policy. Through her wars she had the active support of the priests of English extraction,\* who encouraged their flocks to defend her throne against the risings of the native Irish and of the *degenerate* English; and however anxious she certainly was to banish every priest from the kingdom, it is not at all probable that she would prevent the *loyal* English priests from celebrating, privately, for the equally loyal inhabitants of the towns. These remarks, supported by the decided repugnance of the Irish to the English liturgy in the reign of Edward, are, we think, sufficient to prove that the town churches were not frequented by the people, and that the private celebration of Catholic worship was connived at. So little noise did the statutes of 1560 make in the towns, that the remonstrants raised doubts of their authenticity, and complained of the deplorable condition to which they were then (1642) reduced, by a statute of the second of Elizabeth, found among the records, but never executed in the queen's time, nor discovered till most of the members of that parliament were dead.† The answerers admit that the statutes were not published until the sixteenth year of the queen, and that they were then executed, as appears by the records, but sparingly.‡ The statute of conformity was certainly sometimes executed in Elizabeth's reign, for in 1578 we find the infamous Drury executing, by the law of nature, says Cox, a black-a-moor and two witches in the city of Kilkenny; and, contrary to the law of nature, binding in a recognizance of forty pounds, several of the most respectable citizens of the same town to attend church.§ Mc Geoghegan tells us that the statutes were not enforced until after the defeat of the armada;|| and we know that shortly after that event a high commission court was established in Dublin, to inspect and reform all offences against the second of Elizabeth; but so universal was the disaffection caused through the whole kingdom, from the apprehension of having what was done in Dublin extended to other places, that Mountjoy took speedy measures to relieve the citizens of Dublin from the inquisitorial injustice of the commission, and allowed them the same toleration they had enjoyed, almost uninterruptedly, from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign.¶ We select a few authorities, to shew the state of religion in the different towns. It can be scarcely necessary

\* Cox, p. 445.

§ Cox, A.D. 1578.

+ Ibid. Appen. Art. i. 8.

|| Vol. iii. p. 385.

‡ Cox, vi. Appen.

¶ Leland, v. ii. p. 381.



to say that the good citizens of Limerick did not frequent the Protestant services so long as they had their Catholic bishop, Hugh Lacy, in his see, and Leverous, the deprived bishop of Kildare, teaching school in their city.\* When Mountjoy appeared before the city of Waterford, after the accession of James, he says, "he comes to establish his majesties laws, that no *public* or contemptuous breach be made of them; wherein, he adds, we wish you had been more wary, contenting yourself with the *long and favourable toleration* you enjoyed during the late queen's reign."† To a letter from the same lord deputy, about the same period, the citizens of Cork answer, "that they had received a rebuke from his lordship concerning certain insolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the state, except that be an offence, after many abuses and wrongs done to them, to keep watch for his majesty, and hold the city in those doubtful times; that, touching the point of religion, they only exercised now publicly *that which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately.*"‡ In his letters to the other towns—Clonmel, Wexford, Kilkenny, &c. &c.—he represses only the public exercise of the Catholic worship. To these suffice it to add, that, in the city of Dublin itself, the seat of government, mass was celebrated in 1565, and popish priests and friars were found to dissent at the very time that, according to Mr. Palmer, all Ireland was peacefully frequenting the sacred offices of the Protestants. "There had been meetings," says Ware "of popish fryars and priests in the city of Dublin. A proclamation was published prohibiting those meetings, and ordering that no fryar or priest should be found within the walls of the city. Also a tax was laid on every housekeeper who omitted coming to church on Sunday, and it was collected exactly, so that many came to church (not from love of Protestantism), but rather than they would pay that tax. At first they went to mass in the morning, and to church in the evening." If dissent and recusancy had not been so universal as to make the continued collection of the tax dangerous, and, consequently, to oblige government to discontinue it, the answerers to the remonstrance would have been able to produce some

\* After his expulsion from his see, Leverous was for a time protected by the Countess of Desmond. Being obliged to leave her, he supported himself by teaching school in Limerick, whence he removed to Naas. It is to be hoped that the gratitude of the Earl of Kildare, made some provision for the old age of the venerable confessor, who, by saving the sole remaining heir of the family of Earl Thomas, rescued the northern Geraldines from the hapless fate of their kinsmen of the south.

† Morrison, v. ii. p. 320.

‡ Leland, v. ii. p. 414.

proofs of the enforcement of the act of uniformity before the sixteenth year of Elizabeth.

We had intended to examine Mr. Palmer's account of the means by which the Catholic religion was sustained during Elizabeth's reign. These are, as we have already observed, the gross ignorance of the people, and several savage insurrections. But we feel that we could not at present do sufficient justice to the memory of those much maligned and zealous men, who lost their lives in arms during the several risings of the people. The true state of Ireland from 1560 down to 1603, the causes of its disturbances, the motives of the different leaders, and the influence of religion, would require, for full explanation, more time than we have at present at our disposal. We scarcely need say that we do not regret being obliged to defer that part of our task. He for whom Providence reserved the glory of presenting the olive of peace to our long oppressed Church, is the only one who can represent in its true colours the political state of Ireland at that period when legal tyranny, bigotry, and military force first riveted the chains which he alone could burst.

The most disagreeable part of our duty still remains. Mr. Palmer thus describes the origin of the *schism* (the Catholic religion) in the reign of Elizabeth: "Originating in the exhortations and impostures of foreign emissaries, addressed to a superstitious, an ignorant, and a credulous people, it was fomented by the arrival of usurping and intrusive bishops, sent by the Roman pontiff, and completed amidst rebellion and massacre, stimulated by the unholy ministers of the new communion." These are, assuredly, heavy accusations, and, if true, the people of Ireland must have been in the most deplorable state during the whole reign of Elizabeth, for the character of the clergy sent to reform them, and establish the new religion, was so unlike the character of ministers of the Christian religion, that no man following the lights of Christian prudence could conscientiously follow them. In self-defence, we offer the character of the Elizabethan Church, as drawn either by her own ministers, or by her devoted partisans. We could not trust our own feelings, were we to give in our own language the substance of the following extracts. "The clergy are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered."\* "Whatever disorders you see in the Established Church in England, you may find here, and much more,—namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousness, flesh inconti-

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\* Spenser's State of Ireland.



nency, careless sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen.”\* “Wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the zeal of the popish priests and the *ministers of the Gospel*, for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toil and dangerous traveling hither, where they know certain peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation.....and the livings of the country offered to them, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, be drawn forth from their warm nests.”† “Some of the bishops do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horseboys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same.”‡ “They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion.”§ According to Sydney, Elizabeth’s lay legate, in 1576, “The Church is foul, deformed, and cruelly crushed; upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisted in these three particulars,—the ruine of the very temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve in them, and competent living for the ministers. One hundred and five churches of the diocese of Meath are impropriated to sundry possessions, now of your highness, and all leased out for years, or in see farmes, to several farmers, and great gaine reaped out of them beyond *the rent which your majestie receiveth*. Great spoile is made of the archbishoprics and bishoprics, partely by the prelates themselves,”—imitating, of course, the example of the head of their Church. “For the ministers of the churches of the English pale of your own inheritance, be contented, *most vertuous queene*, that some convenient portion for a minister may be allowed to hym, out of the farmers’ rents,—it will not be much loss to you in revenue.” To remedy these dreadful evils, and put a stop to the Reformation, “I wishe that there may be three or four grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy there sent hither.....to see the enormities of this overthrowne Church; they be riche enough, and if either they be thankful to your majestie.....or zealous to encrease the Christian flocke, they will not refuse this reli-

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\* Spenser’s Hist. of Ireland, p. 139.

† Ibid. p. 132.

+ Ibid. p. 247.

§ Ibid. p. 132.



gious travell: I will undertake their guydyngge honourably and safely from place to place.”\* “The most part of such English ministers as came over here are either unlearned or of bade note, for which they have forsaken England.”† To this testimony of eye-witnesses of the frightful Reformation, we shall add the modern judgment of a “devoted member” of the church established—the judgment of a Fellow of Trinity College, and the still higher authority of Dr. Mant. The clergymen imported into Ireland by the government were, for the most part, needy adventurers, as bankrupt in reputation as they were in fortune. They were collected from the candidates who had been refused admission to the English Church, and sent over, like a band of conscripts, to Ireland. A few made some exertions to discharge their duty, but the difference of language was a stumbling block which they had not the industry to remove; the rest paid no regard to the matter: they collected their revenues, where the authority of government was supported by the presence of a military force; where that protection was wanting, they abandoned the field to the native clergy, and contented themselves with petitioning the government against the horrid abuse of allowing their tithes to be devoted to the support of popery. “It is painful to dwell on the sins of omission and commission of the Church of England, of which the writer is a devoted member, but it is worse than useless to disguise the truth. Its establishment in Ireland exhibits the most flagrant instances of both positive and negative delinquency.”‡ “The Christian methods of Reformation were sacrificed to the scheme of discouraging that language in which alone the body of the people could have received instruction, as there were few churches to resort to, few teachers to exhort and instruct, *fewer still who could be understood*, and almost all—at least for the greater part of this reign—of scandalous inefficiency.”§ To this general climax of Dr. Leland, we shall add the hideous picture of episcopal depravity drawn by Dr. Mant, who, with an intrepidity becoming his high station, as *successor* of St. Malachy, exposes to public gaze the incurable corruption and premature decrepitude of the Elizabethan Church: “That at the head of the Church, and in the offices of her ministry, had been placed men of distinguished zeal, ability, and knowledge suitable to the exigency of the times, may have been the case, but it does not satisfactorily appear.”|| But it does

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\* Leland, v. ii. p. 320, 321.

† Spenser.

‡ Taylor's Civil Wars, v. i. p. 176.

§ Leland, v. ii. p. 321.

|| Mant's Hist. p. 281, 282, 280, 379, 341.

appear, that Curwen of Dublin was accused by primate Loftus of open crimes, and that with a blasted reputation, "labouring under heavy moral imputations, he was removed to the see of Oxford."\* It also appears, "that the abuse of episcopal property was so enormous, as to oblige the lord deputy Sydney to interfere, in order to save, if possible, Church lands and estates from waste and alienation. But whatever means may have been used, they failed of producing the desired effect, for at times, subsequent, as well as antecedent to this instruction, several cases are on record, some of which may be cited as examples of the enormity." Between 1560 and 1564, Craik, bishop of Kildare, and *successor* of Leverous, exchanged almost all the lands and manors of the bishopric for some titles of little value. In 1582, Allen of Ferns made long leases of many farms, reserving small rents, and committed many wastes on the lands of the see; about the same time, Cavanagh of Leighlin treated the property of his bishopric in like manner, leaving it in such a naked condition, as to be *scarce worth any one's acceptance*.† Archbishop M'Grath made most scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues belonging to Cashel; and Lynch, Bishop of Elphin, so wasted and destroyed it by alienations and fee farms, and other means, that he left it not worth two hundred marks. These examples are bad enough, but they are outdone by other cases cited by primate Bramhall, who particularizes one see as left by its possessor so impoverished, that it had but forty shillings of yearly revenue.† Visitation books tell the sex and character of the receivers of the plundered Church property: and we know they were not always the bishops' *wives*. Thus, in all its degrees—from the horseboy vicar, who built fine castles for himself, up to Elizabeth, who farmed for her own use the lands of one hundred and five parish churches in the diocese of Meath—the Church was covered with an universal leprosy of avarice and of revolting profligacy,—disorders never checked by synod, nor reproved by bishop, because sanctioned by the example of the *head of the Church*. The transfer and plunder of ecclesiastical property were the only Reformation effected at the death of Elizabeth; for, with the exception of the plantation of a few English families, the perversion of fewer still Irish families, and the billeting of some clerical families on a people "brayed by famine, pestilence, and the sword," Ireland was, at the accession of James, universally Catholic.

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\* Mant's Hist. p. 281, 282, 280, 397, 341.

† Were Leighlin souls worth nothing, Dr. Mant?



For not obeying the dumb voice of these corrupt Elizabethan pastors, the vengeance of heaven fell upon the people of Ireland, not to the third and fourth only, but down to the present generation; "the whole history of Ireland, from the period of the Reformation down to the present day, affording," says Mr. Palmer, "a terrible example of the retribution which grievous sins draw down upon the descendants of guilty." In a country where "the Protestant interest," penal laws, and the sanction of the most holy Name had not been so often profanely identified, the man who would dare to use language like Mr. Palmer's, would be cited before the ecclesiastical tribunals. As he is a churchman, we propose for his meditation some examples of terrible retribution, in the spiritual order: 1. "It may be observed in general of the Reformed communities in Switzerland, France, and the United Provinces, that they have too generally fallen away into the Socinian or Arian heresies."\* 2. Also, "That infidelity became dreadfully prevalent among the Protestants of Germany and Denmark, in the course of the last and present centuries; the universities were full of it, the ministers of religion tainted with it, and the Lutheran faith seems under an eclipse, from whence we fervently pray that it may be delivered."† Weigh well these judgments, Mr. Palmer, taken from your own works; and then pray, that of the small number which the Church of England is able to save from "soul-killing" dissent, or atheistic ignorance, the men may be as patient,‡ the women as chaste,§ and all as temperate and as generously zealous, as the children of the Catholic Church of Ireland.

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ART. VII.—1. *Allocuzione della Santità di Nostro Signore Gregorio P.P. XVI al Sacro Collegio, nel Consistoro segreto del 22 Luglio, 1842; seguita da una Esposizione corredata di documenti, &c.* [Allocution of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI to the Sacred College, in the secret Consistory of the 22d of July 1842; followed by a statement, supported by documents, on the unceasing efforts made by His Holiness to remedy the grievous calamities with which the Catholic religion is afflicted in the imperial and royal States of Russia and Poland. Rome: printing-office of the Secretaryship of State. 1842.]

2. *Persécutions et Souffrances de l'Eglise Catholique en Russie.*

\* Palmer's Ecc. Hist, p. 245.

† Ibid. 243.

‡ Lord Morpeth.



*Ouvrage appuyé de Documents inédits. Par un ancien Conseiller d'Etat de Russie, Chevalier des ordres de Saint Stanislas, Sainte Anne, et Saint Wladimir. 8vo. pp. 445. Paris : Gaume Frères. 1842.*

3. *Die neuesten Zustände der katholischen Kirche beider Ritus in Polen und Russland seit Katharina II bis auf unsere Tage.* Von einem Priester aus der Kongregation des Oratoriums des heil, Philippus Neri. [Modern History of the Catholic Church of both Rites (Latin and Ruthenian), in Poland and Russia, from Catharine II down to our days. By an Oratorian priest of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri (Dr. Theiner.) 2 vols. 8vo. Augsburg. 1842.]

IT is the lot of Christ's Church to be ever an object of persecution ; and kings and emperors, who should of right be its foster-fathers and guardians, are too often, if not generally, the authors of such trials. These persecutions vary in character and in instruments. There is a persecution of violence, and a persecution of cunning ; there is a persecution which attempts to crush, and one which seeks to extinguish ; there is a persecution *en masse*, and there is a persecution in detail ; there is a persecution which breaks and bruises, and one which wearies and sickens to death ; there is, in fine, a persecution which destroys the body, and there is one which strives to weary, to pervert, and to kill the soul. Which is the worse ? Surely not that in which the mask is thrown off, and the sword unsheathed, and the poison poured out from a labelled phial : better, far better, is this than the covert, artful, and disguised hatred, which strikes with the sceptre instead,—yea, with the golden sceptre of affected clemency,—and dribbles out its hemlock under the name of medicine. The first of these was the persecution of those sad blunderers at their work, the Roman emperors. They put a bold face upon their cruel designs ; they openly avowed their intention of extinguishing the Christian name throughout their empire ; they issued decrees to that effect ; and they most injudiciously displayed their racks and cauldrons in the public squares. An open enemy can be boldly met ; — thousands of generous champions came forward ; their numbers wearied persecution's edge ; their blood, which flew round from the tormentor's or executioner's stroke, was of a baptismal efficacy,—whom it touched it seemed to cleanse ; and it was found that the axe was the best pruning-knife of the Lord's vineyard, and disciples' blood its most fruitful seed. Experience taught worldly, or rather worse than worldly wisdom. The apostate Julian was the first scholar in this evil disci-

pline, and the Arian persecutors followed it to advantage. To sap and undermine, to wear and to weary, to remove, under specious pleas, strong-minded and conscientious adversaries; to send—not to the scaffold, oh no!—but to the gentle labours of the Chersonesan mines (the Siberia of the empire), or to the wild seclusion of the Pontian island, such refractory bishops as dared to despise imperial edicts, and to place weak and timid, or ambitious and servile, minds in their place; to make ecclesiastical matters the subject of cold-blooded, meddling, and arbitrary state enactments; such was the policy which, too successfully tried by ancient autocrats, has given the rule and the ready plan to heretical despots of succeeding ages, who wish to destroy the Church of God, with all the air of kind and conscientious protectors. Into the Grecian character, of old so stamped with double dealing and breach of faith, the perfidy of the intriguing and worthless Photius seems to have kneaded a still more bitter leaven,—that of religious cunning and duplicity, wherever the interests of his unhappy schism came into contact with the claims, however just, of the true spouse of Christ. Even the favour of Turk or infidel has been basely courted, to oppress the Catholics of the east; money has been lavished to purchase persecution on the poor Armenians or United Greeks at Constantinople; Mahound and Termagaunt have seemed worthy of worship, if they would only help to crush the pope and his adherents.

There wanted only one ingredient more to give these unenviable attributes full play—power and strength to second the designs of religious animosity. What a noble field for the dark and subtle arts of him who entertains it, would an empire be,—one, too, in which scarce a limit is placed to the arbitrariness of tyranny, and where national feelings could be brought to conspire with religious ones, in reconciling the majority of the population to the grinding, crushing oppression of a helpless minority,—where political antipathies could be worked in alliance with ecclesiastical estrangement! The vast, overgrown, heterogeneous combination of various races, tribes, and hordes, which Providence has been pleased to permit in modern times, under the name of the Russian Empire, has unhappily been able to make the tremendous experiment. It is the manner in which it has been conducted, from its commencement till the present period, that will occupy us in this paper. For, unfortunately, too many imagine that Russian oppression has been confined to generous, but fallen Poland, or that it has arisen under the iron sway of the

thoroughly Russian-hearted Nicholas. In other words, the persecution which has been avowedly carried on against Catholics in that empire, has been looked on as one of a political, rather than of a religious character; and thus, neither its extent nor its duration, — neither its wide-spreading calamity nor its wearing length, has been duly appreciated. Again, — we have been left to pick up our acquaintance with this heavy and galling scourge, only through the chance notice of some of its cruel strokes by the periodical press; and we hardly know, at least so as to heed it, that it has been wielded for half a century with equal violence, excepting some intervals of peace. From the unwomanly reign of Catharine II to that of the present emperor, it has worked, with the regularity of a machine, up and down, — ascending to excite hopes, and falling down to crush them, — with unwearying perseverance of evil purpose. Cunning has raised it, that cruelty might better impel it down.

In unfolding the sad history from the documents before us, our object is to excite sympathy, not hatred. In every conflict of the Church with her enemies, when they prevail for a season, a double object is presented to our feelings. “*In cujus glorioso agone duo nobis præcipue consideranda sunt; indurata videlicet tortoris sævitia et martyris invicta patientia: sævitia tortoris ut eam detestemur; patientia martyris ut eam imitamur.*” (S. Aug.) But if by our narrative we shall occasionally excite the more painful of these feelings, it is not for them that we write. We wish every Catholic heart to grieve, to admire, to excuse, by turns, our brethren so long worried, persecuted, and tormented; to strengthen that bond of charity which unites us to the Church, and forms, by its delicate fibres, that nerve through which the thrilling sensation of Catholic sympathy vibrates, from member to member of the mystical body of Christ.

We must premise a few words respecting the works from which our materials will be derived. The first on our list is above either our praise or our censure. It is an authentic document emanating from the highest authority in the Church; its assertions have been carefully weighed; its expressions accurately measured; its tone and manner scrupulously regulated. Nothing is advanced without its voucher, and no charge made which severe justice will not approve. It, however, confines itself chiefly to the later calamities of the Catholic Church in Russia; and valuable as its documentary evidence is, it does not enable us to survey the long annals of



blood and crime which modern Russian Church history presents. The French work upon our list we must acknowledge to be, in some respects, a disappointing one. Not that it contains not enough to arouse our feelings, whether of sympathy or indignation, or documents sufficient to justify its heavy charges; but that its tone is sometimes more declamatory than we could have wished, and that far the greater portion of the volume is taken up with doctrinal arguments, and a history of the Greek schism, which is not what we expect on taking up the volume. But with all these imperfections, Catholics have reason to be grateful for the work, which has been very well received on the continent. The work of Father Theiner is the result of that great research which is to be found in all his works, and which becomes the continuator of Baronius and Raynaldus. It enters most minutely into details; gives the biography of the principal actors in the scenes which it describes; makes use of local memoirs and rare publications, as well as of official documents, and thus presents a full and comprehensive, as well as a painfully finished, view of the eventful history of religion in Russia. At the same time, he writes with an earnestness, a feeling, and a warmth, which engages the heart as well as the understanding of his readers, in the sacred cause of truth and virtue. We shall therefore follow him chiefly as our guide.

It is not necessary for us to enter into any account of the earlier condition of religion in the Russian empire, before it obtained this title, and when it was only an inferior principality, further than to contradict an idea which we believe to be very prevalent—that the Church of Russia is an offspring of the schismatical Greek Church of Constantinople, and has been, ever since its origin, separated from the communion of the apostolic see. This is an error. The holy patriarch, St. Ignatius, was the first whom the Russians recognized. From his time (A.D. 867) till about 1120, no trace is discoverable of any breach of communion between the Russian Church and the holy see; although attempts have been made, by means of documents bearing on them the clear stamp of modern Greek forgery, to prove an earlier alienation. About that time, the metropolitan Nicephorus I, a Greek from Constantinople, composed a treatise against Rome. But it produced no effect: neither clergy nor laity took part with him in his views; Latin priests came freely into the country to assist in the labours of the Church; and the Russian communion to this day commemorates, on the 6th of August,

the virtues of Abbot Anthony, *the* Roman, who, coming from Lubeck to Novogorod, established, two wersts distant from the city, the convent which bears his name. In fine, with occasional and temporary interruptions, such as happened even in the western countries of Europe during the middle ages, Russia continued in communion with Rome till the fifteenth century: so that its defection may, with historical accuracy, be thrown into the mass of schism which, about and after that period, was allowed, in the unsearchable judgments of God, to detach itself from the Rock of Peter. We need not enter into particulars; it can hardly be necessary to say, that when the miserable event did occur, craft, ambition, avarice, haughtiness, and every other vice, were the qualities displayed by those who caused and forwarded it. In 1415 a division took place in the heart of the Russian Church. In consequence of the deposition, by the bishops of a part of Russia, of the worthless patriarch Photias, and the election in his place of Gregory Zamblak, the Church became divided into two parts, or rather two patriarchates, that of Moscow and that of Kiew. To the latter adhered the bishoprics of Bransk, Smolensk, Peremuischel, Turow, Luzk, Wladimir, in Volhynia, Polozk, Chelnisk, and Haliz. The former continued to be held by Photias, the enemy of the Latins. A few years later, the two sees were again united in the person of Isidore, whom the good patriarch Joseph sent from Constantinople into Russia, as metropolitan of both. Devoted, like him who sent him, to the great object of restoring the separated parts of Russia to Catholic communion, he obtained leave from prince Wassili III to proceed to the Council of Florence, which had begun its sittings at Ferrara, for the purpose of reuniting the east and west. On his return in 1439, he arrived at Buda, and now bearing the title of Apostolic Legate, sent before him a pastoral, communicating the happy intelligence that the union had been accomplished. It opens with these joyful words: "Rejoice ye in the Lord! The Eastern and Roman Churches have entered into a perpetual unity, and have restored their ancient peace and harmony. All ye good Christians of the Constantinopolitan Church, ye Russians, Servians, Walachians, all who believe in Christ, accept this holy alliance with jubilee and rejoicing. Be from henceforward true Christian brethren of the Roman Church. There is now only one God, and one Church! May peace and love ever reign among you!"\*

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\* Theiner, p. 54.

In Kiew and its dependencies Isidore was received with triumph and joy; in Moscow with very different feelings. He boldly faced all dangers, and proceeded thither in the following spring. He entered processionally the Church of Our Lady in the Kremlin, and, after mass, the deacon from the pulpit read the decree of union passed at Florence. The people listened in silence, and gave no sign of satisfaction. The prince received with coldness from Isidore's hands an autograph letter from the pope, said he would hear of no such union, and seizing the person of the patriarch put him in confinement. After two years' durance he escaped to Rome, received much honourable employment, and died patriarch elect of Constantinople in 1463, universally respected, and was buried in St. Peter's. The two sees of Kiew and Moscow were separated once more: the former remained faithful to Rome, the latter was the head of the schism. But, unhappily, before 1520 the unceasing efforts of the see of Moscow had prevailed, and the whole of Russia was plunged into the same unhappy condition.

Shortly after this event, an occurrence took place which considerably affected the position of the Russian Church. Jeremias II, patriarch of Constantinople, drained the resources of his see in out-bribing his competitors, Metrophanes III, Pachomius and Theolept, to gain the interest of the Porte, chiefly through the influence of the harem. It was one of the most disgraceful struggles for church preferment that has disfigured the annals of even that Church, in which, with the exception of those bishops who kept communion with Rome, the most worthless succession of prelates for centuries held sway. After being several times imprisoned and deposed, Jeremias prevailed in the unholy contest, crushed his rivals, or pensioned them off, and found himself sole patriarch, with an exhausted treasury, and a large debt. He determined to appeal to the charity of his fellow Greeks, and took a journey into Russia to solicit contributions. Here he agreed to consecrate the newly appointed archbishop Job, and to bestow upon him the patriarchal dignity. The consecration took place at Moscow, in the Kremlin; but the tsar reserved to himself the right of conferring the patriarchate. He, with his own hands, invested him with splendid robes, put a white mitre upon his head, and delivered to him the patriarchal staff: then addressed him in these solemn words: "Most holy father, most worthy patriarch! father of all fathers, first bishop in all Russia, patriarch of all



Russia, &c. ! Hereby I command and announce to thee that thou hast precedence of all bishops, that henceforward thou shalt wear the robes of a patriarch, the coif of a bishop and the kalabuk or mitre, and that every one in my dominion shall honour thee as patriarch, and brother of the other patriarchs."

How much alike are all tyrants of the Church ! How natural that speech would be in the mouth of Henry VIII, addressed to Cranmer. Not that the prince himself was evil-disposed, for he is described as of a mild and gentle disposition, but he was under the influence of those who made the Church subservient to mere worldly purposes. Jeremias sold this dignity for a large sum of money : his companion and impartial chronicler, who has written a journal of the expedition—Dorotheus, of Monembasia—foresaw even then its consequences ; the more immediate one of the separation of the southern from the northern bishoprics, and the more remote one of the entire defection of Russia from obedience to Constantinople.\* Thus was the Russian patriarchate simoniacally established in 1589. God, however, from this evil drew forth splendid good. During a period immediately preceding the one which we have reached, the Church of Russia had been subjected to the brutal tyranny of as great a monster as ever disgraced a throne, Iwan IV. He had plundered the clergy, butchered priests and religious to the number of five hundred with great barbarity ; sewed up Leonidas, archbishop of Novogorod, in a bear's skin, and had him worried by dogs, for refusing to unite him to a fourth wife contrary to the Greek canons (he had three more after her), murdered his own son, and massacred, in the course of his reign, sixty thousand people. Yet he held ecclesiastical synods, and presided and decreed—and, in fact, was the head of the Russian Church ! He was, moreover, strongly infected with German reformation ideas. Again, we repeat, how alike all Church enslavers and oppressors are ! It was his successor who created the first patriarch. In addition to these temporal calamities a frightful heresy had sprung up, attacking the very foundation of faith, impugning the very divinity of our Lord himself. The bishops who had formerly enjoyed the communion with the holy see, remembered how much happier their lot had been, than it was now in communion with so degraded and so corrupted a Church as was that of Russia ; they remembered too, how strong a protection that

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\* Published at Venice in 1676.

communion had afforded them against the dissensions and heresies which were now assailing them. They sighed for return to their former happier state; and, with the generous resolution of the repentant prodigal, decided at once upon returning to their father's house. *Their language, too, may not be without a lesson for modern times. They met under the metropolitan of Kiew, Michael Rahosa, and drew up a declaration of their wishes. They begin by observing, that "Christ our Lord had strongly enjoined unity in religion, and it is the duty of good shepherds to exert themselves to promote it; especially at a time when heresies are daily increasing, and men are even abandoning faith in the blessed Trinity. This proceeds from no other cause than their own separation from Rome; but although they had *prayed* constantly for unity in faith, they had not seriously taken steps to restore it, looking as they did to their superiors, and waiting to see if they would begin to be desirous of such return to unity. But not seeing them move, and seeing all hopes from them only diminish, they, moved by the Holy Spirit, considering, with immense grief, the evils resulting from want of union between churches, a union which from the time of the apostles, their predecessors had held (acknowledging one supreme pastor who was none other than the bishop of Rome); that so long as they had remained in unity with him, heresy had no power to hurt them or make inroads into their Church; but from the moment that new masters were established, discords and schisms had sprung up, whence heretics had derived new power; they had determined to return to the obedience of the holy see."*\* This interesting document is subscribed by the metropolitan, six bishops, and an archimandrite, and dated Dec. 2, 1594. The archbishop and several of his suffragans went in solemn deputation to Rome, and the reunion of a large body of Ruthenian Christians was completed, and confirmed by pope Clement VIII, in his constitution *Magnus Dominus*. Here was a noble example given, of how easily a Church, separated from the only true centre of unity, may, by a vigorous effort, return to it; and here, moreover, is proposed to future times a lesson of wisdom and humility, as well as of firm faith, and true love of Catholic unity, in the conduct of these prelates who, rightly estimating the causes of the religious calamities which had visited their Church, lost no time in vigorously and completely

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\* Theiner, part ii. p. 8.

removing them, and regaining thereby their true position. Alas! we have lived to see the union, so happily and so cheerfully effected, miserably broken again asunder after more than two hundred years, by the arts and violence of the Russian autocrat.

The Churches thus united to the Catholic communion, will be known in this article, as the United Greek Church of Russia. Job, the patriarch of Moscow, and head of the schismatical Church, summoned a council, and launched his impotent censures against the union: but while Michael Rahosa enjoyed a tranquil government over it, and died at length in peace, leaving a name and memory "in blessing," Job heaped crime upon crime, crowned as tsar the murderer Godunow, became the tool of all his iniquities, and was at length imprisoned and strangled in 1604. Michael's successor, Joseph Rudski, was justly called by Pope Urban VIII the "Athanasius of Russia," and the "Atlas of the Union." He strenuously laboured to extend and consolidate it, in spite of endless sufferings, and even perils to his life. But though he escaped the cruel designs of the Russian schismatics, they found means to wreak their vengeance upon his friend, and fellow-labourer in the good work, Josaphat Kunciecewicz, archbishop of Polozks. On the 12th of November 1623, a party of his enemies surprised him in bed, stabbed him with swords and other weapons in the most brutal manner, and after several hours' torment, chopped off his head. His body was ignominiously dragged through the streets by a mob of Russian clergy and laity, and cast into the Dnieper. The body, like that of St. John Nepomucen, shone with a heavenly light, was taken out by the faithful, and carried in procession to the cathedral. God wrought daily miracles at his tomb, and he was duly beatified by Pope Urban in 1643.

These particulars we have deemed important, for properly introducing the later history of the Catholic Church in Russia. We only regret that we have been obliged to content ourselves with a meagre outline, where so much interesting incident would have allowed us more deeply to engage our reader's attention. We hasten forward to a most important epoch, the reign of Peter the Great. Well as he may be judged to have deserved this epithet for his legislative efforts, he would certainly have merited it, in its superlative degree, had he carried into execution, what, through



his life, was a fondly cherished desire,—the reunion of the Russians to the Catholic Church. To labour for this, he was encouraged by the Emperor Joseph I, and by his predecessor Leopold. One of his first steps was to admit the Jesuits and Capuchins freely into his states, allowing them to build houses and churches, and assisting the former to open a college, expressly for the education of the nobility of his empire. When the patriarch Adrian remonstrated with him, observing that by this means many would be led to embrace the religion of their instructors, he replied, “You are jealous of these good fathers, as you blockheads understand nothing about the education of youth. If in course of time, any of my young nobles embrace the Catholic religion, so much the better for them; I shall be very glad of it.” He gave permission to Catholic missionaries to pass through Russia to Turkey, and he sent a magnificent embassy to Rome, several members of which, and among them his friend General Sczremet, embraced the Catholic faith. Peter himself often assured his friends, that the time was not far distant, when the Roman and Russian Church should be but one; and to forward this great end, he held, in 1717, many conferences with the divines of the Sorbonne in Paris, upon the subject. In this noble design he was assisted and supported by his bosom friend, Bishop Stephen Jaworski, who was devoted heart and soul to Rome, and wrote a powerful work, not published till after his death, entitled *Petra fidei*, chiefly extracted from Bellarmine’s writings, and thoroughly Catholic. As he advanced in years, Peter became more and more earnest in this pursuit, and almost the day before his death he was engaged in struggling for it. But in vain. The prejudices of his ignorant clergy were too strong; they resisted all his efforts, and he punished them severely for it. After the death of the patriarch Adrian, he had resolutely refused to fill up the office. This no doubt he did advisedly: for he knew what an obstacle the existence of such an office in Russia would be to his favourite object. At length, in January 1720, he convoked a meeting of all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, of the national Church at Moscow, and strongly urged upon them the necessity of a reunion. They refused. Peter solemnly rose up, and with a stern mien pronounced these fatal words. “I know of no other true and lawful patriarch besides the patriarch of the west, the Bishop of Rome; and as you will not obey him,

*from henceforth you shall obey me alone.*” \* With these words, he handed to them the statute already prepared, abolishing the patriarchal dignity, and appointing the “Most Holy Synod” (!) in its place. This is a sort of assembly like the upper house of convocation, composed of bishops, but presided over by an *Ober-procurator* or president, who is always a layman appointed by the emperor, often like the present one, Count Pratassow, an officer in the army. The synod is entirely under his control, and has little to do but to publish the wishes of the tsar in an ecclesiastical form, and give any decision which the imperial will may require. It is not many years since it pronounced valid and lawful the marriage of the grand duke Constantine with a second wife, his first being living, and quoted for its authority the eighth canon of the severe St. Basil. It is needless to add, that the canon has not a word to justify such an atrocious sanction. † By this creation of Peter’s, the Russian Church was thoroughly enslaved to the royal will, humbled and degraded to its present shameful condition. So true it is, that whenever a Church throws off the yoke of Christ’s Vicar, it is sure to fall into the hands of the civil power, and become the servant of the state.

We come now to a period at which we must divide our subjects; treating first of the history of the United Greeks, and then of the Catholics of the Latin rite. No very great change took place in ecclesiastical affairs, that regards our portion of Russian history, till the accession of Catharine II, in 1762. This wicked woman, whose participation in her husband’s cruel murder, it is almost impossible to doubt,—who feared neither God nor man,—believed in nothing, and honoured the names of Voltaire and Diderot, beyond those of the holiest men,—of course conformed to the Russian religion, to gain the crown, and became as diligent an observer, as she was a hearty despiser, of her new faith. She knew well how to turn to good account the prejudices of her subjects. But her religious persecutions are so interwoven with her political intrigues, that we are compelled to follow her through her crooked policy, to arrive at a clear knowledge of them.

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\* Theiner, p. 120. He satisfactorily answers several objections against Peter’s sincerity in these efforts to restore unity.

† Persecut. et souffrances, p. 19.

She had scarcely ascended the crown, when she joined Frederick,—to whom the world, to its shame, has given the epithet of the Great,—king of Prussia, in a conspiracy to overthrow the unhappy and tottering kingdom of Poland. Peter the Great had secured to the house of Saxony the hereditary possession of its throne; so to spare the country, and all Europe, the disasters which its elective monarchy had so often produced. A secret treaty was entered into between this worthy pair, to restore the elective form to the kingdom whose doom they had already sealed, and whose ruin they knew would be thereby secured. The death of the good king Augustus III, in 1763, gave a favourable opportunity for carrying out their design; and by their joint influence the weak and inexperienced Stanislaus Poniatowski was raised to the throne. Their expressions on the occasion are recorded by Rulhière: “He will remain on the throne as long as I please,” said Catharine. “And I,” replied Frederick, with characteristic elegance, “will crack his skull with his own crown.”\* The very day, observes Dr. Theiner, that the unfortunate prince took the kingly oath, the two allied powers hurled the firebrand into his dominions. They scattered in it the seeds of a religious civil war, the most dreadful of all social scourges.

The kingdom of Poland contained between thirteen and fourteen millions of Catholics, whether of the Latin or Greek rite, and about four millions of Protestants, and Russo-Greeks. The Catholic religion was, and always had been, considered that of the country and people. All other forms enjoyed most perfect liberty of worship, but their members were excluded from certain offices; and this was only in accordance with what, at that time, was practised in every other state. The two infidel sovereigns proclaimed themselves the protectors of the dissenters of Poland, painted their imaginary abjection in the liveliest colours, and appealed to all Europe to establish perfect equality, while every Protestant state held its Catholic subjects under greater oppression. On the very day, as we said, on which the king of Poland swore to the constitution, the worthy representatives of Catharine, the cruel and worthless Repnin, and the mean and intriguing Kaiserling, presented him their memorial, claiming perfect equality among all classes of his subjects. A similar one was presented by the Prussian envoy. Imme-

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\* Theiner, p. 154.



diately after the same poor king's coronation, Frederick sent in another remonstrance, containing three propositions, the last of which was, that "the Russo-Greek bishop of Mohilew should have a seat in the senate, on equal footing with the Latin prelates." The man thus modestly thrust forward was a creature of Catharine's, who had promoted him to his present dignity; and it must be further observed that the Catholic-Greek bishops had not a place in that assembly: When this and other unreasonable demands were pressed upon the king and senate, the members of the latter, headed by the pious and intrepid bishop of Cracow, Cajetan Soltyk, encouraged Stanislaus to reject them, though in gentle terms. He added that the bishops should be empowered to deliberate and declare to what extent the dissenters could be allowed a relaxation of the existing laws, without endangering religion.

Catharine, on this refusal, threw off the mask; commenced a series of intrigues with those whom she had now thoroughly disaffected; sent secret emissaries through the country to excite them to rebellion, and gave them a promise, under her own hand, to furnish them with arms, and to support them by her troops. In earnest of her promises, she ordered an army of forty thousand Russians to advance to the confines of Poland. Prussia also threatened to send a body of twelve thousand troops for the same purpose. Still the Polish government stood firm, and the shameful acts and intrigues of its enemies increased; bodies of two thousand Russians invaded several towns, and forcibly compelled persons to join the confederation, as it was called. The separated Greeks showed themselves most unfavourable to these attempts, and almost uniformly declined joining the league. Even among the Protestants many were found, who loudly protested against this uncalled for interference, and declared that even supposing that they had been oppressed, which they did not feel, it was better to suffer some injustice from their own brethren, than betray their country into the hands of strangers. But in spite of every effort, the allied powers pushed on their plans, till they united many in what now took the name of the confederation of Radom.

A new calamity now awaited the Catholic Church, by the death of the venerable, virtuous, and resolute Ladislaus Lubinski, archbishop of Gnesen. Repnin had the audacity to try to force on the king, as his successor, one of the most despicable of men. This was Gurowski, a man loaded with every vice, a notorious drunkard and debauchee, once court-

fool to Peter III, then a spy to the episcopal envoy of Russia at Warsaw, who gave him the tonsure one day, ordained him priest the next, and wished to make him primate on the third! Weak and enslaved as the king was, he recoiled in horror from placing the mitre on the head of such a beast; but Repnin had perhaps thrust him forward, only to facilitate the appointment of another, not so grossly licentious, but perhaps more suited to the purposes of his court. Irreligious, immoral and reckless, but at the same time clever, and always able to gain ascendancy, Count Gabriel Podoski was just the man to betray his religion and his country to the enemies of both. Catharine contrived to deceive the authorities in Rome; and in spite of the efforts of the most zealous Catholic bishops, Podoski was appointed primate. This was the death-blow to the Catholic religion in Poland. Catharine expressed her joy, by sending him a present of 60,000 rubles. He in return proved his gratitude by faithfully serving her evil designs, and pushed on the confederation, after he had corrupted and turned into his tool, the once honest prince Radziwil. He deceived many, by urging that resistance to Russia was at present useless; that it was better to yield for the present to her wishes, in hopes of better times. As the stream increased, it drew into it many who had not courage to brave the certain persecution of that hostile power; even the bishops at last, though with conditions and protests which neutralized their concessions, found it necessary to yield.

Repnin was not satisfied, but demanded from all who joined the league, a written declaration, in frightfully strong terms, whereby they subjected themselves to attainder, loss of rank, goods and life, and any other penalty which he might choose to inflict, if they held intercourse with any senator, minister, or delegate opposed to his plans, or if they did not support these in the diet. Such as refused saw their castles surrounded by soldiers, and were compelled to endure every enormity. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, was, however, inflexible; and sent a most moving circular to all the delegates or representatives, entreating them to stand fast to their country and faith. The ambassador, enraged, let loose a party of soldiers upon his estates, completely plundered them, and all his property; seized for himself his finest horses, and drove about Warsaw in triumph, in the good bishop's state-carriage. But this virtuous and noble-minded man heeded not these gross injuries and insults; but at once

exhorted the Catholics to be true to their holy cause, and showed himself the kindest and most conciliating of men towards the dissenters. He called together their deputies, addressed them in the most affectionate manner, and laid before them the deceits practised on them by Russia and Prussia, which were goading them on to the ruin of their country. His words made a salutary impression; and to bring matters to a right understanding, he invited them to a banquet, to meet the bishops of Kiew and Kamieniecz, and the leading Catholic senators. But on the appointed day, one deputy after the other sent an excuse, having been commanded to do so by Repnin, under pain of severe consequences. The bishops received a threatening message that they would be sent to Siberia, if they again attempted such a step. They took no notice of this conduct, but bore all with patience, and ordered prayers in all churches, to beg of God that He would turn his anger away from Poland, and make the approaching diet serviceable to the good of their country and religion.

The bishop of Kamieniecz, Krasinski, bowed down with years and sorrow, secretly left the scene of conflict, and the other two intrepid champions had to fight the good fight alone. A few days before the opening of the diet, (Oct. 1, 1767), Repnin called the bishops before him, and informed them, "that this time the claims of the dissenters must pass; that the honour of the empress was here concerned; that if the Poles were strong enough to drive out the Russians they were welcome; but if they were not, they must obey, or prepare for chastisement and vengeance." He then issued a manifesto, which, as Theiner observes, would have done credit to the Jacobin club at Paris. What would the emperor Nicholas say if his Catholic subjects, or if Austria for them, were to proclaim, as among other matters this document does, the principle of the perfect equality of all religious bodies, and their right to participate in all civil honours and distinctions without exception? It was on this principle that his family ruined and conquered Poland: it is on its contradictory maxim that he is now crushing and destroying it. Either end of the baton is an equally good handle in an oppressor's grasp; the wolf can find his reasons for devouring the lamb in either the upper or the lower portion of the stream. The bishops, unmoved, held a meeting in the house of the wretched primate Podoski, and, with his sole exception, resolved to undergo every extremity, rather than



betray their country. The nuncio Darini eloquently harangued the diet against the proposed measures, and Soltyk prefaced his address by a most solemn act. As one about to doom himself to death or exile, he publicly made his will, leaving his property to his country, and making all proper arrangements for the government of his diocese. He then unfolded the designs of Russia, with a bold and patriotic energy which carried all before it, and engaged his countrymen manfully to resist its treacherous schemes. At the close of the day's session, a troop of soldiers broke into Soltyk's house, and that of his seconder Rzwuski, palatine of Cracow, and carried off all that remained after the former spoliation; including Soltyk's church-plate. The next day Zaluski, bishop of Kiew, followed in his footsteps, and was supported by the palatine's son, undaunted by his father's sufferings. The king closed the sittings. Warsaw was immediately filled with Russian troops, and the work of vengeance commenced.

Soltyk was just sitting down to supper, in the house of his friend count Meikek, when the doors of the palace were broken open; the house itself was surrounded with guards, and the apartments were soon filled with them. One outlet, however, had been overlooked, but the generous bishop disdained to fly. He had just time to throw some important state-papers into the fire, when an officer at the head of a troop entered the room; and informed him that he had orders to seize his person. The venerable bishop replied, in the gentlest manner, "that he regretted much not having about him the gold snuff-box which he had prepared as a present for the person who should be charged with this commission; as he had left it at home, expecting to have there been taken prisoner." Having embraced his kind host, he cheerfully followed his appointed jailor. Zaluski and the two Rzewuski were seized at the same time. Zaluski, the most learned man of his nation, revered for his virtues, was surprised by the guards kneeling before a crucifix, and offering himself up to God for the ransom of his people. Upon his being seized, his attendants fell in tears round his feet; he lovingly gave them his blessing, and moved the very hearts of his captors by the meekness and nobleness of his behaviour. The prisoners were marched off, under a guard of two hundred men, into the interior of Russia. On their way they were treated with all possible harshness, and severity; and having, to a man, rejected an offer of liberty on condition of

their yielding to the imperial will, they were carried in solitary captivity into the heart of Siberia.

But in spite of all these generous sacrifices, and noble victims, the doom pronounced upon that ill-fated country by the divine justice held its course. The claims of the dissenters were granted, and every other demand of Russia was complied with. A reaction took place; a Catholic league, the confederation of Bar, was formed, which entered a solemn protest against the unjustifiable interference of Repnin in national affairs. The Poles, animated by the exhortations of the brave and noble Pulawski, determined to defend themselves, and flew to arms. But they were no match for the hordes of barbarians let loose upon them by Russia; though from time to time they gained advantages and intercepted the rich booty which they were carrying off to Russia. In spite, however, of such partial successes, Cossacks were seen returning in triumph to their own country laden with costly spoil, and sometimes trailing the corpses of slaughtered noblemen, through the streets of Warsaw, behind their horses.

Repnin let slip his leash, and turned the dogs of war—of religious war—loose upon the unhappy country. Its dismal horrors, its brutal cruelties, we will not trust ourselves to record. We will simply translate Dr. Theiner's narrative; premising that for many of its almost incredible atrocities there are, alas! too good authority; and if he has not more specially alluded to some of them, there may be good reasons for it. We *know* their source, and can vouch for their validity.

• “Courage and despair now rose on both sides to the highest pitch. Repnin disarmed Poland entirely; and in order to nourish the hatred and cruelty of the Russians still more against the unfortunate inhabitants of this country, he proclaimed, by order of the Empress, a war of religion against the Poles; which, as Raumer remarks, has not been equalled in savage cruelty in the records of modern history.

“Catherine now made the affairs of Poland a matter of religion, and represented the Poles as the oppressors of the Russian faith. Her reprobate sense knew no bounds; every thing was allowable provided she attained her end. She drove the wild tribes of Zaporagian Cossacks from the neighbouring steppes of the Don, and the Haidamacks dwelling in the Mobtian swamps, against the confederates, commanding them to burn and butcher everything before them. These murderous hordes acknowledged neither law nor

mercy, they were inclined to the Greco-Russian faith, although they mixed up much heathenish doctrine and ceremony with it.

“Catharine, on the 20th of June 1768, published a manifesto to these savages, whose sole delight was to quench their thirst in human blood ; and inflamed their fanaticism and cruelty in a way that makes one shudder. All is done in it to excite them to a general massacre. Catharine scorned not to turn to her purpose the prejudices of the people, in order the better to urge these hordes to the spilling of blood. Therefore she imputed to the Poles the toleration of the Jews as the greatest crime. It is well known that her predecessor, the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, had driven out of Russia 40,000 Jews, because they introduced luxury among the Russians by their trade. These wretched people found an asylum in Poland. So likewise did 60,000 Roskolniks (Russian separatists), who, flying from the bloody persecution of the orthodox Russians, of their own accord retreated from Russia in the reign of Peter the Great, and sought refuge in Poland. Catharine used every means to entice them back, but all her endeavours proved abortive. Yet, nevertheless, in her proclamation, she accuses the Poles of the most cruel intolerance. In fact, on reading this manifesto, it appears incredible that a Christian soul could fall into such an abyss of reprobation. The manifesto runs as follows :—‘As we evidently perceive with what contempt and disgrace, we ourselves and our religion are treated by the Poles and the Jews, and how the defenders of our Greek faith are persecuted, oppressed, and put to death, and as we will no longer submit to similar misuseage and persecution, alone owing to our religion ; we order Maximilian Zulasnick, colonel and leader of the Zoropagians, with his own followers and our troops, and the Cossacks of the Don, to march into Poland, in order to uproot and destroy, with the help of God, all Poles and Jews, traitors to our holy religion. By these measures we shall put an end, once for all, to the complaints which are perpetually made to us against these murderers, perjurers, breakers of the law,—these Poles who, while protecting the false faith of the wicked Jews, oppress a faithful and innocent people. We command you, in your passage through Poland, to annihilate their name and the memory of them.’

“These savage tribes now fell like wild beasts and ravenous vultures upon the Poles. At their head marched Russian priests, goading them on, by the promise of heavenly and earthly reward, to their deeds of rapine and murder. They promised the dissenters admission into the senate and into government offices. All those who did not embrace the Greco-Russian faith, fell under their murderous hands : no one was spared,—old men, women, children, nobles, servants, monks, priests, and Jews, were butchered without distinction. With this revolting cruelty was joined the most impious mockery. Gallows were every where erected, and a nobleman, a



monk, a Jew, and a dog, were hanged together on them with the superscription, 'all alike.' Some hundreds of men were buried up to their necks in the earth, and their heads mowed off; women far gone in pregnancy had their wombs ripped open, the fruit of them torn out, and living cats sowed up in them. The children of these savages were encouraged by their fathers to strangle and to pierce, and in other horrible ways to murder, poor victims who had their hands bound behind their backs. If a stranger came across them who concealed his faith or religion, they forced him to murder with his own hands, noblemen, priests and monks. Villages became desolate, and the fields covered with dead bodies, and wells filled with the corpses of strangled children. Three towns, fifty villages, many thousands of farms were reduced to ashes. The small fortified town of Human, in the government of Kiew, as yet remained in possession of the confederates. In this place a vast number of women, children, and old men, had sought refuge, to escape from murder and robbery. Here the nobility of the country had brought all their valuables, their gold and silver. Maximilian Zulasnik and Peter Kalnizenski, the leader of the Zaporagians and Cossacks, marched their bands against the place, but were driven back by the confederates. Kalnizenski now endeavoured to get possession of it by stratagem; and, disguised as the commander of the troops of the Palatine of Kiew, he presented himself at the gates of the town, requesting provisions for his army, in order to drive away the Zaporagians and Cossacks. No treachery was apprehended, the gates were thrown open, and at the same instant troops of Cossacks and Zaporagians came out of their concealment, stormed the town, and falling upon the inhabitants, commanded them to bring forth all their treasures into the market-place, if they wished to have their lives preserved. Boundless wealth was given up into their hands; and soon the work of murder and robbery commenced. Not a life was spared: sixteen thousand fell victims to their cruelty. The town itself was rased to the ground.

"Two hundred thousand souls, it is calculated, perished during these bloody days. The Russian account naturally diminishes the number to 50,000. Russia playing the hypocrite, pretended to punish the Zaporagians and Cossacks for their acts of cruelty: but all she did was to despoil the robbers of their booty, and turn it to her own use."—pp. 224-228.

Bar, the seat of the confederacy, fell into the hands of these savages, and one thousand two hundred men, taken in it, were sent in chains into Russia. While the Russians were exercising every cruelty on their captives, the venerable bishop Krasinski, who now, in the hour of danger, returned from concealment, issued a manifesto to the confederates, entreating them to use the prisoners who fell into their hands

with all lenity and kindness, "And thus," he adds, "disabews Europe, deceived by your enemies, and show it that you, at least, are not carrying on a religious war, but only acting in self-defence." Although Russia became involved in war with Turkey, and the latter power took the interests of Poland deeply to heart, the barbarities practised upon the unfortunate Catholics, instead of decreasing, only increased. "There was no cruelty," writes Dr. Theiner, "however grievous and revolting, which was not practised on the poor wretches who fell into their enemies' hands, or who voluntarily surrendered themselves, in hopes of finding some compassion. Never can the name of the Russian colonel Drewitz be spoken without shuddering! He executed the most unheard of atrocities with real delight. Often he bound his prisoners naked to trees, and made them targets for his barbarians to shoot at with their darts or muskets. At other times he chained together multitudes of such victims, and then amused himself (for this was a pastime in his carousals) by having their heads knocked off in a brutally ludicrous way. He had both hands chopped off from whole troops of them, and drove them to wander over the country, till they fell dead through loss of blood. Finally, he flayed many alive, and so that their skins and flesh should represent the national costume!" Several public manifestoes, issued in 1769 and 1770, allude to these atrocities, and are given in Dr. Theiner's Appendix of Documents, p. 187, and the following pages.

Three years after, the first division of Poland took place, under an express stipulation that the Catholics should remain in full possession of all their ecclesiastical rights. As a good foundation for the faithless dealings held towards them, it may be well to quote the fifth article of the Treaty of Warsaw:—

"Les Catholiques Romains *utriusque ritus* jouiront dans les provinces cédées par le présent Traité de toutes leurs possessions et propriétés quant au civil ; et par rapport à la religion, *ils seront entièrement conservés* in statu quo, c'est à dire, dans le même libre exercice de leur culte et discipline, avec toutes et telles églises et biens ecclésiastiques, qu'ils possèdent au moment de leur passage sous la domination de sa Majesté impériale . . . et sa Majesté impériale et ses successeurs ne se serviront jamais des droits de souverain au préjudice du statu quo de la religion Catholique Romaine, dans les pays susdits."

Yet scarce was the ink dry upon this treaty, when a reckless persecution commenced against the Catholics, especially

the United Greeks, by the Russo-Greeks. Immense possessions belonging to monastic orders were seized, and adjudged, without any pretence of title, to the crown. A host of Russian priests now invaded the country; and, supported by troops, drove the Catholic clergy from their churches, and took possession of them. When remonstrance was attempted, it only brought down cruel ill-treatment. In the official complaint presented by the Bishop of Posen, the venerable and holy Młodziejowski, to Count Stackelberg, Russian envoy at Warsaw, he instances several such instances of unjust and cruel aggression. One of the cases specified is that of the Dean of Braclaw, who, after having been severely beaten by an apostate, assisted by two Cossacks, was tied by the neck to a tree.\* Another contemporary document thus speaks of these barbarities:—"Les vexations de ces fanatiques stupides et ignorants n'ont pas diminué. Ils maltraitent les prêtres du rit Grec-Uni partout où ils les trouvent, et leur donnent ce qu'ils appellent *l'onction des Frères non-uni*, c'est à dire autant de coups de bâton qu'ils en peuvent supporter."† Twelve hundred churches were at this period forcibly snatched from the Catholics, and taken possession of by the schismatics. So much for the faith of treaties!

The second and the third division of this ill-fated country soon took place. Catharine had, in the meantime, lost no opportunity of carrying on her anti-catholic and most unchristian policy. While she was undermining the remaining part of Poland by her secret spies and intrigues, she was exercising her cruelty upon those of the clergy whom she had carried off into Russia. They were harassed and ill-treated; till, unhappily, their constancy was worn out, and many at last conformed to the schismatical communion. At the same time, she did all in her power to bring about the same effect among those who had been left in her newly-acquired dominions. For this purpose, she published an ukase in 1779, to the effect, that whenever a parish of United Greeks fell vacant by the death of the incumbent, the congregation should have it put to their choice, whether they would have a Catholic or Russian priest for his successor. This was equivalent to thrusting in the latter. For the voice of the congregation was, according to Russian fashion, represented entirely by the magistrates; and these being of imperial nomination, and always schismatics, they took care to put in their own clergy.

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\* Docum. xlix. (pa. ii.) p. 190.

+ Theiner, p. 265.



In the meantime, the see of Polock became vacant; and Catharine, well knowing the advantages to her schemes, of such a condition, took care not to fill it up. It remained without a pastor for four years; and so well did she manage the plan just described, by filling up vacant curacies, and by other arts, that in this period, the holy pontiff, Pius VI, assures us, that in that diocese alone, eight hundred churches were taken from the Catholics, and handed over to the schismatics, and that 100,000 souls were driven to apostacy.\* Catharine at length thought of filling up the vacant see; but by a Russo-Greek, or schismatical bishop! The intrepid pontiff just mentioned raised his voice, and awed even the unfeeling empress into a better mind. Heraclius Lisowski was named to the bishopric in 1783. He had scarcely taken possession of his see, when *Field-Marshal* Czernyszew (a strange minister for such a purpose) communicated to him an order, that in every solemn religious service, a prayer should be offered up for the empress, the heir to the throne, and the *holy synod*, that is, the supreme council of the Russian Church! To this third demand, the bishop positively refused to accede. The soldier had more feeling than the woman; and would not enforce her decree.

But Catharine now imagined another notable scheme for destroying the united Greek Church, and thus proving the sincerity of her promises to preserve the Catholic religion *in statu quo*. This was to subject it to the jurisdiction of the *Latin* Primate of Russia, the Archbishop of Mohilew. The individual who at that time bore the title, was a fitting instrument for her work. This was Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz; who, from 1772 till December 1826, was a disgrace and a scourge to the Church which he governed. A sketch of his history will not be out of place. He was born of the noble, but poor, family of Bohucz, in Königsberg, and educated in the Calvinistic creed. He entered into the Hussars; and having lost a finger, was admitted a tutor into some family. The Bishop of Wilna induced him to embrace the Catholic faith; but there is too much reason to fear that he never renounced Protestantism in his heart. He now turned his thoughts to the ecclesiastical profession; and, in an evil hour, was admitted to orders. To serve the empress, he became a deadly foe to his own country, and was one of her best, or worst, instru-

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\* Brief to the Rector of the Greek Collège, of the 7th June, 1782. Ap. Theiner, p. 296.

ments in the ruin of Poland. In reward for his services, he was named to the newly-established see of Mohilew. His Protestant brother lived with him in his palace, and the archbishop gave one of his daughters in marriage to a schismatical priest; while his chancellor was a nominally-converted Jew, who carried his profane traffic into the sanctuary, and openly and shamelessly exposed to sale church benefices and preferments. The bishop himself was an unprincipled, haughty, covetous, and ambitious man; a declared enemy of the holy see, and a protector of any heretical or schismatical scheme. Thus, he consented to become one of the vice-presidents of the bible society, and forced one of its preachers, a worthless German, who soon after apostatized, into Catholic churches. But the great object of his ambition—besides the cardinalate, which successive popes refused to bestow on him—was to become head of all the Catholics in the Russian empire, Latin and Greek. Now his plan admirably forwarded the anti-Catholic views of Catharine. He not only invited United Greek priests, but pressed, and almost forced them, to pass over to the Latin rite. From the time of Urban VIII, pope after pope had strongly reprobated and forbidden this change of rite, which had been ever most pernicious to the interests of religion. In fact, the gradual passage of most of the Polish nobility to the Latin rite, had left the Greek Catholics comparatively defenceless. The evil working of this system will easily be understood in the present case: Siestrzencewicz allured, and almost compelled, many pastors of Greek Catholic flocks to adopt the Latin liturgy; and when they were so ignorant of its language as not to be able to read it, went so far beyond his powers as almost to concoct a new liturgy, or to grant dispensations in a variety of ways. Thus, sometimes the rubrics were put in the vernacular tongue; and many said mass entirely in Slavonian, only reciting the words of consecration in Latin, and having even these written in their own characters. What was the consequence? The congregation, attached to their own ancient rites and ceremonies, perhaps more than to the treacherous clergy who abandoned them, would rather go, or would be easily drawn to, a schismatical church, where they saw them all practised as they had been accustomed to see them. And thus were many led to apostacy.

These slow proceedings, however, did not satisfy the wishes of Catharine. In the treaty of Grodno, made on occasion of Poland's second dismemberment (13th July 1793), the eighth article again

guaranteed to "the Roman Catholics *utriusque ritus*," their religious rights, in the following explicit terms: "Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies promet en conséquence, *d'une manière irrevocable, pour Elle, ses héritiers, et successeurs*, de maintenir à perpétuité, les dits Catholiques-Romains des deux rits, dans la possession imperturbable des prérogatives, propriétés, et églises, du libre exercice de leur culte et discipline, et tous droits attachés au culte de leur religion: déclarant pour Elle et ses successeurs de ne vouloir jamais exercer les droits du Souverain, au préjudice de la religion Catholique-Romaine des deux rits dans les pays passés sous sa domination par le présent traité." In the very same year Catharine summoned her council at St. Petersburg, to deliberate upon the following question, proposed to them by her minister of state, Alexis Iwanowitsch Mussin-Puschkin: "What will be the best and most convenient way to bring back the united (Catholics) in late Poland to the profession of the orthodox Greek faith?" The best method proposed and adopted, was the formation of a schismatical mission, directed by a Russian bishop. Victor Sadkowski, archbishop of Kiew, was appointed its chief; and an endowment of twenty thousand silver rubles was allotted it. Let not the reader be deceived by names which have a Christian sound. Let not the word mission, when written of Russian clergy, convey to him the idea of mortified men, who issue from their meditative and prayerful cell, with the crucifix in their hands, and the eloquence of zeal and truth upon their lips, and go from place to place, awakening the torpid conscience, and rousing long slumbering thoughts to terror of judgment and to tears of repentance. No, no; the knout was the symbol in the hands of these missionaries; savage Cossacks their attendant lay brothers; scorn and virulence their persuasiveness; and plunder, robbery, and tyrannical vexation, their meek ends. Polock, Minsk, and Luck were favoured with detachments of these martial apostles. To support them in their zealous efforts, Catharine issued an ukase, addressed to Passek, governor of White Russia, and the governor of Minsk, and other provinces, to the effect, that all families which had joined the Catholic Church since 1595 should be compelled to abandon it; that the registries of churches should be searched, and if it could be discovered that they had been originally built by the schismatics, they should be restored to them; and finally, that there should be no Catholic church in any village where there were not a hundred hearths or families; but that such villages



should be united with the neighbouring parish. The consequence was, that, the population in Russian Poland being exceedingly thin, *one-half* the Catholic parishes were suppressed; a crowd of poor priests were driven to beg their bread; and thousands of people were placed out of the reach, especially in winter, of the consolations of their religion. In effecting these cruel measures, no barbarity was spared. The gentle missionaries, backed by their escort of executioners, plied their knouts and scourges with true Russian zeal, and when blows and stripes failed, the cattle of the poor recusants was driven away; their little farms pillaged; their houses sacked: and in many instances their ears and noses were cut off, their hair plucked out, and their teeth shattered with a club.\*

By these truly Christian means many were indeed got over; the palatinate of Kiew, and the province of Volhynia, lost nearly all their Catholics, and the Russian Archbishop of Mohilew boasted, in a circular, dated May 25, 1795, that “through the wise counsels of her imperial majesty, he had brought back, in the space of one year, no less than a million of souls.” In Podlachia they had little success; thanks to the noble resistance and pastoral vigilance of the great and good bishop Peter Bielanski, a name which every Catholic may well pronounce with reverence, gratitude, and affection. He was bishop of Lemberg, but part of his diocese extended into the Russian dominions. To counteract the wicked efforts of the Russian missionaries, he visited again and again this portion of his diocese, instructed and encouraged his clergy in the discharge of their duties, and where their churches had been seized, empowered and enjoined them to make use of the domestic chapels of the nobility, or to celebrate the divine mysteries in their own houses. Complaints were soon carried to the throne against the holy prelate, and General Szernmetew, governor of the province, communicated to him an imperial order, dated March 21, 1795, whereby his jurisdiction over the Russian provinces was interdicted, and he was commanded not only to desist from his course of action, but to recall what he had done, and forbid his clergy to act in opposition to the royal will. The venerable bishop knew his duty too well to obey; he boldly replied, on the 8th of April, in a noble document, which enumerates the treacheries and violations of the most solemn compacts of which Catharine had been guilty, in her treatment of the Greek Catholics.

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\* Theiner, p. 310.

The persecution, however, rather increased than diminished. By the third division of Poland (Oct. 14, 1795), the whole of the Catholic Greek dioceses fell into the hands of Catharine, excepting those of Lemberg and Przemyśl. Her first step was at once to suppress all their sees, with the exception of that of Polock, and to adjudicate their revenues to the crown, except such portions as she gave to the generals and others, who had most distinguished themselves in the work of proselytism above described. The bishops of Wladimir, of Luck, and Minsk, received pensions of 150*l.* per annum, and the metropolitan of Kiew, one of 300*l.*; and Catherine divided the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, after Russian fashion, into four great eparchies. At the same time all the monasteries of the Basilian monks were suppressed, with the exception of a few for schools; and all the churches, without exception, were ordered to be taken from the Catholic clergy, where they would not apostatize, and given to schismatical pastors. By an act, ludicrously entitled an "Act of Grace," such priests as would not conform, had their choice either to leave their country, or to retire on pensions of from fifty to one hundred rubles, *i. e.* from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.* a year! So generous an offer was not indeed accepted by many: the majority preferred exile with the free exercise of their religion, and went over the borders into Gallicia, where the Emperor Leopold II hospitably received them, and gave them occupation among their brethren in the former Polish dioceses. In the meantime the persecution went on; and though the diocese of Polock partly escaped, owing to the greater mildness of its governor, the bishop of that see has recorded, that in those of Kiew, Wladimir, Luck and Kamieniecz, out of five thousand united Greek parishes, only two hundred were left Catholic.

While things seemed to have reached their worst possible state, a higher destiny stepped in, and cut short at once the persecutor and the persecution. Catharine was called to give an account of her murderous and impious reign, before a more righteous tribunal than that of men. It is indeed a melancholy reflection, how much religion in modern times has had to suffer from sovereigns of that sex, to which the Church has given the epithet of "devout," and in which one naturally expects to find gentler and purer sentiments, than in the sterner breasts of men. Elizabeth in England, and Catharine in Russia, are two odious proofs, how religion may be made the excuse for treachery and bloodshed, where ambition, pride,

and selfishness, form preponderating elements in the female character. The present state of Spain and Portugal,—where the spoliations of the Church, the suppression of religious orders, the oppression of the clergy, and the attempt to usurp ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which have driven religion to indeed her truest home, the people's hearts, but yet have left her naked and defenceless, have reduced the country to an almost infidel aspect, have robbed the crown of its brightest jewels, the throne of its firmest support, and royalty of its noblest titles,—are proofs scarcely less painful, of how much religion may suffer, when womanly weakness is not supported by high religious principle, and where the sceptre is valued more for the gold of which it is made, than for the cross of Christ which crowns it. The unfortunate Paul, Catharine's successor, during his brief reign, repaired to some extent the ruin which she had brought upon the Greek Catholic establishment. A personal friend to the magnanimous Pius VI, he received with honour and joy, the legate whom, at his request, he sent; one, whom afterwards we remember, honoured with the purple, venerable and holy, and esteemed by all who knew him, the noble and virtuous Cardinal Litta.

Negotiations were entered into between the holy see and the Russian court, and a new hierarchical system agreed upon. The Archbishopric of Polock was confirmed, and Lisowski continued in it; and the bishoprics of Luck and Brecze were restored. To the last of these sees was appointed the venerable and saintly bishop Josaphat Bulhak, whose truly apostolic conduct, we shall have occasion more fully later to describe. Many abbeys and other monastic houses were likewise restored. Further, the synod, or *college*, as it is called, for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, was re-established. It is a species of council composed of bishops, and holds its sittings at St. Petersburg. The laws which govern it are laid down in an imperial ukase, issued by Alexander I in 1801: and breathe a spirit of justice and moderation. Under this good monarch the Catholic Greeks enjoyed comparatively peace and protection; and in part recovered from the wounds inflicted on them by his cruel female predecessor. The first years of the present emperor's reign showed similar principles and feelings: but from 1834 dates a new and more terrible persecution. This we reserve, in both its branches, that is, against both Greeks and Latins, for a separate and fuller consideration in another article. For we shall find it necessary to give documents more at length, and to enter into



greater details. But before leaving this portion of our subject, we will give our readers a calculation, whereby to estimate the losses of the United Greek Church, under the persecutions we have described.

In 1771 a statistical account of this Church was drawn up by the Metropolitan Felician Wolodkowicz, from which we extract one line of the following table. In 1814, the Emperor Paul laid before the papal nuncio Arezzo, a similar official return as far as the Russian dominions went. By adding to this the numbers in the Austrian portion of ancient Poland, we shall have the gross returns for all the countries to which the first statement refers. The results will appear from the following table:—

	Parish Churches.	Monasteries.	Persons.
1771.....	13,000	251	12,000,000
1814... In Russia 1388 }	...3684	91 }	1,398,478 }
In Galicia 2296 }		14 }	2,136,666 }
Loss.....	9316	146	8,464,856

A frightful loss truly, and most afflicting to every Catholic heart.

The Latin Church, or the *Roman-Catholics*, as they are called in Russian official documents, never experienced from Catharine the same savage treatment as their Greek brethren; on the contrary, she seemed to extend to them kindness and protection. But she was silently preparing the way for the later usurpations and oppressions of the reigning emperor. Her principal stroke of policy was the erection of the see of Mohilew, and the appointment of the unworthy Siertzen-czewicz to it. Pius VI long refused to acknowledge either; till at last the nuncio Archetti was appointed to treat, and a compromise was effected. The extravagant limits assigned to the new diocese were restrained, by the provision of making the jurisdiction only temporary, until the holy see should otherwise provide. It was likewise made criminal by the empress, for any one to embrace the Catholic faith.

Paul, at the same time that, in accord with the holy see, he appointed new sees for the Greek Catholics, likewise divided the Latins into six bishoprics. One of the last acts of Alexander's life was to shew kindness to the Catholics of both rites, by granting them permission to build new churches.

Here then, for the present, we conclude; but only to continue, in our next number, the review of the valuable documents before us; and to trace the sad picture of treachery

and oppression down to these later times. A sickening task it has been to us so far: and by no means an enticing one in the portion that remains. One hope, however, breaks, like a gleam of distant light, upon the sorrowful prospect which we have brought around us. The Catholic religion is a strong and vigorous plant, and drives its roots down deeper into the soil of a country, than tyrant's sword or oppressor's edict can reach; and when the larger fibres have been plucked up, there are finer and almost imperceptible threads, by which it clings and holds to its former place, till a season of respite comes, when they push forth, with no other tillage than the dew of heaven can give—the tillage of Paradise, before sin brought down rain. Poor Poland has been overrun, confiscated, recolonized with strangers to her language and creed. Well, let her take comfort;—so has Ireland been, not once, but many times, treated; and yet she is Catholic Ireland still. The very settlers who came to take the place of her sons, have, almost everywhere, more or less, yielded to the influence of her Catholic spirit, and embraced the faith which they came to supplant. Poland has seen her religious houses destroyed; her churches seized, and desecrated by a schismatical worship;—and so has Ireland: yet three hundred years' experience has proved that all this suffices not to make a people Protestant. Poland sees her children smitten with every sort of penal disability, proscribed, banished, calumniated, and persecuted. Let her turn to her sister in the west, and learn from her how all these things may be endured, and that for centuries, and yet a people come forth from the crucible more purely refined, and more brightly burnished, than they who have not passed through such fiery trial. A day of retribution will come, when the blessedness of those who suffer persecution for justice' sake shall be made manifest. There are beatitudes for nations, as well as for individuals.

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#### APPENDIX TO FOREGOING ARTICLE.

As in the course of this paper we have not spoken very respectfully of the proceedings of the Russian clergy, we have thought it right to give some account of them, as described by one who has the best opportunities of knowing them. We extract the following from the conclusion of Part I. of Kohl's "*Russia*," London, 1842. Their ease in fraternizing with German Protestants we particularly recommend to the notice of some of their Anglican admirers.

“If any one ask a Russian who may have already dined, to eat again, he will often answer, ‘Am I a priest that I should dine twice over?’ This almost proverbial way of expressing themselves refers to the running about of the popes (priests) from one funeral feast, or one christening banquet, to another, at which they enjoy themselves more than any one else. A Russian driving out and meeting a pope, holds it so bad an omen, that he will rather turn back, if he have not, by immediate spitting, warded off the evil influence. . . . .

“In no class of our society do more terrible things happen, and among none does what is scandalous in itself take a more revolting form, than among our priests,’ was the assurance once made to me by a Russian, and he supported his assertion by a number of abominable tales, which it would not be becoming in me to repeat. If we heard only such proverbs, stories, and assertions, concerning the Russian priesthood, it would be better to take no further notice of such a body; but when, on the other hand, we consider they have some good qualities, of which good nature and toleration are not the only ones; that in these times new lights are breaking in, which give hopes of a brighter future; and that the class has produced many excellent individuals; it may not be advisable to turn a deaf ear when our indulgence is solicited, or to refuse a nearer consideration of what we may at first be inclined to pass over as a hopeless desert. \* \* \* \* \* The priests enjoy no great personal influence or consideration. A priest’s advice is seldom asked in family matters; even the domestic chaplains are there to perform divine service only, and never penetrate into the interior of families, as the Catholic clergy do. The peasants with us know no better counsellor than their pastor; but the Russian peasant, in cases of difficulty, rather turns to his saint’s pictures, and invokes the sacrament rather than the priest who comes with it. One cannot help wondering how little the people in the streets and houses of public entertainment seem held in check by the presence of a priest. Rarely is one seen appeasing a dispute, or exerting any moral authority to restore order; he passes on like any other indifferent person. Moral influence, indeed, they have little or none; only with the saints in their hands are they feared or respected—only as directors of religious ceremonies—not as interpreters of the living word of God. \* \* \* \* \* The priests naturally reap as they have sown. As they preach no lessons of reason or morality, they have no moral lever to put in motion; and as they only inspire reverence in their magnificent pontificalibus, little or none by their example or personal qualities, the hem of their gold embroidered *yepitrakhis* is constantly kissed, while their brown every-day tunics, we are assured, often meet with hard knocks. The government uses them no better. The temporal power sometimes makes considerable inroads on the spiritual, without calling the priests to counsel; and priests, like other public



officers, are liable to hard reprimands and severe punishments. They may be sent to Siberia, or degraded to serve as common soldiers. \* \* \* \* So much for the outward condition and position of the Russian clergy. For the inward, it must be owned, when we consider the whole system and its fruits during the course of three centuries, and when we compare their deeds with those of the priesthood in other countries, they are a very insignificant body. They have done nothing superexcellent for the arts or for science, nor produced men who, in any respect, have done humanity great service. They lived, eat, drank, married, christened, buried, absolved, and died; and, on the whole, they have not done much else. There are, it is true, notabilities among the Russian clergy, but they are such only in Russia. In the list of Russian authors, enumerated in the Academical Calendar for 1839, the clerical profession had contributed only one hundred and two; of these sixty-six were patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops: the rest were monks. \* \* \* Some things, however, are to be said in praise of the Russian priesthood. They are not less than other Russians distinguished for their toleration in matters of religion. It is true the matter does not lie very near their hearts, because they have few thoughts or ideas connected with it, which have become firm convictions and are maintained as such; they are therefore peaceful, not so much out of dislike to quarrelling as from a want of zeal and energy. It is a merit in them nevertheless. Nowhere does this tolerant spirit appear in a more favourable light than on the frontiers of the Russian and Polish provinces. Here there are in many places only Greek and Roman Catholic priests, and no Protestant pastor. Should it happen that a foreign Protestant is in want of spiritual advice in sickness, or should the body of a Protestant require burial, it is almost invariably the Catholic, who, in an inhuman and unchristian manner refuses his spiritual aid, while the Russian gives his without hesitation. In such cases foreigners always apply to the Russian, rather than to the Catholic priest. Seldom is an unkind word heard from Russian priests, when speaking of a person of a different faith; and those who understand German will even go frequently to the Protestant Churches to hear the preachers. In the Baltic provinces, when the military, who happen to be stationed there, have no Russian Church within reach, the Russian priests never hesitate to perform divine service in a Protestant Church; and in the interior it has happened that they have lent their own churches to Protestants. In Austria, Protestant churches are only called prayer-houses: in Russia the priests treat them as on an equal footing with their own. Neither do they hesitate to bury their dead in the same church-yard with the Protestants. The cultivated part of the priesthood, who understand German, are much more inclined to the Protestant than to the Catholic party,—more to rationalism than

to mysticism. Their libraries prove it: Niemeyer's works, his Bible, the *Stunden der Andacht*, Schleiermacher's writings, Neander's Church History, are frequently met with; here and there I have even seen Strauss's *Life of Christ*. The works of the other party are, on the contrary, very rare. When some recent occurrences in the Baltic provinces and in Poland are called to mind, it may be thought that the Russian priesthood are somewhat less tolerant now than formerly; and in fact it is only natural that, with the proud exaltation of political power, the Church should also begin to lift up her head. As the government seeks to advance the political creed, the Church may endeavour, by more urgent zeal and greater energy, to spread 'the one and only true faith.' But if the Church does take her share in the conquests, and appears to progress in those provinces, it does so certainly far less from its own impulse than in consequence of commands emanating from a higher quarter."

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ART. VIII.—1. *American Notes for General Circulation*.

2 vols. 8vo. By Charles Dickens. 1842.

2. *A Visit to Italy*. 2 vols. 8vo. By Mrs. Trollope. 1842.

IF we wished to describe two countries standing in strong contrast one with the other, we think they might not unfairly be described something in this manner: the first should bear an impression of antiquity in all its parts; the other of novelty. There, old cities, and the ruins of their predecessors, memorials of people beyond people, back into days of fable; here, all of yesterday,—log-houses smoking through the exhalations of a newly cleared morass, and towns composed of "white wooden houses, sprinkled and dropped about, without seeming to have any root in the ground,"\*—the mushroom growth of a *monumentless* people. In one the arts of refined life should have their home,—painting and sculpture, and poetry of every class, a history and a literature perfectly national; in the other the utilities should be supposed to domineer over the graces, and the practical over the imaginative. This one should have its governments right royally established,—the monarchical principle consecrated in every way, by venerable descents and by sacerdotal election, illustrated by every variety of name and title, from the imperial diadem to the ducal coronet; and the other should

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\* Dickens, vol. i. p. 61.

be the very type of democracy and ideal liberty—from the fireside at home, to the national government, which should be a great compound republic, containing other republics, and they again subdivisible, according to the laws of matter, into homogeneous particles *ad infinitum*. In fine—not to carry our contrasts on for ever—we should see in one country a religious principle—and one, too, both stringent, practical, and universal—which pervades institutions, customs, feelings, the inside and outside of things, the higher and the lower, the general and the particular; while the other should be perfectly untrammelled by any such bond, and neither law nor usage require the stamp of such a principle to give worth to any act; nor the constitution of the country much distinguish between Turk and Christian, infidel and believer.

Now if we wished to propose such a contrast, it would not be at all necessary to draw upon the imagination for it. We have it in truth, in actual existence; and the two works which we have joined together at the head of our article, do really affect to describe them. Italy and America present every one of the points of comparison enumerated in the preceding paragraph. And for this very reason it is, that they are the favourite fields of writing tourists, gentlemen and ladies, who perambulate the land, pencil in hand, to the consternation of the inhabitants, and the plague of all quiet people. America is fertile from its very novelty; Italy from its long cultivation. In the former, the traveller, who boldly strikes into its interior, has a good chance of alighting on a new *city* just starting from the mud, with some magnisonant name from Egypt or Greece, which the last publishing traveller (two years before) never heard of; or he may even get within the frontiers of a new state, only staked out a few months before, but already an infant Hercules, speaking big words, and ready to go to war with all the world, and over head and ears in debt—without, perhaps, much intention of paying it. In Italy, on the contrary, though there is much that would be new to the touring world, if it chose to look for it, no one thinks of going out of the rich beaten path, where all think they can pick up something new, where the herbage is abundant from ages of tillage, and the soil seems inexhaustible, from the very abundance which it yields. Along this beaten path all hurry, one after the other; till at last—neither the words nor application are our own—"the land will not bear a blade of decent grass, or even a thistle, for any stray donkey that may be passing! It must be a bold donkey,"



continues our lady tourist, after quoting the above from Capt. Hall, "you will say, who, after this, shall venture to bray about Italy? . . . . But . . ." (vol. i. p. 2.) In truth, the danger is, that such roadsters, with abundance of untouched food around them, will persevere in tossing over and over the provender which hundreds have been busy at before them, or will try to crop and nibble exactly where all has been clean shaved to the root. Almost every page of Mrs. Trollope's work would give us an illustration of this remark.

But why, it may be asked, bring these two writers together under one classification, when the scene of their adventures are so far asunder, and of such different characters? Because, in truth, they both belong to one very common class of travellers; of travellers who skim over the surface of the land, who see it out of carriage windows, and visit its sights by the guide-book, who penetrate no further than the very shell and outside of things, get no deeper than the paint upon the buildings, or the coat upon their inhabitants; who give us, indeed, often their own notions of things, but not the things themselves; tell us what *they* thought and felt, but can have no serious intention that we should think or feel as they did.

Thus, Mr. Dickens has produced a book, which undoubtedly must be termed *amusing*. It is very pleasant reading; it is lively and clever. But we plodding people look into a book of travels in hopes of making the acquaintance of men and things in foreign lands: we are dull enough to look, among all the amusement, for some information. While he writes for us under his monosyllabic name, we are content to take him for what he professes to be, an amusing writer; a caterer to the monthly craving after a new chapter and two engravings; and when the lunar divisions have run up into a yearly cycle, as the author of a lively and interesting romance. But when he comes forward by his own proper title, and sits deliberately down to write, not a fiction, but truth,—what he has himself seen and heard,—we begin to look serious, and expect a specimen of his mind, rather than of his imagination. We wish to see how he has looked and listened, as well as what he has seen and heard. We may pardon a smart and witty repartee to a domino, though we know who it is, which we might resent from the same gentleman in his own frock-coat. And so we look for different manners from Dickens than we care about in "Boz." Now, we think the *tour de force* of his travels, the great effort of his genius in the work

before us has been to produce two volumes upon a civilized country, from which we can gather no notion whatever as to whether or no there be in that country any religion, science, literature, or fine arts; any army or navy; any agriculture, commerce, or trade; any income, expenditure, or taxation; any great men or good men, any professions, or ranks, or states (save those of slave and master); any education (except for the deaf and dumb), moral instruction, religious, or professional; any magistracy, municipal, or provincial government; any codes or forms of law (beyond imprisoning); any progress or decrease in states, in opinions, or in creeds; such things as riches or poverty, success or failure, and in what proportion: in fine, from which has been carefully excluded anything illustrating, or improving our acquaintance with, the geography, the natural history, the productions, the politics, the prospects of the immense and highly interesting country, which he has visited. Something, indeed, we learn; yea, all about some things. We know all about American travelling in great and rich variety, steam-boats and railways, omnibuses and stage-coaches; we know what is to be had for breakfast in each and every sort of travelling; we make acquaintance with a certain quantity of unknown and nameless individuals, generally of a low comical character; we are initiated into the whole mystery of the least sufferable of American peculiarities, the mastication of the "vile weed," and its consequent abominations. We have, moreover, some light and gay descriptions of cities, especially at the outset, which are clever and amusing. And, as a redeeming trait, we must not omit the notice of some charitable establishments at Boston, and some very painful accounts of prisons and houses of correction. The gem of Mr. Dickens's work is in his narrative of a deaf, dumb, and blind girl's instruction and education. Similar cases, we know, have occurred in other countries, as in Belgium, for instance; but still we are thankful for any account of such interesting matters.

We do not think we have been unjust in thus epitomising the contents of Mr. Dickens's work: we mean of course with reference to the amount of information which it contains. As a piece of writing we mean not to speak of it. The style is not what we like. An immense quantity of words to express a very simple thought, and a most studiously grotesque imagery,—that is, the comparison of one thing with some other the most dissimilar possible,—are defects which weary one when encumbering two volumes. We may be

amused for once; but simplicity and naturalness can alone carry us through a long string of trifles, and make us interested in adventures of an every-day and every-hour character.

Indeed we always observe that these *outside* travellers have an irresistible impulse to make out adventures from incidents, which those who do not keep journals would never dream of. If one read their narratives (otherwise, that is, than as *travellers'* accounts), one would indeed be warranted in concluding that the public is most ungracious and most ungrateful, in its estimation of their services. To think that Mr. Dickens exposed himself to such terrible dangers as those of twice crossing the Atlantic, of being frequently blown up in high-pressure boats, of being tumbled over precipices on the Alleghany mountains, or of being swallowed up in the quagmires of a Virginian road, not from any ambitious views, or for the sake of traffic, or to procure a settlement in the back woods, nor yet from any thirst of knowledge, nor for any other flighty aim, but simply and expressly for the amusement of his English readers: to see how Mrs. Trollope consented to encounter terrible perils on the roads to that unknown part of the world, Vallombrosa; (by the bye she is not the *first* lady nor the hundredth we suspect that has got up there); how she could allow herself to be almost broiled alive among the Appenines, or fatigued to death in the desperate attempt to ascend the portico of our Lady's Church at Bologna, or almost drowned in crossing the Po in the public ferry-boat; or, still more, risk to be buried in a snow-drift on Mont Cenis, in the unheard-of enterprise of crossing it, when the couriers could do so; and all this in order to write a book for our entertainment:—one cannot but feel that such heroic devotion—not for our interest or good, but for our very idlest amusement—deserves a public crown, or some other attestation of our generous sensibilities. And this feeling ought surely to be enhanced by the consideration, of how, not magnanimously only, but light-heartedly, nay, how thoughtfully of us, such perils were encountered! For if the storms which Mr. Dickens suffered on his outward passage were such as he describes, if the conflict of the elements was so terrific, the writhings and convulsions of the frail bark so like those of a mortal agony as he represents them—perhaps over the silent grave of the hapless "President," itself a catacomb below the waters, one cannot but admire—though unenvious—the thoughts which could be occupied, at such a time, in dressing out its horrors in a playful garb, and which



could see, for our sakes, "who sit at home at ease," nothing but the ludicrous and the laughable in its dismal circumstances. And so likewise one is necessarily led to admiration of the lady's taking care to be "not wholly insensible to the strange magnificence of the scene," while she was "seriously frightened" (ii. p. 394), and noting down all the terrible adventures of the awful passage over the mountain; although, strange to say, our alarm, having been greatly excited, on reading that it was the heaviest fall of snow known for years, "and that the conductor looked sadly pale," and the *cantonniers* refused to say that the road was safe, and uttered mysterious hints about avalanches, and how she heard not a sound while this "race of giants," these "friendly monsters" (the scene is in *Italy*), "set to work" with their "enormous wooden spades," and shovelled our adventurous traveller out of her difficulties, we were much relieved, and brought down to our ordinary scale of nervous tension, on finding, at the end of the narrative, that all the way soldiers were quietly marching on the road, which we had thought almost impassable for horses and sledges, aided by an escort of gentle giants! "Poor fellows!" exclaims our traveller, speaking of the soldiers: "They looked miserable enough! Yet I felt, as I watched them, that they probably felt much more at their ease than I did."—(p. 395). No doubt they did—they were not going to publish their travels. In fact, this sort of "romance of travel" is very much cut up by one's knowing that every year, A. and B. and C. have gone just over the same ground, or the same water, or the same snow, and yet have met nothing particular in the way of adventure, but have had a mere ordinary guide-book journey; little thinking how much might have been made of a puff of wind, or a fall of snow, or deep ruts, or—a powerful imagination, in dishing up their tour, had they been so disposed, for the public.

We know not whether Mr. Dickens will follow Mrs. Trollope from America to Italy: they have served their travelling apprenticeship in the same country, but we hope the ill success of the one, in her further prosecution of the business, will deter the other from continuing it. Before, however, taking leave of Mr. Dickens, with what probably is the extent of acknowledgment which he expects from his readers, that we have been, if not instructed, at least amused by his book, we must express feelings of the most decidedly opposite character, regarding one passage of his work, which is a dark foul blot upon it, an odious contradiction to the

general humane and good-natured tone of this, as of his other writings. The passage to which we allude is the following:—

“Looming in the distance, as we rode along, was another of the ancient Indian burial places, called the Monk’s Mound ; in memory of a body of fanatics, of the order of La Trappe, who founded a desolate convent there, many years ago, when there were no settlers within a thousand miles, and were all swept off by the pernicious climate : in which lamentable fatality few rational people will suppose, perhaps, that society experienced any very severe deprivation.”—vol. ii. p. 139.

And again :—

“In due time we mustered once again before the merchant-tailor’s, and, having done so, crossed over to the city in the ferry-boat : passing, on the way, a spot called Bloody Island, the duelling ground of St. Louis, and so designated in honour of the last fatal combat fought there, which was with pistols, breast to breast. Both combatants fell dead upon the ground ; and, possibly, some rational people may think of them, as of the gloomy madmen on Monk’s Mound, that they were no great loss to the community.”—p. 140.

So that, in Mr. Dickens’s estimation, there is little difference between the ruffian, who murdering is murdered, and the inoffensive recluse who is willing to act as the pioneer of civilization, and devotedly throws himself forward, as the forlorn hope of an advancing colony. Whatever Mr. Dickens’s notions may be about “lazy monks,” &c., he knows, or ought to know, that the Cistercian, or Trappist order, is essentially an agricultural one ; it consists, in fact, of a monastic peasantry, who differ from the ordinary cultivators of the soil, not by less diligence or intelligence, but by their expecting no profit ; by their selecting always those very spots from which money-seeking enterprise would turn away in disdain ; by their ever feeding the poor around them, and receiving hospitably every stranger ; and, in fine, by their sanctifying the labour of their hands by prayer and sacred psalmody.\* For the “merchant-tailor,” who sets up his watch-box on the edge of a noisome morass, Mr. Dickens has not a word of reprobation ; for the settlers who go, axe in hand, into the backwoods, and clear them, in order to make a fortune, he has no hard words ; but for the representatives of those who, by

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\* The French government is at this moment sending out a community of Trappists into Algeria, as the best way of establishing an agricultural colony. The Sardinian government has taken a similar step in regard to the island of Sardinia.

patient toil, made Crowland from a fen become a garden; who are now, with thankless labour, driving the plough into the granite ribs of the Charnwood forest, he has no better name than “fanatics,”—no more sympathy or regrets, than for the double murderer! In humanity’s name, let Mr. Dickens never again write anything but fiction. In *that*, at least, he shews he has better feelings.

But now let us return over the Atlantic, and follow Mrs. Trollope over the beauties of Italy. We never read a work which, professing to be gossip, seemed to us to be more an effort than her’s. She has, as we before remarked, chosen the beaten track; and yet she always wants to say something new on it. The moment she gets before a statue or a picture—a hundred times described—her mind seems thrown into a working fermentation, out of which issues a world of frothy crudities, generally composed either of exaggerated amazements or of unexpected disappointments. She owns herself ignorant—very ignorant; her senses are quite bewildered; she trembles, or shudders, or weeps, before the production of art; and words heaped together in every ejaculatory variety of phrase, are all that we, at a distance, can get for our sympathy.

Now, were Mrs. Trollope’s peculiar mode of seeing and describing confined to such objects as the Medicean goddess (which, in a manner that to us sounds profane, she compares with a representation of the purest and holiest of Eve’s daughters—vol. i. p. 160), we should never have thought it worth while speaking so severely. But when we find her carrying her light and supercilious observations into more sacred ground, and talking of the religion which forms our happiness, at once with ignorance and with flippancy, we must not allow ourselves the pleasure of being lenient, but must speak out plain.

Thus she writes of the sacred temples of the living God:—“*The pleasantest morning lounges now are the churches; for there, comparatively speaking, the air is cool; and it is possible, when you can stand no longer, to sit down, which is not the case at the Medicean gallery.*” (Ibid. p. 204.) Again; describing a pic-nic party to the convent of St. Gallicano, she tells us of one young lady who retreated into the church for shade “with such an air of lovely, languid gentleness, that, could the remote shrine have ever possessed *such an image*, a vast deal of pilgrim idolatry must have been the consequence” (what follows is too gross for our pages); when “two of the cavaliers entering the church after her, the one bearing in his



hand a bottle of wine, the other furnished with a crystal cup, sparkling half-way to the brim with the precious treasure of the rocky spring; but ere the tempting draught was mingled and tasted, murmurs anent '*desecration of the church*' made themselves heard from the lips of some stray brother of the much reduced society, who had seen the somewhat unusual entry of the gentlemen: but an immediate retreat perfectly satisfied the good monk."—(p. 325.) Such is her idea, and such her feelings, about a bacchanalian party trying to make a *cabaret* of the place in which, those whose property they sacrilegiously invaded, believed that the Holy of holies and the Lord of lords corporally resides! This is the way in which the most sacred feelings of those meek men are outraged and trampled on. Now if the two gentlemen had been put into the stocks, or the whole party driven down the hill again by a few sturdy peasants, they would not have got more than they deserved. And yet Mrs. Trollope is severe — and we thank her sincerely for *that* part of her work—upon our countrymen who so shamefully misbehave in the Roman churches. Is such behaviour wonderful, when its very censurer seems to think so little of the house of God?

In the same tone does she ever speak of our holiest functions. First, she evidently knows nothing about them: she acknowledges herself unable to appreciate the splendid music of Palestrina.—(p. 270.) The matter which seems to have most engaged her attention, in the majestic services of the papal chapel, was the homage of the cardinals. Twice she speaks feelingly on the subject. Thus, of the Sistine chapel she says: "I cannot say that I was greatly edified by the peculiar ceremonies of this papal worship (I speak as a heretic), but I could not admire or approve the disproportion which seemed to exist between the time bestowed on prayer, and that devoted to the homage offered by each cardinal to the pope."—(p. 270.) And of the high mass on Christmas Day, she makes a similar remark: "The religious part of the ceremony," she writes, "bears no proportion to it" (the homage—p. 365.) What on earth she means we are at a loss to comprehend. If the pontifical mass at St. Peter's lasts two hours, the homage does not occupy above ten minutes, during which the solemn function is *not* interrupted. But manifestly she does not know what the mass is, nor what prayers are recited in it, nor what is the meaning of its ceremonial.

But, besides not knowing any thing on the subject whereon she writes, Mrs. Trollope is too manifestly unable to appreciate

any religious function. It is not in her way. She can understand a drive in the Cascina at Florence, or eating "ices and strawberries,"—quite a standing dish with her,—or going to a concert or a theatre; but as to the truly picturesque, venerable, moving and holy offices of the Church she has certainly no sort of feeling. Mass is to her a musical performance; and her judgments pronounced on it are whether it was long or short, and the music good or bad—that is, according to *her* taste.

As to the Papal government and the practical morality of the Catholic Church, all she knows is, that she utterly condemns them. No one can doubt that she was perfectly capable of judging on such subjects, and that she took great pains to collect information on them, when we see how well she understood what was passing about her, and what every body knows. Thus, she found out that "the reverend court of cardinals" is "called the *Propaganda*" (p. 274), and that cardinals are not paid up their salaries on account of "the poverty of the *Propaganda* coffers" (p. 367.) And as to cardinals, she makes them at pleasure; for she transforms, by the stroke of her pen, the good Trappist monk, father Géramb, into one (p. 368), and tells us, most satisfactorily, that among several new cardinals about to be made was "an English gentleman of the name of Weld," (p. 366); that said "gentleman" having already been cardinal, and having departed several years before, to receive, we trust, the full reward of a most virtuous life. And so, with equal felicity, she elevates the learned principal of the English college to the episcopal rank. (p. 300.) But further, Mrs. Trollope has given us the new and important information that "many Roman families have hereditary rank of bishop in the Church." (p. 366.)

Now, while a person can blunder in matters so palpable and easy to ascertain, it is *not* wonderful that she should slashingly cut to pieces that of which she *could* know nothing. She talks of the ignorance of the people with whom she manifestly never conversed, and of the workings of a system, religious and political, which she certainly never investigated. On her way from Rome to Naples, she, shut up in a carriage, and hurrying on from stage to stage, could see "ignorance and superstition as prominent features that meet the observation of the traveller." (p. 203.) Really! how does this ignorance so clearly show itself? Is it in the faces of the people, or on their sign-boards, that "they who run may read it?"

"Of schools," she goes on, "I could hear nothing." Does Mrs. Trollope think that schools are to be kept in inn-yards for the special accommodation of lady travellers? Or did she look out for "National School" on the front of some house, and was disappointed in her search? Now we can tell Mrs. Trollope that she did not pass through a single village (she is speaking of the Papal States beyond Rome) in which there are not a boys' and girls' school, aye, and gratuitous ones too. But on this subject of education she gives us the portentous intelligence, that the pope has abolished at Bologna, and in all his dominions, all "professorships of logic, metaphysics, *morals* (!), algebra, and geometry" (p. 28.) And then, after some mysterious points, she adds, "It was from Bologna that professor Orioli was banished." One would really imagine that this demigod (for some such thing he appears in the first volume) had been *banished* for teaching some of these dark sciences, perhaps *morals*! But Signor Orioli was *not* banished, but most patriotically ran away from Bologna, after having excited his scholars to sedition and rebellion, raised a revolution which brought down misery on his country, formed, we believe, part of its provisional government, and when the hour of peril arrived, acted on the philosophical principle, that the better part of valour is discretion, and disappeared. One thing this worthy junta took care not to leave behind them—the public chest. Such are Mrs. Trollope's favourites in Italy; for while she is a thorough enemy to revolutionary and *sans culotte* movements and parties in England, she worships them in Italy.

Her theories on religious matters are extremely profound. Thus the "idleness" of the Italians is owing to the "eternal recurrence of Popish fêtes and festivals" (p. 203), on which subject we would recommend her to consult Lord John Manners: and the splendid churches of Venice are not to be wondered at, because "it is natural to expect, that in a Roman Catholic country, where numerous incentives to the love of pleasure are led on by the possession of abounding gold, churches should be built, enriched, and beautified, to atone for the irregularities so produced." (p. 121.) In which theory, we presume that it is the "atonement" that one must consider peculiarly Catholic, not the "love of pleasure" or "the gold:" otherwise London or America ought to have the best churches.

But truly never did writer or traveller stuff his or her pages with strange mistakes more fully than our learned lady.



Scarcely an Italian word or name is spelled right, scarcely a phrase given (save in quotations) is correct, yet she tells us long and brilliant conversations which she must have held in Italian. She wonders why the *campagna* is not made to produce corn (p. 193): and it so happens that it does, not only to fill the granaries of Rome, but to export it to other countries. She looks for the Clitumnus at Spoleto, (not *Spolito*), and marvellous to say, she finds it without a drop of water; (p. 171), for the very good reason that the Clitumnus never was, nor will be, at Spoleto. It was full of water when Mrs. T. drove for at least two miles along its banks, and she might have seen it gush out in full stream from under the road, able in its cradle to turn a mill near the village of Le Vene. In her ecclesiastical history she is "sadly to seek." She tells us she was "grilled like St. Anthony" (vol. i. p. 45), scarcely more accurately than elegantly: she has never heard of our Lady's "presentation in the temple," and therefore transforms Titian's splendid painting of the subject at Venice into our Saviour's presentation "at the age of eleven or twelve" (!) and corrects Mrs. Starke's right explanation of it. (p. 103.) And when she visits the venerable basilica of St. Ambrose, at Milan, she is shown, she tells us, a relic of "the brother of St. Satyrus. Why the bedstead," she adds, "of a saint's brother should be held in such veneration, we were not informed." (p. 384.) Truly not: because you were told no such thing as you tell us. The better informed reader will smile as he sees through the mistake, arising, no doubt, from imperfectly understanding the guide. St. Satyrus was the brother of St. Ambrose, and St. Marcellina, about whom Mrs. T. is equally in the dark, was the sister of both. Among the curiosities of this church, she stumbled upon a very extraordinary one—a coffin! And whose does the reader think it was? for it was "in a dark and obscure little chapel." Why the guide, looking at Mrs. Trollope, "said with a sort of jeering smile, 'it is *only* the body of Monsignore the bishop, who died yesterday, and will be buried to-morrow.'" (p. 385.) See how cheap these good papists of Milan hold their bishop! However, as his eminence Cardinal Gaysruck still occupies, as he did long before Mrs. Trollope's visit to Italy, the archiepiscopal throne of that city, we will not puzzle ourselves or our readers with inquiring, either how he got into that coffin the day before, or how he got out again the day after, Mrs. Trollope's visit to the church. We will rather lay this to the score of some little misunderstanding.

With such abundant data in her mind for rightly judging of the Catholic religion, we must be greatly beholden to our lady authoress for so kind a judgment as the following.

"I was left to decide for myself, whether it is not possible for a person of perfectly enlightened views in politics to be still a faithful Roman Catholic. I have heard many people, and of more nations than one, deny the possibility of this ; and declare that freedom of mind, on any subject, was perfectly incompatible with Popish restraint ; but I doubt the truth of this doctrine. I see no reason why a Roman Catholic, because he conscientiously believes the creed that has been taught him, should therefore be incapable of forming a rational opinion upon the wisest manner of regulating the affairs of men."—vol. ii. p. 302.

Truly this is consoling—nay more, it is flattering; and the spirits of such men as Bossuet, Stolberg, Fenelon, and Schlegel, may well be soothed by the doubt, which Mrs. Trollope entertains, whether they *were* really incapable of forming rational judgments.

But we must really draw to a close: for we are tired with plucking and arranging flowers, where the whole ground is so rich. Mrs. Trollope herself solves a problem which seems much to puzzle her; the difficulty of getting hold of Italians. Wherever she goes, she meets plenty of English, French and Germans—but no Italians. (vol. i. p. 154.) She finds them at Venice quite exclusive. She hopes for them at Rome, but somehow or other they do not come. Yet she courts them, she wants them; and, moreover, she is surrounded by them, she is in the midst of them, night after night, at "Donay's" coffee house, and at the Cascina; but in vain. Is it wonderful? Mrs. Trollope did not know, perhaps, that they have had enough of note-takers and book-makers among them, from our country, to stand in dread of any more. They *have* admitted English ladies into their society, who have violated the holy laws of hospitality, and have held up to contempt the good-natured people who have been civil to them. Whether Mrs. Trollope's American reputation may have helped her in this matter or no, we cannot pretend to say—we should doubt whether her name is much known in Italy. But burnt children dread the fire, or, as the Italian proverb better expresses it for our purposes; "the scalded man dreads even cold water." English people have been excluded from true Italian society on account of the liberties which some of them have taken with its reputation. Mrs. Trollope's work shows that in her case they were right. She has con-

trived to malign their religion and their country with the help of the scanty and blundering materials which she has collected; what would she have done if she could have got at more?

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

WE regret that from the illness of the Editor, and other circumstances, our notices of new books are unavoidably shortened; many agreeable works which we had intended to have made more particularly known to our readers, and some whose importance required a comment, we are obliged to pass shortly over for the present, not without a hope that in some way or other we may come across them again. The first volume of Mr. O'Connell's *Memoir on Ireland*, Native and Saxon, we have just received. It brings down the history to the time of Cromwell, and is so far a record of his country's woes,—a summary of her wrongs—a solemn protest against England's dealings towards her, made in the face of the whole world. Those who know Mr. O'Connell will not doubt that it is penned in words of bitterness and burning energy. Here are set down, with lucid force, all those wrongs upon which his mind has dwelt so long with passionate emotion; burning alternately with resentment, or melted by compassion; ever labouring to obtain redress. If there are any who, in considering the career of perhaps the most single-minded and earnest patriot that ever existed, can turn in fastidious disgust from some bitter jibes or bursts of uncourtly scorn, let him seek here their justification. Such a work as this cannot fail to make a deep impression,—of what nature we cannot now determine; but we do know that both nations might derive a moral from it: that for England is obvious. Let her, in this matter, disclaim the deeds and spirit of her forefathers, lest their sins should be visited upon her: but to Ireland also, as a religious nation, we may venture to say, that if those are “blessed who suffer persecution for justice' sake,” it is when those sufferings are sanctified by the Christian spirit of forgiveness.

The *Life of the Princess Borghese*, by A. Zeloni, is a slight memorial of a being, too bright and holy to be enshrined only in the affections of those who knew her, or had benefitted by her charity—however numerous the circle might be; as such we welcome it, although we could have wished the task had been undertaken by hands, in some respects, more competent. There is a thoroughly French confusion of English names, both of persons and places; and we suspect some mistakes, as well as omissions, in the narrative. Still even this slight sketch of so admirable a life



—so bright a pattern of female excellence—is valuable. Wealth, station, rank, talent, and youthful beauty ; all that can be considered snares, became in the Princess Borghese the mere handmaids and ornaments of holiness : all that the world covets as happy or desirable she possessed but to lay it at the feet of her God, and to use it in His service. Can there a more inspiring or beautiful model be held up in the eyes of her own sex, or, to the world in general, a stronger proof of the efficacy of our holy religion ?

We have received, from the Right Reverend Bishop Gillis, an account of the proceedings and speeches of the first annual festival of the “ Holy Gild of St. Joseph, and of St. Andrew’s mortuary Gild,” now happily established at Edinburgh. We rejoice in the institution of these Holy Gilds, and hail with thankfulness every addition to their number. It is impossible to calculate all the good they may do ;—all the wise and excellent purposes to which they may hereafter be turned ; but many of their advantages are obvious : they will give unity, combination, brotherly feeling, to the Catholics, without the dangerous excitement of politics ; they form an attractive spectacle to Protestants ; but, *above all*, they afford to the clergy an admirable instrument for improving the temporal condition of the poor. Who can read the statistical details (of which this volume contains many) of their squalor, want, disease, and hopeless neglect, without seeing how much the best efforts to bring them to a value for, and understanding of, spiritual things must be impeded ? We have wished for the time when our clergy should be enabled to take their wonted lead as guardians and protectors of the poor in this world, as well as in the concerns of the next, and we see in these societies the forerunners of that period. The Holy Gild of St. Joseph has for one of its main objects to attach the poor to their homes ; and they propose to give prizes of useful household articles for the tidiest and cleanest dwellings. We have heard from authentic information that it is intended to purchase, for the objects of the society, a portion of land now covered with the filthiest dwellings in Edinburgh, and to convert them into suitable abodes for those poor, who have entitled themselves to such a reward by their orderly conduct. This charity would not only be most useful, but would bring in such a profit as to ensure its self-maintenance ; since there is no doubt, that in all large towns the poor pay, for the most uninhabitable dens, such a rent as ought to procure decent dwellings for them, and might do so in any hands but those of the usurers, who now have them at their mercy.

We have enjoyed again the racy fun and hearty animal spirits, if we may so express it, of *Jack Hinton*, in his collective form ; enjoyed it so much, indeed, that we are sorry to have to find fault, and that too with one of the most amusing personages of the book ; we mean the inimitable Father Tom. It would be absurd to inquire very minutely into the principles of so lively a writer ; but he, and some

others of his class, should learn that the clergy are not proper subjects for their wild wit. Dashing caricaturists they are of the reckless, frolicsome, excitement of Irish life and manners, and we have no purpose to quarrel with what so thoroughly amuses us ; but our laughter ceases, or becomes blamable, when an attempt is made to bring the priesthood down to the same moral level, and to invest them with qualities, to *them*, at least, highly derogatory. It is no new remark, that the greater the talent the more harm may be done ; and so fashionable has this exercise of talent become of late, that we purpose, at an early opportunity, to point out not only the mischievous tendency, but the utter falsehood of the pictures so drawn. This, indeed, to those who know any thing of human nature under the influence of religious principles, will be self-evident : would a priest who had just seen with indifference, nay sanctioned, a murderous duel, have prayed with untiring fervour of charity by the bedside of the departed sinner ; would he, nay **COULD** he, have done so ?

*The Commissioner, or De Lunatico Inquirendo* is by an anonymous author, but one who we suspect will not continue so ; for there is enough of variety and talent in his book to furnish forth a dozen novels ; now and then the story verges upon extravagance, and certainly the author is such a tory as made our hair stand on end—we had not thought such a specimen of the race existed now-a-days ! But it is a racy, original, and forcible work, full of entertainment, and we should be glad in the present dearth of good novels to meet with another by the same writer.

We have a few school books on our list ; the first which we shall mention is a *Modern Geography*, by the Christian Brothers. No one can doubt that a work compiled by these venerable instructors of youth must be both edifying and practical ; it is more,—it is a little library of useful and amusing information, just such a work as we should select to put into the hands of an intelligent child, who had few books ; nor have we ever met with any thing in the nature of a lesson book which was more likely to excite curiosity and to give it a good direction. For the mere purpose of teaching geography, we should be inclined to prefer a drier work, more strictly a catalogue of names and facts, such as a child might commit to memory, who, upon other points, was receiving plenty of instruction.

*The Juvenile Companion to the Atlas* is a very useful book of this kind ; it is less difficult than that used by the Students of the London University, and to the geography of every nation is attached a very useful table of the dates of the principal epochs in its history.

*The Pictorial Spelling Book*, published by Mr. Virtue, is remarkably comprehensive, well arranged, and ornamented with such pretty illustrations, that there might be some danger that the lesson might never get learned. We have seen this spelling book seized

upon with great delight by children and their teachers from amongst many of greater pretensions.

The *Canadian Scenery* is complete. It forms two thick volumes of Landscapes, every plate a gem, and that at a cost so moderate, that we think no one will refrain from buying it, who can appreciate fine engraving, is curious in observing the characteristic features of different countries, or desirous of ornamenting a library table.

Before concluding, we should wish to draw the attention of the Catholic public to the announcement of a complete edition of the *Fathers*, to be edited by Mr. Wackerberth, and also to Mr. Turnbull's *Monasticon Scotticanum*; both will be valuable and important works; but Mr. Bohn's *Bibliotheca Patristica et Scholastica* is one of such magnitude, and may have such immense results, that we cannot but especially wish it success.

The splendid work announced to the public by M. St. Priest, must speak for itself, recommended as it is by some of the highest literary names.

We take this opportunity of returning our best thanks, long due, to the Editor of the *Australasian Chronicle*, who has for some time favoured us with his excellent journal; we recommend it to such of our readers as are curious in colonial matters,—and we should think there were few who from one cause or another were not so. With fewer advantages, the *Australasian Chronicle* is equal in talent to any of our Provincial papers. It advocates sound views of Colonial policy, and contains abundance of news both of Australia and New Zealand, and sometimes curious scraps of information from their neighbours the Chinese. The mere list of its advertisements throws light upon the commercial affairs of the Colony. In spirit, it is most Catholic, and its pages are a faithful record of the perils, and struggles, and progress of the Catholic cause.

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## APPENDIX.

THE following interesting document, from the pen of the Rev. J. H. Newman of Oxford, not having appeared in any Catholic periodical, we think it our duty to record it in our *Review*, which has endeavoured to follow the progress of the Oxford movement :—

“It is true that I have at various times, in writing against the Roman system, used, not merely arguments, about which I am not here speaking, but what reads like declamation.

1. For instance, in 1833, in the *Lyra Apostolica*, I called it a “lost Church.”

2. Also, in 1833, I spoke of “the Papal Apostacy,” in a work upon the Arians.



3. In the same year, in No. 15 of the series called the "*Tracts for the Times*," in which tract the words are often mine, though I cannot claim it as a whole, I say :—

"True, Rome is heretical now—nay, grant she has thereby forfeited her orders ; yet, at least, she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatised, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist."

Of this and other tracts, a friend, with whom I was on very familiar terms, observed, in a letter some time afterwards, though not of this particular part of it :—

"It is very encouraging about the tracts ; but I wish I could prevail on you, when the second edition comes out, to cancel or materially alter several. The other day accidentally put in my way the tract on the 'Apostolical Succession in the English Church,' and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οἰκονομία* and *φανακισμός*, have consented to be a party to it."

On the passage above quoted, I observe myself, in a pamphlet published in 1838 :—

"I confess I wish this passage were not cast in so declamatory a form ; but the substance of it expresses just what I mean."

4. Also, in 1833, I said :—

"Their communion is infected with heresy ; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed."—*Tract 20*.

5. In 1834, I said, in a magazine :—

"The spirit of old Rome has risen again in its former place, and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the church there planted, as an evil spirit might seize the demoniacs of primitive times, and makes her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the Republic ; its cruelty in the unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without ; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds and lying wonders ; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its polity, in its assumption of universal dominion : old Rome is still alive ; no where have its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity : she is, as I have said, spell-bound, as if by an evil spirit ; she is in thralldom."

I say, in the same paper—

"In the book of Revelations, the sorceress upon the seven hills is not the Church of Rome, as is often taken for granted, but Rome

itself, that bad spirit which, in its former shape, was the animating principle of the fourth monarchy. In St. Paul's prophecy, it is not the Temple or Church of God, but the man of sin in the Temple, the old man, or evil principle of the flesh, which exalteth itself against God. Certainly it is a mystery of iniquity, and one which may well excite our dismay and horror, that in the very heart of the Church, in her highest dignity, in the seat of St. Peter, the evil principle has throned itself, and rules. It seems as if that spirit had gained subtlety by years; Popish Rome has succeeded to Rome Pagan: and would that we had no reason to expect still more crafty developments of Antichrist amid the wreck of institutions and establishments which will attend the fall of the Papacy! I deny that the distinction is unmeaning. Is it nothing to be able to look on our mother, to whom we owe the blessing of Christianity, with affection instead of hatred, with pity indeed, nay and fear, but not with horror? Is it nothing to rescue her from the hard names which interpreters of prophecy have put on her, as an idolatress and an enemy of God, when she is deceived rather than a deceiver?"

I also say—

"She virtually substitutes an external ritual for moral obedience; penance for penitence, confession for sorrow, profession for faith, the lips for the heart; such at least is her system as understood by the many."

Also I say, in the same paper—

"Rome has robbed us of high principles which she has retained herself, though in a corrupt state. When we left her, she suffered us not to go in the beauty of holiness; we left our garments and fled."

Against these, and other passages of this paper, the same friend, before it was published, made the following protest:—

"I only except from this general approbation, your second and most superfluous hit at the poor Romanists; you have first set them down as demoniacally possessed by the evil genius of Pagan Rome, but notwithstanding, are able to find something to admire in their spirit, particularly because they apply ornament to its proper purposes: and then you talk of their Churches, and all that is very well, and one hopes one has heard the end of name-calling, when all at once you relapse into your Protestantism, and deal in what I take leave to call slang."

Then, after a remark which is not to the purpose of these extracts, he adds—

"I do not believe that any Roman Catholic of education would tell you that he identified penitence and penance. In fact I know that they very often preach against this very error as well as you could do."

6. In 1834 I also used of certain doctrines of the Church of Rome, the epithets "unscriptural," "profane," "impious," "bold,"

“unwarranted,” “blasphemous,” “gross,” “monstrous,” “cruel,” “administering deceitful comfort,” and “unauthorised,” in *Tract 38*. I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them.

With reference to this passage the same monitor had said—

“I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of the first *Via Media* as you do. (*Tract 38*.) What good can it do? I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!”

I withdrew the whole passage several years ago.

7. I said in 1837 of the Church of Rome.—

“In truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or, rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac, possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies not her own, in outward form and in outward powers what God made her; but ruled within by an inexorable spirit, who is sovereign in his management over her, and most subtle and most successful in the use of her gifts. Thus, she is her real self only in name, and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her.

8. In 1837, I said also in a review—

“The second and third Gregories appealed to the people against the emperor for a most unjustifiable object, and in, apparently, a most unjustifiable way. They became rebels to establish image worship. However, even in this transaction, we trace the original principle of Church power, though miserably defaced and perverted, whose form

‘Had yet not lost  
All her original brightness, nor appeared  
Less than Archangel ruined and the excess  
Of glory obscured.’

Upon the same basis, as is notorious, was built the ecclesiastical monarchy. It was not the breath of princes, or the smiles of a court, which fostered the stern and lofty spirit of Hildebrand and Innocent. It was the neglect of self, the renunciation of worldly pomp and ease, the appeal to the people.”

I must observe, however, upon this passage, that no reference is made in it (the idea is shocking) to the subject of Milton’s lines, who ill answers to the idea of purity and virtue defaced, of which they speak. An application is made of them to a subject which I considered, when I so wrote, to befit them better, viz., the Roman Church, as viewed in a certain exercise of her power in the person of two Popes.



Perhaps I have made other statements in a similar tone, and that, again, when the statements themselves were unexceptionable and true. If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a communion so ancient, so wide spreading, so fruitful in saints, I answer, that I said to myself, "I am not speaking my own words, I am but following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe. Such views, too, are necessary for our position." Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a hope of approving myself to persons I respect, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism.

An admission of this kind involves no retraction of what I have written in defence of Anglican doctrine. And as I make it for personal reasons, I make it without consulting others. I am as fully convinced as ever, indeed I doubt not Roman Catholics themselves would confess, that the Anglican doctrine is the strongest, nay, the only possible antagonist of their system. If Rome is to be withstood it can be done in no other way.

December 12, 1842.

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#### ERRATUM.

Page 184, 2nd line of note, for *prove*, read "*refute*."



THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MAY 1843.

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- ART. I.—1. *Excursions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; including Notices of the State of Public Opinion in those Countries, and Anecdotes of their Courts.* By Robert Bremner, Esq., author of “*Excursions in the Interior of Russia*,” &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.
2. *Journal of a Residence in Norway, during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836, made with a view to inquire into the Moral and Political Economy of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: 1836.
3. *A Tour in Sweden in 1838, comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: 1839.
4. *Notes of a Traveller, on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other parts of Europe, during the Present Century.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: 1842.

CIRCUMSTANCES over which we had no control, and with the detail of which it is needless to trouble our readers, have hitherto prevented us from noticing the earlier volumes in the above list. This, however, we scarcely regret, as the principal topics in them, on which we shall touch, appear to attract as much attention now as they have done at any former period.

Mr. Laing seems one of the most sensible travellers whose works have ever come under our notice. He views every institution with regard solely to its practical results on the misery or happiness of the people. You meet no sentimental nonsense in his pages—no attempts to gild the bitter pill of slavery—to extenuate the vices of sovereigns, or systems—or to prove, according to the old Tory dogma, that “whatever



is, is right." He seems to have an unusual fund of natural common sense and benevolence, enlarged and enlightened by great experience of men and things; and his views, consequently, produce a powerful impression on the minds of his readers. They are of a very liberal tendency—the greatest happiness of the greatest number, being always a foremost object with him. He is not a Catholic nor an Anglican. So far we may predicate of him: but whether he is a Presbyterian, or indulges in freedom of conscience as a Protestant in the abstract, we find it difficult to determine, from the *data* in these volumes. Wherever he cannot help it, he allows the Catholic Church some small share of merit; but wherever an opportunity presents itself, he abuses her with all the free and easy nonchalance of a self-sufficient, narrow-minded dissenter. This is a fault which we regret much, as it is obviously the result of early prejudice and want of inquiry; and one of which so strong and sound a mind ought to speedily free itself.

Mr. Bremner's volumes are of a different character from those of Mr. Laing; being evidently the composition of a Conservative, who looked rather to the fashionable, than to the radical and philosophical aspect of affairs. They consist of the loose notes of a traveller, who skimmed along the genteel surface of society, and did not wish to find fault with the countries through which he passed; and was anxious, if possible, to combat the statements of Mr. Laing. This he attempts, now and then, in a covert, roundabout way, that shews his own dread of his travelling competitor, and how utterly unable he was to cope with him. In the volumes of the latter, we met with a variety of statements with regard to the tenure of property on the continent, and the religious education, morals, and slavery of the Protestant nations of the north, which will no doubt surprise some of our readers; and we should therefore specially recommend them to all who wish to acquire information on these subjects. Mr. Bremner's work is more gossiping and superficial; but perhaps agreeable enough to those who want light reading. We should by no means recommend those who wish for political and statistical knowledge, on the state of Norway and Sweden, to purchase it while a copy of Laing can be had. In going through it, we noted some trifles, which we shall lay before our readers in the order in which they occur in the original.

Holstein, Mr. Bremner says, is the only part of the con-

tinent where the people exercise any voice in appointing their clergy. When a vacancy occurs in a church, the parishioners meet on a day, of which due intimation has been given by the ecclesiastical judicatory of the district. The candidates are generally those young preachers of the neighbourhood, with whose pulpit ministrations the people are best acquainted. The names of these being proposed, every male parishioner, who has received the sacrament, votes for the person he prefers; and the appointment is given to him who unites the greatest number of voices. The system, he says, works well; though he admits that in all the churches of the province, the doctrines of the Reformation had been as completely lost sight of, as if they formed no part of revelation, till Professor Harms lately attempted to revive them; who met with great difficulties and much hostility for a time, but "now enjoys the reward of seeing himself surrounded by many able fellow-labourers;" and "nearly all the pulpits in the province are rapidly becoming filled with sound and zealous teachers of the truth."

Though the soil of Germany is excellent, yet the farmers are worse off in the best parts of Germany than in the worst of Great Britain. Their crops are heavy; but they lose much by the vermin fostered by the game laws; and particularly in the petty dukedoms, where the nuisance is greatest, and is maintained in a most conservative spirit. Mr. Bremner has known two hundred hares to be killed near Weimer in a few hours, by a party of city sportsmen. In the districts bordering on the lower slopes of the Hartz mountains, as many as one thousand are often killed in one short winter's day; and he himself has frequently started a score of them not many hundred yards from the gates of a walled town. Of feathered game, the bustard and wild turkey seem the most destructive. The farmers are not allowed to kill or hurt them, but only to frighten them away. A wealthy farmer is unknown in Germany. They are all weighed down, not by taxes, but by the heavy interest which they pay to money-lenders. It is next to impossible to find a farmer without a mortgage on his property. The person now universally considered the best agriculturist in Holstein, is an Irish gentleman, a Mr. C—— (we wish Mr. Bremner had given his name in full), whose property is situated near Lubeck, and consists of about fourteen hundred acres; and who is so successful, that "his marvellous innovations form the subject of general talk among the natives; who, without

absolutely going the length of considering him in league with the evil one, very generally believe that some strange spirit aids him in devising such machines, as no mere earthly farmer could ever have dreamt of without mysterious aid."

Mr. Bremner was much struck with the great number of convicts seen constantly at work in the streets of Copenhagen, and with the number of pretty women in the house of correction; but had his sympathy for the latter repressed, on hearing the crimes of which they had been guilty.

The greatest attention is, in Denmark, paid to the subject of education. Every parish has at least one elementary school, supported by a species of tithe, levied on the proprietors, farmers, and peasantry. Of these schools, there are three thousand in the whole kingdom, besides two hundred seminaries, conducted on the systems of Bell and Lancaster. The royal college superintends all the educational interests of the kingdom, except those of the University of Kiel; and every school is under its inspection. The system pursued in the college itself is very rigid; and destroys everything like originality of mind. The Danes have few new works of their own. They import poetry and novels from England; politics, from France; and history, philosophy, and theology, from Germany. With regard to the last subject, it appears that "the literary attainments of candidates for orders are exalted into undue importance, and little regard paid to spiritual and general qualifications," that the clergy are "a learned, but most assuredly not an efficient" body; and that religion has come "to be a thing of mere form and speculation—a system which men may criticise, and torture, and play with, and write about, just as they might do with any scheme of man's invention." The income of the clergy being generally considered insufficient, "nearly every clergyman cultivates a farm of considerable extent, rented from some proprietor in the parish." The government devotes annually 20,222*l.* to the promotion of art and science, 1666*l.* to defray the travelling expenses of young artists and literary men, 6000*l.* to the support of the theatre at Copenhagen, &c. &c. There are many newspapers published at Copenhagen; but few of them are of merit. Those, says Mr. Bremner, which display any talent, are hampered by the jealousies of the court, and by laws which give such power over an offender, that few can be expected lightly to run the risk of becoming their victims. Mr. Bremner has seen a list of one hundred and eighty periodicals, under various titles, and



connected with various branches of literature or science, published at Copenhagen, within the year; and he adds, that "most countries of the continent are overwhelmed with a brood of the same description."

In 1660 the government of Denmark became an absolute monarchy, and continued so up to 1834—the king being "the most uncontrolled sovereign in Europe." "We have looked for," says Mr. Bremner, "but can find no single check to the power of the king of Denmark. Laws, property, taxes, all were at the mercy of his tyranny or caprice." In 1834 the present sovereign being at the time "free and unconstrained—the most despotic king in Europe," without any solicitation or movement on the part of his faithful slaves, gave them what they call a constitution. He divided the kingdom, with the exception of Lauenburgh (which being governed under an old constitution, by which a local council meets annually for public business, is not included in the modern enlightened arrangement), into four electoral districts, each having an assembly which must be summoned at least once in two years. Without the consent of these assemblies, no law can be promulgated affecting persons or property, and new taxes and levies for the public service must be sanctioned by them. They can suggest new laws to the king, and complain of public servants, but not judge of them. The movement partly complain that the king is opposed to freedom of discussion, and is desirous to limit rather than to extend what he has done—but they should be thankful for small mercies. A transaction, of which the Danes boast much, under the name of the *Liberation* of the Peasants, took place in 1660; but Mr. Bremner, who by the bye, as a conservative, seems to feel himself called upon to be the champion of every oppressor of his fellow-men, who happens to be a king or a lord, says, that "it was not a liberation of any class in the kingdom, but rather the more complete subjugation of all classes to the crown," and that "the peasants remained, and still remain in many parts of Denmark little better than serfs."

On the government and people of Denmark, Mr. Laing, in his work on Sweden, observes:—

"It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in modern history, that about the middle of the seventeenth century, when all other countries were advancing towards constitutional arrangements of some kind or other, for the security of civil and religious liberty, Denmark by a formal act of her states or diet, abrogated even that

shadow of a constitution, and invested her sovereigns with full despotic power to make and execute law, without check or control on their absolute authority. Lord Molesworth, who wrote an account of Denmark, in 1692, thirty-two years after this singular transaction, makes the curious observation,—‘That in the Roman Catholic religion, there is a resisting principle to absolute civil power, from the division of authority with the heads of the church at Rome; but in the north, the Lutheran Church is entirely subservient to the civil power, and the whole of the northern people of Protestant countries, have lost their liberties ever since they changed their religion for a better.’ ‘The blind obedience which is destructive of natural liberty is, he conceives, more firmly established in the northern kingdoms by the entire and sole dependence of the clergy upon the prince, without the interference of any spiritual superior, as that of the Pope among Romanists, than in the countries which remained Catholic.’ ‘The Lutheran clergy retained their political power as a chamber or state in the diets, although totally dependent on the crown as spiritual and temporal superior.’ It was the influence of the clergy and the crown upon the third estate in the diet, that of the burgesses wearied out with the oppressive privileges of the nobility, that carried the abolition of all restriction upon the absolute power of the monarch. When Frederic III, in 1660, obtained this absolute power, he established five colleges or departments for the public business, of which the presidents were the ministers for the affairs in each department.”

Mr. Laing then proceeds to say, that these colleges do their business so well, that the country, though “under a total want of political freedom,” and under a “monarchy which juridically and in theory is the most unlimited and legitimately absolute of any in Europe,” is in advance of many countries which enjoy political freedom, “in her liberal and enlightened institutions,” as in the establishment of normal schools for training schoolmasters, and other arrangements for the general education of the people; the abolition of the punishment of death about thirty years since; the improvement of the administration of justice, “by an effective system of superintendence and revision by the superior courts of all the proceedings and decisions of the inferior, whether appealed from or not by the private parties;” and the institution of parish courts of arbitration;—but he adds:—

“From being altogether passive, and having no voice in their own affairs, the Danish people with all those fine institutions of their government, are in the same state nearly as in 1660. In the practice of the useful arts, in activity, industry, and well-being, they are two centuries behind those nations with whom in numbers

and natural advantages of soil, climate, and situation, they may be fairly compared, the Scotch, the Dutch, or the Belgian people. The trade and industry of this city, so advantageously situated for being one of the great emporiums of the world, is confined to supplying its own inhabitants with the foreign articles they consume. There is nothing to be called commerce in the place. Copenhagen has more palaces in her streets and harbours, than ships in her harbour. The extreme state of pupillage in which this people is kept, not only extinguishes all industry and activity, but from the host of functionaries who must be employed, where a government attempts to do every thing, and regulates and provides in matters which a people can best manage for themselves, it consumes all their capital, and leaves them nothing to be active and industrious with. The population of Denmark is 1,223,807 individuals, of whom 6960 are civil functionaries, supporting by their salaries, 23,058 persons in their families; 4424 are priests, supporting 21,125 persons; 933 are military officers, supporting 2850 persons; 190 are naval officers, supporting 747 persons; 6987 are non-commissioned officers and soldiers, supporting 3088 persons; 1867 are navy sailors, supporting 4169 persons; and 43,576 are paupers, supported by poor-rate; and 1470 are slaves or condemned convicts, also supported by the public, the value of their labour not maintaining them. The total number thus supported by a public of 1,223,807 individuals, is 121,444 persons; or every ten individuals have to support one, who is not engaged in productive industry, but is a public functionary or a pauper, living upon their productive industry. There is one clergyman to every 276, six-tenths of the population: one public functionary to every 176. If to these perpetual drains upon the earnings of the industrious in the middle and lower classes, be added the enormous waste of the capital and time of the country in palaces, gardens, shows, military duties, and such objects as reproduce nothing, it is not extraordinary that the people are sunk in sloth and poverty, though occupying the richest soil and most advantageous situation in the north of Europe."

We were lately gratified to learn that the king of Denmark allowed a Catholic chapel to be opened in Copenhagen, towards the close of last year.

Mr. Bremner had few faults to find with the Swedes, but many with the Norwegians. On crossing the frontier, he "found the peasants and many of the people at the stations, as savage in their manners as they are in their looks." They have a great desire for overcharging in every way. In the course of a fifty miles' journey, he had repeatedly to resist their demand of payment for four horses, when they had supplied only three. On such occasions, his interpreter and the people at the post, used generally to have such high words, that it was with difficulty he escaped without a regular



battle. The interpreter said he never went among the Norwegians without being in terror for his life. Some gentlemen travelling the same road, and on the same day with Mr. Bremner, had to resist similar demands, and the result was, that at one station their servant came to blows with the enemy; and at another, a fellow hurried off to raise the village against them. A few years since, an English duke stopped a day and a night at one of the hotels or lodging-houses of Christiania. He had four servants with him, and gave very little trouble. The bill was 50*l.* for what ought not to have been 10*l.* He resisted the extortion, but, after twelve months' litigation, was compelled to pay the original 50*l.* and 150*l.* costs. Mr. Bremner says, that what most annoys the traveller, "is the *unreasonable price* often charged for things of little value." He had been at inns in Norway, where the charges would have justified him in making a preliminary treaty at every place he afterwards entered. A stranger might travel through the highlands of Scotland for one-half what he expended in Norway; and after all he was told he had been only in the cheapest districts, and that in the extreme north the charges were much higher. A German traveller paid for lodging, &c., at Trondhjem, as much as he had been charged at a good hotel in London. The rudeness of the peasantry is also a great drawback to the pleasure of travelling in the country. If the horse is lazy and you use the whip, the master abuses you; if your servant uses it, he attacks him with his fists. They are never satisfied with the gratuity given them, and pocket with insult, what in Sweden is taken with a ready "thank ye." With them a quarrel is the general rule: with the Swedes it is the exception; and, "if you escape a single stage without disputes, it is not to the excellence of the system, or the general character of the people that you owe it, but to the chance good-nature of the individuals you fall upon." A pleasant country for a summer excursion!

Up to 1814, Norway had been under the paternal despotism of Denmark, when Great Britain, in consideration of the King of Sweden joining her in the war against France, gave it and Guadeloupe, and 1,000,000*l.* sterling, to him. The Danes having, on the arrangement being concluded, withdrawn from the country, and there being no forces present to take possession for the new owners, the Norwegians declared themselves independent, adopted a constitution, and chose Prince Christian of Denmark for their sovereign. He accepted the appointment, but soon resigned it, and they

became the liege subjects of the King of Sweden, he guaranteeing their constitution. They are virtually independent, the King of Sweden only drawing a small annual salary from them, and they having a complete control over every department of the administration. Since the separation from Denmark, their success has been almost incredible. The population of Christiania has more than doubled. By the Sound lists, it appears that they paid duty in 1814, for only eighty-three ships; in 1832, for 1,535. The national resources of every kind have been so judiciously turned to account, and the public burdens so fairly distributed, that Mr. Bremner says, there is perhaps no country in the world, where the great body of the people have it so completely in their power to enjoy both comfort and independence. They are now able to support all their own establishments, navy, army, &c., have "lately accomplished what no other state in Europe can boast of, a simultaneous reduction of all the taxes;" and, notwithstanding this reduction, had at the time of Mr. Bremner's visit, a reserve in the treasury larger than the whole of the public debt. The population of the entire kingdom is 1,098,291 souls, not 200,000 more than that of the county of Cork; the entire custom duties are less than half the sum raised for poor-rate and county-rate for Yorkshire; and the entire revenue (including customs), not more than 350,000*l*. These deficiencies are counterbalanced by the people having common sense, an ardent devotion to their country, and carrying it into daily practice like the Scotch, by cannily sticking by each other, and not having their patriotic feelings weakened or distracted by religious or political differences.

The *storting*, or parliament, consists of ninety-six members, who are paid 5*s*. 9*d*. a day, and are chosen triennially by such of the inhabitants of the various electoral districts as are twenty-five years of age, possessed of a property worth about 30*l*., or holding the life-rent of a property worth that sum. The qualifications of the members are the same as those of the electors, except that they must be thirty years of age, and have been ten years resident in Norway, and that holding an appointment under the government, or being a clergyman, dispenses with the necessity of a property qualification. The *storting* meets generally every third year, and sits from February till August. The crown can summon extraordinary meetings. No tax or law can be passed without the sanction of the *storting*. The assent of the king is required before

a law can be put in force, but if any bill has been passed by three storthings, it becomes the law of the land without his approbation. The appointments of public officers, clergymen to vacant parishes, &c., originate with the crown, but are not final till confirmed by the storthing. The king does not preside, and is not represented in their meetings by any public officer. Mr. Bremner says, "It is greatly to the honour of the Norwegians, that, as members of the storthing, they seem to be actuated solely by zeal for the public good,—upright, simple, and incorruptible; neither caring for wealth nor ambitious of titles; disdaining to purchase favours by selling their independence—they have never been brought over by government to support any project that seemed to militate against the national liberties." During the time of Mr. Bremner's visit, the storthing was sitting. The place of meeting was a long, low, plain room, without any emblem whatever to represent the embodied dignity of the nation. At one end is a gallery for the public, nearly as large as the member's division, and to which every one can come when he likes, there not being a door-keeper, policeman, or sentinel, to parley with. The plainness of the hall impressed the traveller with a favourable opinion of the legislature, which "was raised still higher by the honest-looking unpretending appearance of the members themselves," whose grave, business-like aspects, "at once gave the idea of men come to work, not to talk." The greater part of them had the look of respectable farmers, or small country proprietors, and the entire body might be described "in general, as plain, but not vulgar men." "The mode of conducting business," says Mr. Bremner "is very simple. The president reads from a paper the proposition to be discussed; a member stands up in his place—there is no tribune, or rostrum—and makes some remarks in a quiet earnest tone, and at the end of five or six minutes gives way to another speaker, who replies in the same calm manner, and with equal brevity. Of all the legislative assemblies of Europe, it is the most dignified and the most orderly—no one seeks to make a speech, and no one loses temper. There is no conversation carried on amongst the members, nothing to prevent the most timid from being heard. In short, the calmness of their proceedings might furnish a lesson to assemblies where there may be more of the splendour of talent, but assuredly not so much of the calm dignity and impartiality which we expect



among legislators." It seems that there is no waste of words among them, but that the business is done admirably. Among other remarkable measures, they have abolished hereditary nobility.

The Norwegians pay great attention to popular education. The University of Christiania is said to be good enough in its way. The income and social position of the clergy being highly attractive, the greater portion of the students at the University devote themselves to theology. There are four bishops for the kingdom, each of whom has, at least, £766 yearly income. The pastor of a town parish often has £254; those of most of the remote country parishes have £191, and none have less than £153. There are, moreover, fees paid for certain duties, and excellent glebe farms and parsonage houses in every parish—one always belonging for life to the widow of the last incumbent. Mr. Bremner very properly says of these advantages, "that the Church should be the favourite profession did not surprise us, when we heard that it affords incomes which, for this country, must be pronounced very high." The clergy seem quite conscious of their enjoyments, and, like the enlightened clergy of countries nearer home, look upon them as of more importance than the instruction or salvation of the people. The proof of these sensible views is to be found in the fact, that the entire kingdom, with a surface of 71,400 square miles, is divided into no more than 336 parishes—some of them being equal to several English counties put together, and one covering a district a 100 miles long, stretching from the sea-coast back to the mountains of Sweden. Many of the clergy are said to be very highly educated. In the University, Mr. Bremner found every means provided for their instruction in the sciences, as well as in their own immediate studies. The Norwegians are all Lutherans.—"Such a being as a Dissenter is unknown in Norway." All sects of Christians are now (1843) tolerated (*i. e.* suffered to live) by law—but Jews are unsparingly excluded from the country, and those coming on business are not allowed to remain more than twenty-four hours. The press is free, and sends forth such an innumerable quantity of ephemeral publications, that Mr. Bremner thinks "Norway like Sweden, languishes under an excess of periodical cropping." He regrets that, in so Protestant a country, Sunday should be the favourite

day for theatrical amusements, and that in so free and enlightened a country convicts should be treated with more harshness than he had witnessed in any other part of the world. The authorities justify their inhumanity by the extreme ferocity of the people; the traveller admits that he never saw such wild-looking men as those convicts, but thinks there could be no harm in trying a more gentle method. As to the profanation of the Sabbath, as Mr. Bremner regards it, Mr. Laing says, it arises from the universally received interpretation, in the pure Lutheran Church, of the scriptural words,—“and the evening and the morning made the first day,” which makes the evening of Saturday, and the morning of Sunday, the seventh day, or sabbath; and it is so fully established, that entertainments, dances, card parties, and all public amusements, take place regularly on Sunday evenings, and Lutheran ministers would think it superstitious to object to them.

In dealings between man and man, Mr. Bremner says, “the Norwegians cannot, with justice, be described as more than ‘indifferent moral,’ for we always found amongst them a greater desire to take advantage of a stranger than we ever experienced in any other part of Europe;” and with regard to chastity, the statistical returns show that of every five children born, one is illegitimate—the same proportion exactly, in this widely scattered and rural population, “as in the densely crowded and corrupted atmosphere of Paris.” This statement appears also in Mr. Laing’s work, who, moreover, names one country parish in particular, where “without a town or manufacturing establishment, or resort of shipping, or quartering of troops, or other obvious cause,” the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children, in the five years from 1826 to 1830, was one in three.

In Mr. Bremner’s observations on Sweden, we found little worth noticing. In the Female House of Correction, at Stockholm, he found thirty-eight prisoners condemned for life, “nearly all of whom had been convicted of the too frequent crime of child-murder.” If they conduct themselves well, the sentence for life is relaxed, and most of them are so, in fact, at the end of five or six years. Mr. Bremner blames the Foundling Hospital for the great immorality of Stockholm, but forgets that Paris is supplied with a similar institution.

Bernadotte seems to have been a particularly lucky man.

So favourable are even the elements to him, that it is a proverb in Stockholm, that *the weather is sure to be fine, whenever the king has anything to do.*

Eminence in any department, is generally rewarded in Sweden with a good post in the Church. Tegner, the poet, was not long since appointed to one of the wealthiest bishoprics in the kingdom; and Aghard, the botanist, has received a similar reward. Mr. Bremner intimates that it is likely that such things will not occur again. He does not mention the grounds on which he comes to this conclusion respecting the future exercise of Church patronage by the Swedish monarch; nor do we see any reason, from analogy with the practice in these realms, why his anticipations should be realized. Surely the man who writes a good original poem is far better entitled to a bishopric, than he who merely writes an essay on the incomprehensible metre of some old pagan poetaster.

The Swedes are all Lutherans, and if any of them abandon that form of faith, he loses his civil rights, according to the most approved version of the right of private judgment. They are extremely intolerant towards those who differ from them in religious matters. "The day is gone by when a Roman Catholic would be in danger of becoming a martyr if he shewed himself amongst them; but, by the lower classes, at least, he would still be looked upon with great horror." The Church is very wealthy—the archbishop has £2000 a year, and of the eleven bishops, no one has less than £600 a year. The incomes of the 70 archdeacons, and 192 deans, vary from £400 to £700; of the 3230 inferior clergy no one has less than £120, while many have £300, in addition to their several parsonages and glebe lands. In consequence of these incomes, the sons of some of the best families in Sweden adopt the Church as a profession, and the better livings, and the bishoprics, are generally gained more by influence than talent. "One of the most obnoxious features of the present system is, that the tithes not only affect old lands, but also fall with equal severity on new improvements, and thus check the spirit of improvement. In all parts of the country, it is said, lands are still left waste, which, but for this drawback, would have been improved long ago." It seems odd that reformed clerical rapacity should produce precisely the same results in Sweden as in Ireland.

Mr. Laing dwells much on the manifold advantages which the equal distribution of property produces in Norway. It



appears that, from the earliest times, landed property has been distributable there in the same manner as personal property is with us. Jurists suppose that gavel-kind, which is now the law in Kent, was the law of all England prior to the Norman conquest. Mr. Laing would almost make us regret that it is not so still. As an objection to this natural subdivision of landed property, it is commonly said, that small proprietors make bad farmers; but Mr. Laing shews that it is difficult for any people to exceed in activity and industry the small proprietors of even the Norwegian glens. What would the advocates of large estates say to the small farmers who lay down a wooden trough, forty miles in length, along the sides of a valley, for the purpose of irrigating the lands in dry weather? From this division of property, comfort and independence are so equally diffused over the country, that even the farm labourers are allowed each an excellent house, with land enough to support two cows and ten sheep all the year round, and to raise a ton and a half of corn, and ten tons of potatoes. These are usually held on leases for the life of the man and his wife. Mr. Laing thinks there are not any labourers without two cows, or an equivalent number of sheep or goats. In Norway, in 1819, with a population of 910,000 inhabitants, there were 41,656 estates; and in Scotland, in 1822, with a population of 2,093,456, there were 2987 freeholders. But, as several of these did not actually possess land, but held fictitious votes, and many estates afforded no freehold qualification, Mr. Laing, to meet all cases, and cover all omissions, triples the 2987, which would give, however, only 8961 estates, whereas if the people of Scotland held the same interest in the soil as the people of Norway, there would be 95,829, "one for every 22, instead of one for every 700 of the population."

We regret that we are obliged to omit many interesting sketches of the condition and habits of the Norwegians, and to leave our readers to judge of the general scope and character of Mr. Laing's book, by placing before them the three conclusions which he drew from what he witnessed in that country.

"*First.* That the structure of society in which, through the effects of the natural law of succession in equal shares, there is a very general diffusion of property among all classes and individuals, is better calculated for the end of all society—the producing the greatest

possible quantity of well-being and happiness to the greatest number of persons—than that structure in which the possession of property by the operation of an artificial law of succession, such as the feudal law of primogeniture, is restricted to particular classes and individuals among the families of the community.

“*Second.* That the influences of property upon the human mind—the never-ceasing propensity to acquire and to save, and the equally strong propensity to indulge in the tastes and habits generated by property, form the real checks which nature has intended for restraining the propensity to propagation by improvident marriages, and for preventing the population of a country from exceeding the means, or property, on which it is to subsist. Consequently, the diffusion of property through society is the only radical cure for that king’s evil of all feudally-constructed societies—pauperism, and over-multiplication. Consequently the idea of bolstering up this unnatural structure of society, as proposed by Dr. Chalmers, and other eminent political economists, by inculcating in the minds of the labouring classes a fictitious moral restraint upon marriage—an act which may be eminently imprudent, but can never be designated as immoral, without confounding together prudence and morality, and overturning all the landmarks of human virtue—is as contrary to political as it is to moral principle.

“*Third.* That for the admitted evil condition of the vast population of Ireland, there is no other effectual remedy than an alteration in the law of succession to property, by which, without injury to the just existing rights of any living individual, the succeeding generations in that country would become gradually connected with its property—innoculated and imbued with the curbing tastes, habits, and influences thence arising, and their increase of numbers thus placed under the restraint of the only natural and effective checks which Providence has imposed upon the tendency of population to exceed the means of subsistence.”

The most interesting chapters in Mr. Laing’s work on Sweden, are those on the religious, educational, and moral statistics of the country. There, also, education is well attended to by the government. According to the testimony of statistical writers, not 1 in a 1000 of the adult population is unable to read. In 1830, 1 in every 668 of the total male population received an University education. The whole establishment connected with public instruction, consists of 3193 clergy, 3753 sextons, or parish clerks, organists and church-servants, and 763 schoolmasters, teachers, and professors, paid by the public; altogether 7709 males, whose wives and children amount to 15,114 persons, making a total of 22,823 individuals, or 1 in every 126 of the whole

population living by teaching the Swedish people their religious and moral duties. The number of works published in 1830, was seven hundred and twenty-four, besides eighty newspapers, and twenty periodicals. The clerical establishments cost the congregations 1,780,393 banco dollars in direct payment in tithes; "and a great, and not appreciable amount in dues or offerings at marriages, baptisms, funerals, Easter, Christmas, and sacramental occasions. These are very oppressive." Læstadius mentions in his work an instance of a cow being the clergyman's customary payment, and of a poor widow's only cow being demanded for the performance of this right, necessary for "her husband's salvation." The yearly cost of the Church was estimated, in 1832, at 3,669,800 banco dollars, or £305,816. The clergy elect one of the chambers of the diet, and are altogether the most influential body in Sweden. Mr. Laing says :

" Their dues, fees, and rights, however oppressive these appear to us, are sanctioned by long-use and wont among a peasantry in whom a sense of property is almost extinguished by the exactions upon their time, labour, and produce, for the State and its institutions. It is only what is left to the peasant out of his land, not what he produces, that he views and feels to be his own. The interests of the parties, the tithe payers, and the tithe receivers, produce, therefore, less animosity of feeling than with us, or, properly speaking, none. The clergy, also, and the people, appear to me to view Christianity altogether in a different light from that in which we view it. The people are educated up to a certain point, which is that of being able to read and give proof of understanding the Church catechism so well as to be entitled to confirmation, and to be received as communicants. Here the working of the establishment on the people seems to stop. A careful attendance upon all the ceremonials of the Church, the Easter offerings, Christmas offerings, and such offerings, appear to stand in the place of all mental exertion or application on their part in religious matters, after they have once (if I may use the expression without offence), taken out their diploma as Christians, by the rite of confirmation, and by receiving their first communion. Religion seems to rest here."

On the moral condition of Sweden, Mr. Laing throws considerable light. He observes:—

" It is a singular and embarrassing fact that the Swedish nation, isolated from the mass of European people, and almost entirely agricultural or pastoral, having, in about 3,000,000 of individuals, only 14,925 employed in manufactories, and these not congregated



in one or two places, but scattered among 2037 factories, having no great standing army, or navy, no extended commerce, no afflux of strangers, no considerable city but one, and having schools and universities in a fair proportion, and a powerful and complete Church establishment, undisturbed in its labours by sect or schism, is, notwithstanding, in a more demoralized state than any nation in Europe—more demoralized even, than any equal portion of the dense manufacturing population of Great Britain. This is a very curious fact in moral statistics. It is so directly opposed to all received opinions and long established theories of the superior moral condition, greater innocence, purity of manners, and exemption from vice or crime of the pastoral and agricultural state of society, compared to the commercial and manufacturing, that if it rested merely upon the traveller's impressions, observations, or experiences, it would not be entitled to any credit."

"According to the official returns published in the Swedish State Gazette, in March, 1837, the number of persons prosecuted for criminal offences, before all the Swedish Courts in the year 1835, was 26,275, of whom 21,262 were convicted, 4915 acquitted, and 98 remained under examination. In 1835, the total population of Sweden was 2,983,144 individuals. In this year, therefore, 1 person of every 114 of the whole nation had been accused, and 1 in every 140 convicted of some criminal offence. By the same official returns, it appears that in the five years from 1830 to 1834 inclusive, 1 person in every 49 of the inhabitants of the towns, and 1 in every 176 of the rural population, had, on an average, been punished each year for criminal offences. In 1836 the number of persons tried for criminal offences in all the courts of the kingdom, was 26,925, of whom 22,292 were condemned, 3688 acquitted, and 945 under trial or committal. The criminal lists of this year are stated to be unusually light, yet they give a result of 1 person in every  $112\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole population accused, and 1 in about every 134 convicted of criminal offence; and, taking the population of the towns, and the rural population separately, 1 person in every 46 individuals of the former, and 1 in every 174 of the latter, have been convicted within the year 1836 for criminal offence. There is no rebellion in the land, nor resistance to obnoxious laws, as in Ireland to the tithe laws; nor are artificial offences created to any great extent by iniquitous legislation, as with us, by the game laws, and excise laws. These are all offences involving moral delinquency greater than the simple breach of a regulation or a conventional law of the state. Among the crimes in the rural population, there were 28 cases of murder, 10 of child-murder, 4 of poisoning, 13 of bestiality, 9 of robbery with violence—and this rural population is only 2,735,487 individuals; and, as appears by the

official returns, the criminality among them is only in about the proportion of one fourth of that of the town population of Sweden. Now let us compare this with the state of the criminal calendar in other countries."

Mr. Laing then gives the returns for Norway and Denmark in 1835, Scotland in 1836, England and Wales in 1831, and Ireland in 1834, which we compress into the following tabular form. The fourth and fifth columns express the proportions of the accused and convicted to the entire population.

	Population.	Accused.	Convicted.	One in every	One in every
Sweden .....	2,983,144 ...	26,925 ...	22,292 ...	112½ ...	134
Norway .....	1,194,610 ...	2,616 ...	...	457 ...	662*
Denmark .....	1,223,807 ...	1,806 ...	1,223 ...	678 ...	943
Scotland .....	2,365,114 ...	2,922 ...	2,152 ...	809 ...	1099
England & Wales...	13,894,574 ...	19,647 ...	13,830 ...	707 ...	1005
Ireland ....	7,943,940 ...	21,381 ...	14,253 ...	371½ ...	557†

From this return, it appears that in 1834, when three or four counties were in rebellion, and the Coercion Bill was passed, there were among our 8,000,000, 5644 fewer committals, and 8039 fewer convictions, and among the 14,000,000 of England and Wales, 7278 fewer committals, and 8462 fewer convictions in 1831, than in the 3,000,000 of Swedes in 1836. In the five years from 1830 to 1834 inclusive, the average yearly number of committals in this country was 1 in every 455, and of convictions, 1 in every 723 of the whole population, while we have seen that for the

\* 1439 of the convictions were for police transgressions, which reduces the proportion of convictions for criminal offences, to 1 in every 1402.

† By the last Parliamentary return of the comparative amount of crime in this country, and England and Wales, which was published in 1838, and noticed in No. 11 of this Review, it appeared that of the more heinous class of crimes (those punished with death, transportation, or imprisonment for more than six months), the gross numbers were, in 1834, for England and Wales .....

For Ireland..... 6757

Being one heinous crime for every 2056 inhabitants in England and Wales, and 1 for every 3184 inhabitants in Ireland.

And in 1837, for England and Wales ..... 6259

For Ireland ..... 2377

Being one heinous crime for every 2220 inhabitants in England and Wales; and 1 for every 3267 in Ireland, and that for the 3 years 1835-6 and 7, the total number of convictions for burglary, simple larceny, and larceny by servants, was—

	Ireland.	Eng. & Wales.
Burglary .....	67 ...	1,034
Simple larceny .....	6761 ...	27,209
Larceny by servants.....	179 ...	2,302

The population of Ireland, to that of England and Wales, in those years, was as 4 to 7.

same five years in Sweden, the average of committals was 1 in every 114, and of convictions, 1 in every 140. In London, in 1834, with a population of 1,918,640, the committals for criminal offences were 3547, or 1 in every 540 persons of the population; while in the town population of Sweden, it was 1 in every 46. At the close of 1836, the county gaols of Sweden contained 13,209 prisoners, of whom 547 were debtors. Great Britain and Ireland, with their 27,000,000, would, at the same rate, have in prison 118,000 of their population—that is more than the peace establishment of the army and navy. Five murders in a population of 95,822, “with no peculiarity, favourable or unfavourable, to their moral state,” was considered a light criminal calendar in 1837, for the remote province of which the small town of Gefle is the head. Among the 40,671 isolated rural inhabitants of the island of Gothland, with 93 clerical charges, or 1 clergyman to every 435 individuals, the number condemned in 1837 was 147, or 1 in every 277 of the whole of the men, women, and children on the island; “41 for crimes of great moral magnitude, and 5 for crimes equivalent to murder.”

The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births was, according to Mr. Laing, for all Sweden, 1 to 14; for England and Wales, 1 to 19; for Stockholm (population 75,000), 1 to 2½; Paris, 1 to 5; London and Middlesex 1 to 38. But, as Mr. Laing well observes:—

“Figures do not bring home to our imaginations the moral condition of a population so depraved as that of Stockholm. In such a society, the offspring of secret adultery, and the births merely saved from illegitimacy by the tardy marriage of the parents, must be numerous in proportion to the general profligacy. If it were possible to deduct these from the one side of the account, and add them to the other to which they morally belong, what a singular picture of depravity on a great scale this city presents. Suppose a traveller standing in the streets of Edinburgh, and able to say, from undeniable public returns—“One out of every three persons passing me is, on an average, the offspring of illicit intercourse; and 1 out of every 49 has been convicted within these twelve months of some criminal offence.” The remarkably low moral feeling in this community appears from the following fact. In all large cities in the present age, houses of ill-fame—brothels where they do exist—are silently tolerated by the local authorities, as evils which the police must watch over, and which the growing sense of decency, of religion, of morality,



among the lower classes, their better education, their greater temperance, and higher civilization can alone remedy. But to openly establish them where they did not exist before, under the authority of government, and as one of its public institutions for the health or morals of the people : to hire a hotel for such a purpose in a principal street ; collect unfortunate females to live in it, and give out a code of regulations for their conduct towards the public, appears a trait scarcely credible ; yet this was done within these three years here, and the establishment was only abandoned because the wretched inmates fell victims to the barbarity of the regulations.”—p. 115.

From Mr. Laing's “Reply,” it appears doubtful whether this was a financial or a sanatory speculation of the government.

Mr. Laing frequently intimates an opinion that the Reformation has not been beneficial to Sweden. But surely this must be a mistake. One of his reasons for this odd and unaccountable fancy is, “that the change was the act of government, connected apparently with the policy of the new dynasty, and supported by an enlightened few, and by the inferior resident clergy, not averse to be relieved from celibacy and other restraints.”

One great advantage derived from the sound religious and moral instruction of the Swedish people is, that among them—“you see no blackguardism, no brutality, no revolting behaviour. You may travel through the country, and come to the conclusion that the people are among the most virtuous in Europe.”—“In walking through the streets (of Stockholm), I never saw an immodest, or even suspicious look or gesture among even the lowest classes of people. For propriety of dress and demeanour, the town might be peopled by vestals—and yet one third of the infants are bastards. I confess I do not like this, either in a people or in an individual. I prefer a little open Irish blackguardism.”

Sweden being such a “true Protestant” country, the right of private judgment must, as a matter of course, be allowed in all its latitude. But Mr. Laing says :

“The Swede has no freedom of mind, no power of dissent in religious opinion from the established Church ; because although toleration nominally exists, a man not baptized, confirmed, and instructed by the clergyman of the establishment, could not communicate in the established Church, and could not marry or hold office, or exercise any act of majority as a citizen—would

in fact, be an outlaw." "Hadelse Mod Gud, or contempt of God, is a crime for which, from 1830 to 1836 inclusive, 14 persons have been condemned to death, or to slavery in chains for life. In this crime, as in treason, government must institute the proceedings: that is, the ecclesiastical department, the Minister of State for Church affairs, orders the prosecution. It is not, therefore, an old remnant of monkish law, working unobserved by government in rare cases; but it is inquisition law, working in the hands of a Lutheran State-Church, as thoroughly as in Spain or Portugal, in the hands of a Roman Catholic Church. The undefined nature of the crime which may be twisted so as to comprehend all sorts of religious dissent; the immoral nature of the evidence which generally must rest upon the espionage of servants or guests, as in the case I heard of; and the guilt itself, which religion takes out of the hands of man and punishes here or hereafter in its own way, makes this no object for human law to deal with in enlightened times." "The crime of 'mockery of the public service of God, or contemptuous behaviour during the same,' is the first in the rubric of the second class of crimes: that is, it comes after murder, blasphemy, sodomy, but before perjury, forgery, or theft. It is, evidently, a very undefined crime, but is visited with punishment in chains for various terms of years, as a crime against the Church establishment. Between 1830, and 1836, not fewer than 242 persons have been condemned to chains for this crime in Sweden. Who will say that the Inquisition was abolished by Luther's Reformation? It has only been incorporated with the State in Lutheran countries, and exercised by the Church through the ecclesiastical department of government in the civil courts, instead of in the Church courts. The thing itself remains in vigour; Lord Molesworth was right when he said, that the whole of the northern people of Lutheran countries had lost their liberties ever since they changed their religion for a better."—p. 325-6.

The civil liberty of the nation is on a par with everything else. The press is under a censorship. The servants in husbandry may, by law, be cudgelled by their masters to any extent, short of killing or maiming, for negligence, determinable by the judgment of the master. "The servant may change his service at the end of ten months, on giving due warning, but has no right of action on the master for personal maltreatment, and during his time of service has no more rights than a slave."—"These people are trained to obedience, and in that class, to consider nothing their own but what is left to them by the clergy and government, to whom, in the first place, their labours, time,

and property, must belong. A country in this state wants the very foundation on which civil liberty must stand—a sense of independence and property among the people. In the present social condition of this people, a free constitution, or liberal institutions would have no basis to rest upon—no support below.”

We hasten to close our notice of this volume by transferring to our pages the “three facts” which Mr. Laing mentions at the close of his “Observations,” as the amount of his acquisitions from his Swedish tour.

“1st. The Swedish nation is more generally educated than the English, the Scotch, or perhaps any in Europe, except the Danish. Elementary education, in reading, writing, and the shorter catechism of the Lutheran Church, is so universal, that even the aid of the schoolmaster in these branches is superseded in many districts, and the children are instructed by their parents. The educational institutions of government, the two universities, the twelve gymnasia, the numerous Latin, or high schools, and apologist, or common schools, and the law requiring adults to show that they can read and understand the Scriptures before they can be admitted to the Communion-table, and to have taken the Communion before they can marry, or exercise any act of majority, diffuse widely the means of education and its first elements. The many periodical and other publications constantly issuing from the Swedish press, and the establishments in the bookselling-trade to be found in the smallest and most remote towns, prove that the Swedes are an educated, reading people.

“2nd. In no country in Europe is the Church establishment so powerful and perfect. In Sweden there is not merely an union of Church and State—the Church is a distinct component portion of the State, equal in its constitutional share in the legislature, to the whole body of the aristocracy, or of the representatives of the people, and possessing extensive authority and influence, besides its share in the legislature, through the department of government for Church affairs. It has but one religion—its own—to deal with in the nation; there being no Catholics, nor Calvinists among the Swedes, and is undisturbed by sectarianism or dissent of any note, from its doctrines or forms. Its members, as a body, are highly educated, of undeniable piety and zeal, with very efficient internal regulations in their establishment for preventing negligence or laxity in the discharge of clerical duties, or the admission of incompetent individuals to clerical functions. The exemplary church attendance of the people, the erections of new, and decorations of old churches, by voluntary contributions, and the free-will offerings



at Easter and Christmas to their pastors, prove, beyond question, the popularity and influence of the established clergy in Sweden, and the good feeling in general of their flocks towards them.

“Notwithstanding this powerful, effective, and complete Church establishment, and notwithstanding this very wide diffusion of education and religious instruction, by parental and clerical tuition, and by an extensive and efficient national establishment of public schools suitable to all classes, the Swedish nation stands among the lowest in the scale of morality. No other three millions of moral beings in Europe appear to commit within a given time so large an amount of crime and moral transgressions.”

The principal inference which our author deduces from this startling result, is, that the cause of the demoralization is the excessive interference of the government with the public and private affairs of the people, leaving them no independent action as free moral agents. “Man must have liberty even to do wrong, or he is but a puppet, without freedom or action as a moral being, without merit in what he does, without self-approbation, or self-respect.” “Such a state of laws and institutions in a country, reduces the people as moral beings to the state of a soldiery, who, if they fulfil their regimental duties and military regulations, consider themselves absolved from all other restraints on conduct. This is the condition of the Swedish people. The mass of the nation is in a state of pupillage, living like soldiers in a regiment, under classes or oligarchies of privileged bodies — the public functionaries, clergy, nobility, owners of estates exempt from taxation, and incorporated traders exempt from competition. Under this pressure in Sweden upon industry, property, liberty, free-opinion, and free-will, education is but a source of amusement, or of speculation in science, without influence on private morals, or public affairs; and religion, a superstitious observance of Church days, forms, and ordinances, with a blind veneration for the clergy, but as far removed as ever the Roman Catholic ceremonial church was (i. e. in Mr. Laing's opinion), from promoting any moral improvement of society.”

We part with this volume with an earnest recommendation to those of our readers who may wish to understand the condition of Sweden to buy or borrow it. Soon after its appearance, the Swedish government attempted to refute some of the statements in it, by a pamphlet published in London. This drew a “Reply” from Mr. Laing, which com-

pletely substantiated the positions that had been attacked. From this we excerpt the following facts respecting the statistics of Sweden in 1838. In that year the number of persons prosecuted for criminal offences was 29,983; convicted 25,018. In the country courts there were tried 28 cases of murder, 12 of child-murder, and 7 of poisoning. In the town courts: one of murder, 1 of incendiarism and murder, and 1 of robbery, incendiarism, and murder, united, for all which 62 persons were condemned. In the country courts, there were also 6 cases of violent robbery, 16 of perjury, and 4 of incendiarism, for which 35 persons were convicted. In the town courts there were also 112 cases of forgery. In both courts there were 3196 cases of theft; 21 suffered under the northern inquisition for contempt of public worship. The divorces in the year were 147; the suicides 172. Of the 2714 children born in Stockholm in that year, 1577 were legitimate, 1137 illegitimate, making only a balance of 440 chaste mothers out of 2714, and the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children not as 1 to 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ , but as 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Mr. Laing candidly admitted that he was mistaken when he laid down the former proportion.

Mr. Laing's *Notes of a Traveller*, are the calm judicious summings up of a very impartial, independent, and original observer, on the condition of the several countries which he passes in review. He seems to have thoroughly investigated every subject on which he writes, and gives his own common-sense views of it, utterly indifferent to the conceits of the self-styled philosophers, who have delivered their pompous and almost oracular responses upon it. Thus he shews, in opposition to all that was ever written against the abolition of the feudal tenure and the law of primogeniture in France, that that measure is the principal cause of the present great prosperity, industry, and happiness of the French nation. In handling this question, he notices the custom which formerly prevailed all over Scotland, and still continues in the northern counties of that country, of allowing the cottier tenantry to pay for their lands in kind. These observations are so judicious, and may be so useful in the consideration of the Irish Landlord and Tenant Question, at the present moment, that we willingly transfer them to our pages.

“The latter were generally charged a rent in kind, that is, in a proportion of the crops produced, or with a reference to the average

crops of the land. The peasant could understand the simple data before him, knew at once whether the land could produce enough to feed his family and leave a surplus such as was demanded for rent, and, if not, he sought a living in some other employment. His standard of living was not deteriorated by his rent in kind, because he had a clearly seen surplus of the best as well as of the worst of the products of his farm for family consumption, after paying the portion of these products that were his rent. The Irish small tenantry, on the contrary, have to pay for their land in money. It would be just as reasonable to make them pay for their land in French wines for the squire, or Parisian dresses for the lady. Their land produces neither gold, nor silver, nor Irish bank notes. It is not reasonable to make the peasant, the ignorant man, pay in those commodities—they are but commodities, like wines and silks—and to make men, simple, inexperienced in trade, and a prey to market-jobbers, to run the double mercantile risk of selling their own commodities, and buying those in which their landlords choose to be paid their rents. The great capitalist-farmer may choose to add the trade of the corn-merchant to that of the agriculturalist, and to take the mercantile as well as the agricultural risks and profits upon himself; but even the shrewdest of this class, the great farmers of the south of Scotland, are dropping, as fast as they can, this mercantile branch of farming-business, and coming back to the natural principle of farming, that of paying for their land a proportion of what the land produces, so many bolls of grain per acre—throwing upon the laird the risk which, in reason and common sense, ought to devolve upon him, that of turning his share of the produce raised by the farmer's labour, skill, and capital, out of his acres, into gold or bank bills.

“Money-rent deteriorates the condition of a small tenant in two ways. The more honestly he is inclined, the more poorly and meanly he must live. He must sell all his best produce, his grain, his butter, his flax, his pig, and subsist upon the meanest of food, his worst potatoes and water, to make sure of money for his rent. It thus deteriorates his standard of living. He is also tempted by money-rent out of the path of certainty into that of chance. It thus deteriorates his moral condition. Ask him six barrels of oats, or barley, or six stones of butter, or flax, for a piece of land which never produced four, and his common sense and experience guides him. He sees, and comprehends the simple data before him, knows from his experience that such a crop cannot be raised, such a rent cannot be afforded, and he is off to England or America to seek a living. But ask him six guineas per acre for a piece of land, proportionably as much over-rented as the other, and he trusts to chance, to accident, to high market prices, to odd jobs of work turning up, to summer or harvest labour out of the country—in short, he does not know to what; for he is placed in a false position,



made to depend upon chance of markets, and on mercantile success and profits, as much as upon industry and skill in working his little farm."—pp. 43-44.

On another subject also, the superiority of small farms to large ones, the right apprehension of which is of such importance to our countrymen, he throws great light. On this he says:—

"Another axiom taken up as granted, and as quite undeniable, by our agriculturists and political economists, is, that small farms are incompatible with a high or perfect state of cultivation in a country. In the same breath they recommend a garden-like cultivation of the land. Pray what is a garden but a small farm? and what do they recommend, but that a large farm should be, as nearly as possible, brought into the state of cultivation and productiveness of a garden or small farm? This can only be done, they tell us, by the application of large capitals, such as small farmers cannot command, to agriculture: let us reduce these grand words to their proper value. Capital signifies the means of purchasing labour; the application of capital to agriculture means the application of labour to land. A man's own labour, as far as it goes, is as good as any he can buy, nay, a great deal better, because it is attended by a perpetual overseer—his self-interest, watching that it is not wasted or misapplied. If this labour be applied to a suitable, not too large nor too small, area of soil, it is capital applied to land, and the best kind of capital, and applied in the best way to a garden-like cultivation. A garden is better dug, and manured, and weeded, and drained, and is proportionably far more productive than a large farm, because more toil and labour, that is, more capital is bestowed upon it, in proportion to its area. A small farm, held not by the temporary right of a tenant, and under the burden of a heavy rent, but by the owner of the soil, and cultivated by the labour of his family, is precisely the principle of gardening applied to farming; and in the countries in which land has long been occupied and cultivated in small farms by the owners—in Tuscany, Switzerland, and Flanders—the garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the soil are cried up by those very agriculturists and political economists, who cry down the means, the only means, by which it can be attained universally in a country—the division of the land into small garden-like estates, farmed by the proprietors."—pp. 46-47.

It appears that one half of the whole population of France are now proprietors, and, counting their families, two thirds of the whole are engaged in the direct cultivation of the soil; that the arable land now is but little more than it was in 1789; and yet that, in consequence of the present subdivision and

superior cultivation of the land, the present thirty-three millions are far better off in every respect than the former population, prior to 1789, of only twenty-five millions. As a further illustration of his views on this subject, we quote again:—

“ Why should the physical and moral condition of this population (that of Tuscany) be so superior to that of the Neapolitans, or of the people in the Papal states? The soil and climate and productions are the same in all these countries. The difference must be accounted for by the happier distribution of the land in Tuscany. In 1836, Tuscany contained 1,436,785 inhabitants, and 130,190 landed estates. Deducting 7901 estates belonging to towns, churches, or other corporate bodies, we have 122,289 belonging to the people—or, in other words, 48 families in every 100 have land of their own to live from. Can the striking difference in the physical and moral condition, and in the standard of living, between the people of Tuscany and those of the Papal states be ascribed to any other cause? The taxes are as heavy in Tuscany as in the dominions of the Pope; about 12*s.* 6*d.* sterling per head of the population in the one, and 12*s.* 10*d.* in the other. But in the whole Maremma of Rome, of about thirty leagues in length by ten or twelve in breadth, Mons. Chateauvieux reckons only twenty-four factors, or tenants of the large estates of the Roman nobles. From the frontier of the Neapolitan to that of the Tuscan state, the whole country is reckoned to be divided in about six hundred landed estates. Compare the husbandry of Tuscany, the perfect system of drainage, for instance, in the strath of the Arno by drains between every two beds of land, all connected with a main drain—being our own lately introduced furrow tile-draining, but connected here with the irrigation as well as the draining of the land,—compare the clean state of the growing crops, the variety and succession of green crops for foddering cattle in the house all the year round, the attention to collecting manure, the garden-like cultivation of the whole face of the country, compare these with the desert waste of the Roman Maremma, or with the papal country of soil and productiveness as good as that of the vale of the Arno, the country about Foligno and Perugia; compare the well-clothed, busy people, the smart country girls at work about their cows’ food, or their silkworm leaves,—with the ragged, sallow, indolent population lounging about their doors in the papal dominions, starving, and with nothing to do on the great estates; nay, compare the agricultural industry and operations in this land of small farms, with the best of our large-farm districts, with Tweedside, or East Lothian—and snap your fingers at the wisdom of our Sir Johns, and all the host of our book-makers on agriculture, who bleat after each other that solemn saw of the thriving-tenantry-times of the war—that small farms are incompatible with a high and perfect

state of cultivation. Scotland, or England, can produce no one tract of land to be compared to this strath of the Arno, not to say for productiveness, because that depends upon soil and climate, which we have not of similar quality to compare, but for industry and intelligence applied to husbandry, for perfect drainage, for irrigation, for garden-like culture, for clean state of crops, for absence of all waste of land, labour, or manure, for good cultivation, in short, and the good condition of the labouring cultivator. These are points which admit of being compared between one farm and another, in the most distinct soils and climates. Our system of large farms will gain nothing in such a comparison with the husbandry of Tuscany, Flanders, or Switzerland, under a system of small farms."—pp. 459-60.

In the present excitement with regard to the question of fixity of tenure, the following sketch of the mode in which the Prussian government, for the purpose of preserving its own existence by giving the people an interest in the defence of the country, raised its mere predial slaves to the rank of independent landholders, may not be uninteresting or useless :—

" Previous to 1800, landed property was, on the greater part of the continent, divided into noble or baronial, and peasant, roturier, or not noble holdings. The former class of estates could only be held by nobility, and had many unjust exemptions from public burdens, and many oppressive privileges attached to them. These baronial estates, by far the greatest in extent, had the peasantry who were born on the land *adscripti glebæ*; had a right to their labour every day for the cultivation of the domain; had civil and criminal jurisdiction over them in the baronial court of the estate; had a baronial judge, a baronial prison on the estate to incarcerate them, and a bailiff to flog them for neglect of work or other baronial offences. These slaves were allowed cottages with land upon the outskirts of the estate, and cultivated their own patches in the hours or days when their labour was not required on the barony lands. They paid tithes and dues out of their crops to the minister, the surgeon, the schoolmaster, and the barony or local judge who resided on the estate, and was appointed by the proprietor as patron both of the church and of the court of the barony, but out of the number of examined jurists, or students of law, who were candidates for these local judgeships.

" This is, for the system is not abolished altogether, the great object of the numerous body of law students at the German universities. The local judge is, like the minister, with a fixed and comfortable salary not depending on the will of the patron, and he is a servant of the state, revised by, and reporting to, the higher local



judicatories, and with promotion open to him from the local baronial to the higher courts of the country.

“ If the serf deserted, he was brought back by the military, who patrolled the roads for the purpose of preventing the escape of peasants into the free towns, their only secure asylum, and was imprisoned, fed on bread and water in the black hole, which existed on every baronial estate, and flogged. The condition of these born serfs was very similar to that of the negro slaves on a West India estate during the apprenticeship term, before their final emancipation. This system was in full vigour up to the beginning of the present century, and not merely in remote unfrequented corners of the Continent, but in the centre of her civilisation—all round Hamburgh and Lubeck for instance, in Holstein, Schleswig, Hanover, Brunswick, and over all Prussia. Besides these baronial estates with the born-serfs attached to them, there were Bauern Hofe, or peasant estates, which held generally of some baron, but were distinct properties, paying as feu duties or quit-rents so many days' labour in the week, with other feudal services and payments to the feudal superior. The acknowledgment of these as distinct legal properties not to be recalled so long as the peasant performed the services and payments established either by usage or by writings, was the first great step in Prussia towards the change in the condition of the peasantry. It was stretched so far as to include the serfs located on the outskirts of the barony, and paying daily labour for their patches of land, and who originally were intended by the proprietor to be his servants and day-labourers for cultivating his mains or home-farmed land, but who, by long usage and occupation for generations, had become a kind of hereditary tenants, not to be distinguished from those occupants acknowledged to be proprietors, or what we would call copyholders. Prince Hardenberg's energetic administration made all these occupants the absolute proprietors of their several holdings, for the yearly payment of the quit rents they had been paying to the baronial proprietor, and had these quit rents, whether paid in labour or other services, or in grain, valued by commissioners at fixed moderate rates, and had them commuted and bought up from the dominant property, under inspection of the commissioners, by the surrender to it of a portion of the land of the servient property, if the peasant had no money for the purchase of the redemption. This great and good measure, which was projected and carried into effect by Stein and Hardenberg in a succession of edicts, from that of October 9, 1807, up to June 7, 1821, is the great and redeeming glory of the reign of Frederic William III, and, like all great and good measures, was accomplished with much less difficulty than was anticipated. Feudality had become effete. A strong and vigorous exertion was necessary to give the people something to defend—some material interest in the country. By this measure, Prussia was at once

covered with a numerous body of small proprietors, instead of being held by a small privileged class of nobility.

“ This revolution in the state of property was almost as great as that which had taken place in France, and it is pregnant with the same results and tendencies. It gave comfort, well-being, property, to a population of serfs. It emancipated them from local oppression, raised their moral and physical condition, gave them a political, although as yet unacknowledged, existence, as the most important constituent element of the social body.”—pp. 83-85.

Mr. Laing has an interesting and curious chapter on functionarism on the Continent, demonstrating as plain as any political proposition can be demonstrated, that it is destructive to the civil liberty, morals, wealth, and industry, of every nation which is cursed with it.

His views on the Prussian educational system, and on popular education in general, are so completely confirmatory of those which we advanced in a former number of this review, that we shall content ourselves with quoting liberally, and not adding an observation of our own :—

“ The educational system of Prussia is admirable—admirable as a machinery by which schools, schoolmasters, superintendence of them, checks, rewards both for the taught and the teachers, and in a word education—that word being taken in the meaning of the means of conveying certain very useful acquirements to every class of society, and to every capacity of individuals—are diffused over the country, and by law brought into operation upon every human being in it. The machinery for national education is undoubtedly very perfect. The military organisation of the whole population, and the habitual interference of government in all the doings and concerns of every individual—his very outgoing and incoming being, from the nature of his military service, matter of leave, licence, superintendence, and passport—make it as easy to establish an admirable system and regulation in every object government undertakes throughout the kingdom as in a barrack yard. But great statesmen and politicians, especially of the military and nobility who see only one class or one side of society, are very apt to mistake the perfection of the means for the perfection of the end. The mistake is common with our own parliamentary philosophers.”.....

“ The educational system of Prussia is no doubt admirable as a machinery ; but the same end is to be attained in a more natural and effective way—by raising the moral condition of the parents to free agency in their duties ; or if not—if education, that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic, cannot be brought within the acquirements of the common man’s children, but upon the Prussian semi-coercive

principle of the state, through its functionaries, intruding upon the parental duties of each individual, stepping in between the father and his family, and enforcing by state regulations, fines, and even imprisonment, what should be left to the moral sense of duty and natural affection of every parent who is not in a state of pupillage from mental imbecility—then is such education not worth the demoralising price paid for it—the interference with men as free moral agents, the substitution of government enactments and superintendence in the most sacred domestic affairs for self-guidance by conscience, good principle, and common sense—the reduction in short of the population of a country to the social condition of a soldiery off duty roaming about their parade ground under the eye and at the call of their superiors, without free agency or a sense of moral responsibility. Moral effects in society can only be produced by moral influences. We may drill boys into reading and writing machines; but this is not education. The almost mechanical operations of reading, writing, and reckoning, are unquestionably most valuable acquirements—who can deny or doubt it?—but they are not education; they are the means only, not the end—the tools, not the work, in the education of man. We are too ready in Britain to consider them as tools which will work of themselves—that if the labouring man is taught to read his Bible, he becomes necessarily a moral, religious man—that to read is to think. This confounding of the means with the end is practically a great error. We see no such effects from the acquisition of much higher branches of school education, and by those far above the social position of the labouring man. Reading and writing are acquirements very widely diffused in Paris, in Italy, in Austria, in Prussia, in Sweden; but the people are not moral, nor religious, nor enlightened, nor free, because they possess the means: they are not of educated mind in any true sense. If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise man to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his responsibility to his Creator and to his conscience for every act, to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous, religious member of society, then the Prussian educational system is a failure. It is only a training from childhood in the conventional discipline and submission of mind, which the state exacts from its subjects. It is not a training or education which has raised, but which has lowered, the human character. This system of interference and intrusion into the inmost domestic relations of the people, this educational drill of every family by state means and machinery, supersedes parental tuition. It is a fact not to be denied, that the Prussian population is at this day, when the fruits of this educational system may be appreciated in the generation of the adults, in a remarkably demoralised condition in those branches of moral conduct which cannot be taught in schools, and are not taught by the parents, because parental tuition is broken in



upon by governmental-interference in Prussia, its efficacy and weight annulled, and the natural dependence of the child upon the words and wisdom of its parent—the delicate threads by which the infant's mind, as its body, draws nutriment from its parent—is ruptured. They know little of human nature who know not that more of moral education may be conveyed in a glance of a mother's eye than in a whole course of reading and writing, under educational sergeants in primary schools and gymnasia. Of all the virtues, that which the domestic family education of both the sexes most obviously influences—that which marks more clearly than any other the moral condition of a society, the home state of moral and religious principles, the efficiency of those principles in it, and the amount of that moral restraint upon passions and impulses, which it is the object of education and knowledge to attain—is undoubtedly female chastity. Will any traveller, will any Prussian say, that this index-virtue of the moral condition of a people is not lower in Prussia than in almost any part of Europe.\* It is no uncommon event in the family of a respectable tradesman in Berlin to find upon his breakfast table a little baby, of which, whoever may be the father, he has no doubt at all about the maternal grandfather. Such accidents are so common in the class in which they are least common with us—the middle class, removed from ignorance or indigence,—that they are regarded but as accidents, as youthful indiscretions, not as disgraces affecting, as with us, the respectability and happiness of all the kith and kin for a generation. This educational drill of all the children of the community to one system, in schools in which the parent has no control or election of what is taught, or by whom or how, is a very suitable prelude to the education that follows it—the barrack life of all the Prussian youth, during three years of the most precious period of human life for forming the moral habits and character of the man as a future member of society. The unsettled military life for three years of every Prussian on his entrance into the world as a man, the idleness, want of forethought, and frivolity inseparable from his condition during this period, his half-military, half-civilian state, neither one nor the other, during all the rest of his life, his condition of pupillage under his civil or military functionaries, in every act or movement during his existence, from his primary school

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\* "In 1837 the number of females in the Prussian population between the beginning of their sixteenth year and the end of their forty-fifth year—that is, within child-bearing age—was 2,983,146; the number of illegitimate children born in the same year was 39,501, so that 1 in every 75 of the whole of the females of an age to bear children had been the mother of an illegitimate child.

"Prince Pukler Muskau states in one of his late publications (*Südöstlicher Bildersaal*, 3 Theil. 1841), that the character of the Prussians for honesty stands far lower than that of any other of the German populations; but he adduces no statistical data for this opinion. As a Prussian, he would scarcely come to such a conclusion, if it were not generally believed in Germany."

service (*schulpflichtigkeit*) to his being enrolled in old age as a landsturm man, are in reality the steps of his education. Are these the steps to any of the true objects of education? to the attainment of any high feeling of individual moral worth and dignity? This educational system is in reality, from the cradle to the grave, nothing but a deception, a delusion put upon the noblest principle of human nature—the desire for intellectual development—a deception practised for the paltry political end of rearing the individual to be part and parcel of an artificial and despotic system of government, of training him to be either its instrument or its slave, according to his social station.”.....

“*Selbstgefuhl* is a superb word which the German language possesses, to describe the sense of one’s own moral dignity as a man; but the feeling or sentiment it expresses is wanting in a remarkable degree where you expect to find it strongest,—among the German youth, the nationally educated youth. Did it ever happen to a traveller taking a walk in the neighbourhood of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Saint Andrews, or of any of the universities in the United States, to be accosted by a stout, able-bodied, well-enough-dressed student begging, with cap in hand, for money from the passengers on the high road? Ten thousand to one no man alive ever witnessed such debasement of mind among the youth of those countries, educated or not educated. The lad would sell his clothes, work, enlist, starve, drown, hang, but beg he would not. In Germany, within half a mile of the university of Bonn, on a Sunday evening when all the town was abroad walking, I have seen a student in tolerably good clothes, his tobacco-pipe in his mouth, begging with his hat off on the public road, running after passengers and carriages, soliciting charity, and looking very sulky when refused; and the young man in full health, and with clothes on his back that would sell for enough to keep him for a week. This is no uncommon occurrence on the German roads. Every traveller on the roads around Heidelberg, Bonn, and the other university towns of Germany, must have frequently and daily witnessed this debasement of mind among the youth. This want of sensibility to shame, or public opinion, or to personal moral dignity, is a defect of character produced entirely by the system of government interference in all education and all human action. It is an example of its moral working on society. It is not from moral worth, character, or conduct in their private relations, but from government, from educational, military, or civil functionaries, that the studying class have, in every stage of life, to seek advancement. The generous feelings, impulses, and motives of youth, are smothered under the servile institutions of the governments, by which the means of living in any of the liberal professions, or even in the ordinary branches of industry, are to be obtained only by government licence, appointment, and favour, not

by moral worth, merit, and exertion, gaining the public estimation. Morally they are slaves of enslaved minds.".....

"The great proof of the deteriorating working of the Prussian educational system upon the public mind, is that the public mind lay torpid and unmoved, when the religious establishments of the Protestant Church, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, were abolished by royal edict, and a third thing—a new Prussian Church, neither Lutheran nor Calvinist—was set up, and imposed by the edict of civil power upon the Protestant population. The abolition of the religious observances and modes of public worship in which they had been bred, was quietly submitted to by an educated population of eight millions of Protestants, as a matter of police, not of conscience, as a matter quite as much within the legitimate right and power of their government, as a change in their custom-house laws—so low has this educational system reduced the religious and moral sense in Prussia, and the feeling of individual right to freedom of conviction—and except from a few villages in Silesia, which refused to abandon the Lutheran liturgy and observances, scarcely a murmur was heard from this educated population at a measure not only destructive to the Protestant religion, but the most arbitrary, and insulting to freedom of mind and conscience that has occurred in modern history. If eight millions of people, people with arms in their hands, are brought by this educational system to regard with indifference the interference of government with all that free men deem sacred in life, with family education, religion, conscience, free agency, and opinion in religious belief, to be the passive slaves of a government in which they are not represented—to be nothing but machines to be managed by the hands of a host of public functionaries—then let us educate our own families in our own way in Britain, or not educate them at all, rather than adopt a system of national education for teaching reading and writing, so deteriorating to the higher objects of education—the cultivation of moral and religious sentiment, and independence of mind among the people.".....

"The social value or importance of the Prussian arrangements for diffusing national scholastic education has been evidently overrated; for now that the whole system has been in the fullest operation in society upon a whole generation, we see morals and religion in a more unsatisfactory state in this very country than in almost any other in the north of Europe; we see nowhere a people in a more abject political and civil condition, or with less free agency in their social economy. A national education, which gives a nation neither religion, nor morality, nor civil liberty, nor political liberty, is an education not worth having.".....

"Who could suppose while reading pamphlets, reviews, and literary articles out of number on national education, and on the



beautiful system, means, and arrangements adopted by Prussia for educating the people, and while lost in admiration in the educational labyrinth of country schools and town schools—common schools and high schools—real schools and classical schools—gymnasias—progymnasias—normal schools—seminariums—universities—who would suppose that with all this education, no education is allowed—that while reading and writing are enforced upon all, thinking and the communication of thoughts are prevented by an arbitrary censorship of the press, sometimes strict, sometimes lax? Who could suppose that the only visible use to the people of Prussia of all this national education is, in reality, to write out official, civil, or military reports from inferiors to superiors—that it enters in no other way into their social affairs? Who could suppose at the very period Victor Cousin, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and so many other eminent literary men of all countries were extolling the national education and general acquirement of reading in Prussia, and kindling around them a holy and virtuous enthusiasm among the moral and religious, for the diffusion of knowledge in all countries—that the exercise of worship any where but in a church was prohibited and made criminal in Prussia by an edictal law dated the 9th March, 1834; and that many persons suffering imprisonment, civil disabilities, or other punishments for this Prussian crime of worshipping God in their own houses, were only liberated and pardoned by the amnesty of August 1840.”.....

“ If to read, write, cipher, and sing, be education, the Prussian subject is an educated man. If to reason, judge, and act as an independent free agent, in the religious, moral, and social relations of man to his Creator, and to his fellow-men, be that exercise of the mental powers which alone deserves the name of education, then is the Prussian subject a mere drum boy in education, in the cultivation and use of all that regards the moral and intellectual endowments of man, compared to one of the unlettered population of a free country. The dormant state of the public mind on all affairs of public interest, the acquiescence in a total want of political influence or existence, the intellectual dependence upon the government or its functionary in all the affairs of the community, the abject submission to the want of freedom or free agency in thoughts, words, or acts, the religious thralldom of the people to forms which they despise, the want of influence of religious and social principle in society, justify the conclusion that the moral, religious, and social condition of the people was never looked at or estimated by those writers who were so enthusiastic in their praises of the national education of Prussia.”—pp. 164-233.

While on this subject, we cannot omit to mention one of the sources of the sound, practical, useful education, as to their social and constitutional rights, which the people of

England enjoy, and have enjoyed from time immemorial, long before the invention of printing or Protestantism—by having their attention directed to the application of the law to the every-day concerns of life in the courts of justice, by curiosity as spectators, or self-interest as suitors, or duty as jurors. Mr. Laing well observes on this:—

“ But there are other educational influences, of far more important action in forming the intellectual character of a people than schools or theatres, which the German people want, and the British possess. The social economist, who reflects upon our crowded open courts of law in the ordinary course of their business at Westminster Hall, or at the Court of Session, at the assizes or circuits, or sheriff-courts, in short wherever any kind of judicial business is going on, and upon the eagerness and attention with which the common people follow out the proceedings even in cases of no public interest, will consider the bar, with its public oral pleadings, examinations of witnesses, and reasonings on events, a most important instrument in our national education. Whoever attends to the ordinary run of conversation among our middle and lower classes, will think it no exaggeration to say, that the bar is more influential perhaps than the pulpit, in forming the public mind, and in educating and exercising the mental powers of the people. It is a perpetual exercise in applying principle to actions, and actions to principle. This unceasing course of moral and intellectual education, enjoyed by our very lowest class in every locality, is wanting in Germany in general, owing to the different mode of judicial procedure in closed courts, by written pleadings or private hearings of argument, and private examinations of facts and witnesses. Law and justice are, perhaps, as well administered in the one way as in the other; but the effects on the public mind, on the moral training of the character, and on the intellectuality and judgment of the common people are very different. All schools for the people, all systems of national education sink into insignificance, compared to the working of this vast open school for the public mind. We see its influence in the public press. Law cases are found to be the most interesting as well as the most instructive reading for the people, and our newspapers fill their columns with them. This taste has arisen also in France, since France has enjoyed open courts of law; and it is one of the most striking proofs of the social progress of the French people, that their theatres are deserted, and their courts of law crowded, and that their popular newspapers now report all interesting civil or criminal law cases.”—pp. 274-275.

Mr. Laing closes this volume with a summary of his observations on the systems of education pursued by the autocrats of the Continent; in which, after saying, that they are

“not adapted to the moral end of human existence, but to support their governments,” he adds:—

“If we fairly consider the social condition of the continental man of whatever class, whatever position, or whatever country, Neapolitan, or Austrian, or Prussian, we find him, body and soul, a slave. His going out and coming in, his personal bodily and mental action in the use of his property, in the exercise of his industry and talents, in his education, his religion, his laws, his doings, thinkings, readings, talkings in public or private affairs, are fitted on to him by his master, the state, like clothing on a convict, and in these alone can he move, or execute any act of social existence. He has no individual existence socially or morally, for he has no individual free agency. His education fits him for this state of pupillage, but not for independent action as a reflecting, self-guiding being, sensible of, and daily exercising his social, political, moral, and religious rights and duties, as a free agent. In his position relatively to these rights and duties, the continental man stands on a level very far below that of the individual of our country in a corresponding class of society. With all the ignorance and vice imputed to our lower classes, they are in true and efficient education, as members of society acting for themselves in their rights and duties, and under guidance of their own judgment, moral sense, and conscience, in a far higher intellectual, moral, and religious condition, than the educated slaves of the Continent. This is the conclusion, in social economy, which the author of the preceding notes has come to, and which the reader is requested to consider.”—p. 496.

To those of our Catholic readers who are perpetually pestered with the boastings of their Reformed neighbours, about the freedom of conscience and the right of private judgment, &c. &c, in Protestant countries, Mr. Laing's sketch of the royal fusion of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches of Prussia into the United Evangelical, or new Prussian Church, will be a source of instruction and interest. It appears that from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the electors of Brandenburg were anxious to accommodate the differences between the two churches. In 1817, his late majesty issued a proclamation for the execution of this favourite project. Consciences were not to be forced, all was to be left to the zeal and piety of the congregations and clergy. However, as Mr. Laing observes, “a king's wishes are commands, and strong commands, when his own example is laid down as the rule to be followed.” Out of about 8950 congregations of the Protestant faith, 7750 were reported to have joined the union and adopted the new ritual. An order from the minister of state abolished the names of Lutheran, Reformed,



or Calvinistic, and Protestant Churches, and enjoined the general use of the name of the Evangelical only. In this amalgamating process, the differences between the Calvinists and Lutherans on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and predestination, were evaded by an "ingenious device." Mr. Laing states the differences on the former thus:—

"The old orthodox Lutheranism teaches, relative to the sacrament, 'there is a real substantial presence, participation and enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, which, by means of an incomprehensible, so called, sacramental union with bread and wine, is so connected with it, that the partaker, while he receives the elements, partakes also of the real body of Christ *with* and *under* bread and wine, which, however, is not an *impanation*; that is to say, is not so to be understood, as if the body of Christ was locally enclosed in the bread, or was connected with it out of the sacramental participation. The participation of the body and blood of Christ, takes place not merely in a spiritual manner by faith, but by the mouth; but also not in a gross way, as if the body of Jesus was crushed by the teeth, and digested like other food; but it is a true, although supernatural sacramental eating of the body of Christ, which cannot be explained and comprehended, but is to be taken up merely by faith, and subjection of reason under obedience to Christ.' This is the original Lutheran doctrine, as laid down in the Concordia Formularis of instruction on the sacrament. The Puseyite of the English Church may perhaps understand it: the Calvinist can only wish him joy of his intellect, and honestly confess that it is to him unintelligible. The Lutheran Church, however, had practically abandoned the extreme of doctrine on this subject. Some of the greatest of her orthodox theologians, as Zacharias, and Storr, had long ago repudiated the gross idea of a *manducatio carnis*, and had gone over from the doctrine, which borders on sheer nonsense, to Calvin's theory of a *presentia operativa*, and held it to be, practically, a matter of indifference as to working of the Lord's supper on the human mind, whether it was received as a fleshly or a spiritual presence of Christ, through a mysterious working of the Holy Ghost in the sacramental elements; and it was generally admitted, that, as to practical effect or meaning, Zwingli's milder view of the Lord's supper, as commemorative only of the original scriptural event, was preferable to any other theory. The whole Lutheran Church had thus, in modern times, a tendency to some modification or other of Calvinistic doctrine on this subject."—pp. 183-184.

The "ingenious device" was this:—

"The synod amalgamated the forms, and left the substance, the doctrine, to shift for itself. In the consecration of the elements in the Lutheran, and in the Calvinistic Church, it is distinctly an-

nounced to the communicant in what sense it is presented to him—in the one, it is as the body and blood—in the other, it is as the symbols of the body and blood. The synod of Berlin evaded the dilemma, by not consecrating the elements at all, either in the one or in the other sense, but presenting them to the communicant with the historical averment, 'Christ said, This is my body,' &c. 'Christ said, This is my blood,' &c. Now that Christ said so, is not doubted; but the question is, in what sense did Christ say so? in the Lutheran or in the Calvinistic sense? By a quirk, unworthy of the importance of the act, the Lutheran or the Calvinist might receive the sacrament in this new Church, and each give the meaning he pleases, or that which is taught in his own Church, to it. Nay, the Jew, or the Mahometan, might very safely take the elements as here presented, without compromising his own faith, for they are only presented historically, and require no religious belief, no belief but in the historical fact, that on a certain occasion Christ said, This is my body,—This is my blood;—a fact, *per se*, not doubtful, nor questioned. This was no union of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches, but a hocus pocus trick played at the altar, by which each might do the same religious act, with totally different meanings."—pp. 185-186.

In 1822 a new Church service and liturgy was composed, by command of his majesty, and ordered to be adopted in the Evangelical Church. The people of two remote parishes in Silesia refused to accept of the new royal manufacture—had soldiers quartered on them as if they were public enemies; their church door blown down with a petard—in short, were ruined, and were obliged, to the number of 600, to emigrate to America.

In 1834, a royal edict issued, prohibiting the exercise of religious worship except within churches. "The most anti-Christian," says Mr. Laing, "and tyrannical law ever passed in modern times in any country, laying claim to civilization, religion, and the blessings of education."

It is to be regretted, that such is the disloyal perversity of human nature, that even among the Prussians, educated as they have been to the highest attainable point of abject thralldom, some are to be found who doubt the propriety—some so abandoned as to doubt even the right—of the king, aided by a couple of bishops, to abolish old churches and to replace them by a new one, and to settle in a cabinet council the doctrines on which the eternal salvation of the people is to depend. Some, again, ask, was the Protestant Church established for Prussia only?—and did Luther and Calvin preach for Prussia only? And even

the magistrates of Berlin were so lost to all genuine Protestant feeling, as to declare in an official letter, in 1824, that, as it was clear the king had not a right to interfere with the religious opinions of his Catholic subjects, the Protestants would be induced rather *to go over to the Catholic faith* than to be exposed to a constant inquietude of religious conscience by the ever-changing forms of religious worship, imposed according to the pleasures and personal views of each succeeding sovereign. Others, again, look on the new royal Church, as "an attempt to impose new shackles on the human mind, to turn religion into a support of despotism, and to train the Prussian mind, as the Russian mind is trained, into a religious veneration for, and almost worship of, the supreme aristocratic head of the state;" and in support of this notion, Mr. Laing cites from a tract, published in 1835, in Berlin, and, of course, with the approbation of the College of Censorship, as without it no work or passage can be offered to the public,—a passage for which we were about to say it would be difficult to find a parallel in any Christian country, except in the canons and homilies of the Church of England; but as we are not particularly conversant with the exact language in which the reformed clergy of other monarchical states have expressed their feelings about their royal head, we simply give the passage as we find it—"Do ye believe in God?—then must ye believe in Christ. Do ye believe in Christ?—then must ye believe in the king. He is our head on earth, and rules by the order of God. The king has appeared in the flesh in our native land." Mr. Laing himself does not speak with becoming respect of this new and mighty Reformation, as he asks—"What would those lords, and esquires, and clergy, say if a king, and irresponsible cabinet among us, were to put down the Churches of England and Scotland, and to impose on the people, by royal edict, a selection of Mrs. Barbauld's prayers and hymns, instead of the time-honoured liturgy of the former Church, and spirit-awakening effusions of the latter? This is precisely what has been done in Prussia." And he elsewhere calls,—*"the forced amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches into this third thing, neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, and the abolition of the very name of the Protestant Church in Prussia, undoubtedly the most gratuitous, unhappy and senseless act of irresponsible despotism ever exercised over and submitted to by a Christian people in civilized times."*



We had marked several passages for quotation with reference to the “doggrel nursery rhymes” of the new liturgy, the limitation by the royal cabinet of the duration of the service and sermon, and the interference of the royal head of the Church in almost every thing connected with the new bantling, down to the appointment on all fast days, or particular Church days, of the texts “on which alone the ministers throughout the kingdom are allowed to preach;” but for these we think it better to refer our readers to the book itself. We had also marked for the same purpose, and omit for the same reason, a rapid outline of the persecution of the Protestants of Silesia, and of the character of the abominable sect of Muckers, “the only positively immoral religious sect of the present times in the Christian world,” whose libertine practices are too gross to admit of description, or even of being named in our pages; and whose proceedings, though “many of the highest nobility of the province (Old Prussia), and two of the established clergy of the city (Konigsberg), besides citizens, artificers, and ladies, young and old,” belonged to it, remained unnoticed by the government till “a Count Von Fenk, who had been a zealous member of the sect, complained to the consistory that the minister, Ebel, one of the pastors of the city, and who is one of its leaders, had attempted in his family a crime, of which the blasphemous sacrilege vied with its debauchery.” (pp. 226-7.)

Though Mr. Laing frequently goes out of his way to throw out loose charges against the Catholic Church, yet what he witnessed in continental Protestant countries forced on him the conviction of the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism, with regard to the civil and religious liberties of mankind. On this subject he says:—

“The principle that the civil government, or state, or Church and State united, of a country is entitled to regulate its religious belief, has more of intellectual thralldom in it than the power of the Popish Church ever exercised in the darkest ages; for it had no civil power joined to its religious power. It only worked through the agency of the civil power of each country. The Church of Rome was an independent, distinct, and often an opposing power in every country to the civil power, a circumstance in the social economy of the middle ages, to which, perhaps, Europe is indebted for her civilisation and freedom—for not being in the state of barbarism and slavery of the East, and of every country, ancient and modern, in which the religious and civil power have been united in

one government. Civil liberty is closely connected with religious liberty—with the Church being independent of the state, although not exactly in the way our Scotch clergy claim for the Church a Church power independent of the civil power. The question being agitated on the Continent as well as at home, deserves consideration.

“In Germany the seven Catholic sovereigns have 12,074,700 Catholic subjects, and 2,541,000 Protestant subjects. The twenty-nine Protestant sovereigns, including the four free cities, have 12,113,000 Protestant subjects, and 4,966,000 Catholic. Of these populations in Germany those which have their point of spiritual government without their states and independent of them,—as the Catholics have at Rome,—enjoy certainly more spiritual independence, are less exposed to the intermeddling of the hand of civil power with their religious concerns, than the Protestant populations, which, since the Reformation, have had Church and State united in one government, and in which each autocratic sovereign is *de facto* a home pope. The Church affairs of Prussia in this half century, those of Saxony, Bavaria, and of the smaller principalities, such as Anhalt Cothen, in all of which the state has assumed and exercised power inconsistently with the principles, doctrines, observances, or privileges of the Protestant religion, clearly show that the Protestant Church on the Continent, as a power, has become merely an administrative body of clerical functionaries acting under the orders of the civil power or state. The many able and pious men of the laity as well as clergy in Scotland, who contend that this subserviency of the Church to the State is not a sound and safe position for the Christian Protestant religion, are in the right practically as well as theoretically. The power of a state over the religious concerns of its subjects is proved by all history, ancient and modern, to be so adverse to the development of civil liberty, that it may be called the right arm of despotism. It is this power which enslaves the Russian and the Mahometan populations. It is adverse to the Protestant religion, not merely from the freaks or schemes of autocratic monarchs, endeavouring, as in Prussia, to convert religion into a state machine, an evil which a constitutional government may prevent, but by an evil which no form of government can prevent—by reducing the moral weight of the clergy of a country to that of state-paid functionaries. If the traveller fairly examines the religious and moral influence of the established clergy in Protestant countries, in Sweden, Denmark, England and Scotland, Prussia, Switzerland, he will find it diminished exactly in proportion to the power of the state over the religious concerns of the people, and at its minimum in those despotic states, such as Denmark and Prussia, in which the clergy act merely as functionaries put in by the state to perform certain duties according to certain forms.”—pp. 192-194.

As we do not mean to give any more quotations, or go into any further details of the contents of this volume, let us here remind the reader of what must have struck him, as a very extraordinary phenomenon in the character of these northern nations. In Norway, up to 1814, in Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, up to the present moment, we find Protestantism and education flourishing in the highest state of perfection, and the people, without a particle of liberty, civil or religious, in a state of pupillage and abject thralldom; in short, slaves in body and soul, and to all intents and purposes.

Mr. Laing devotes a whole chapter to a comparison of the present and probably future position of Catholicism and Protestantism, and comes to a conclusion by no means flattering to the pretensions of the latter. His views on the Corn Law question, and on the German commercial union, should be attentively studied by those who expect great results, whether favourable or unfavourable to our commerce, from either. In short, his observations on the various subjects indicated in his title page deserve to be deeply pondered over by all who feel an interest on those questions. His views are original and striking, and generally correct. We regret to be obliged to add, that his phraseology, particularly on the subject of the Catholic Church, is frequently coarse, unbecoming, and extremely objectionable. Whenever he sets about pointing out the moral or political merits of the Church in past or present times, he does it as much justice as could be reasonably expected from him. But whenever he is forced to speak ill of Lutheranism or Presbyterianism, or any other form of Protestantism, he generally closes with some observation to the disadvantage of the Church—which when impartially considered appears so obviously contradictory of his former eulogies, perhaps too on the very same point on which he now holds up the Church to censure—that our wonder is that a man of his sense did not see the absurdity of such contradictions. It might be that an inveterate habit of abusing Popery could not be always kept in control, or that to avoid, like Dr. Pusey, the suspicion of a Papistical tendency, or to maintain an air of impartiality, he felt it necessary to smooth down his condemnation of Protestantism by a passing censure on the Catholic Church. But he should recollect that he has now a character to maintain, and that to maintain it he must not be inconsistent, or yield to the long established Protestant practice of vilifying Catholicism at the expense of truth and justice. However,



all that we have to complain of in this respect are a few vague parenthetical observations, affecting to embrace in a dozen words the sum of the ecclesiastical history of centuries, and therefore not likely to produce an effect on persons possessing any tolerable share of sense or intellect. Another fault we must mention. Mr. Laing knows that it is the usage of every literary pedlar to slander our country, and to render it and its children ridiculous and contemptible. For whatever faults we have, we have been crushed and punished more than any people that ever existed. We therefore cannot afford to be represented as more vicious than we really are, and, consequently, a man of proper feeling should hesitate long before he wantonly assailed us, and should never assail us untruly. This was the course which we expected from Mr. Laing, and we regret that he should have deviated from it. Our readers will recollect in a quotation respecting the modest appearance of the Swedes, Mr. Laing's preference of "a little open Irish blackguardism." Why not select English or Scotch blackguardism? The English or Scotch could better afford to be reminded of their blackguardism, and the whole paragraph would then be more consistent and true. But it was safe and pleasant to abuse the Irish. Elsewhere, in the same volume, Mr. Laing says, Ireland "compared to Sweden is a pure and virtuous country." Why select Ireland for comparison with Sweden? There is not a country in the world which could be more favourably contrasted with Sweden than Ireland, were her calendar relieved from the offences which the civil wars for the possession of the means of existence occasion. We cannot envy the mind that could be indifferent to the calumny involved in the above comparison. These exceptions are so few, and the general merits of Mr. Laing's works are so great, that we should scarce have mentioned them, did we not wish to guard him against a repetition of conduct so unworthy of him. Of his two first volumes we have already expressed our opinions; of the third we have only in conclusion to say, that they contain a greater amount of sound practical political information than we ever before saw comprised in so small a compass, in any work professing to be only the Notes of a traveller.

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ART. II.—*The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by Sarah Austin. 3 vols. Second Edition. London: 1841.

IN modern times history has assumed a novel and attractive appearance; it comes out upon the student as Göthe's harvest moon does on Faust's studio, pouring its reflected glories on heaps of parchment folios, the musty records of the historic alchymist, and presenting to the seeker of the hidden secrets of the past world, the springs and fountains of the mighty tide of events which has rolled over man and the busy crowd of by-gone generations. The great events of the world's mid-day activity, the sunlit haunts and passes of the way-faring multitude, are no longer objects for the historian; he must read with moonlight the wily turns of the human mind, and trace the elf-locked passes of the fairy spirits that held the spell, or plied the charm, which once set the world in motion. No doubt, when that light comes reflected from the great orb of truth, the study of the scenes it beams on is replete with attraction; the rugged outlines of man's contentions, the jarring elements of the human passions, are seen modified and softened down; the offensive asperities of prejudice and party strife hide half their baldness and deformity; but the medium of transition must be the lucid atmosphere of an upright and impartial mind, or the tints and shades of insincerity will discolour the entire landscape. When viewed through that transparent medium, it is singular what a genial influence is exercised on the beholder; his vision is as it were mollified, he can look with softened powers of discernment upon the objects of the scene, and in his judgments a pacified tone of moderation prevails over the glare of presumption and conceit, which used to light up so many exaggerated descriptions and historic pictures. Modern progress, as it is called, has very much favoured those lunar discoveries, and although history and its first-born progeny, biography, have entered the field with less pretensions than the other handmaids of science, their advance is far more important for the well being of society, and more interesting in its probable tendencies, than the boasted results of some of its noisy competitors in the temple of fame.

If truth be the glorious object of all human struggle, his-

toric reality, its most precious deposit, will be found amid the mountain stores of documentary evidences and national archives, now unfolding their treasures to research with much more advantage to the moral world, than the fire of the retort, or the hammer of the miner, can by possibility attain or present in their domains of discovery. If what once *was*, will *be* again, so that it is man's destiny to repeat and recopy himself, the mirror which will truly reflect his identity, or transmit his fair image, must well repay the efforts of search, and be itself an infallible conductor of truth. Rapid strides are being made in this department of science. History is fast progressing towards perfection, by advancing towards simplicity and fact. The romance of history, which was miscalled its philosophy, has lost all her votaries, and when the philosophy itself of human events shall follow in the wane of its deserted twin-sister, we shall have reality presented to us in all the native charms of facts and events occurring and recurring from the every-day accidents of life, which under an all-ruling Providence work out the mighty results of omnipotent wisdom, through the fragile instrumentality of poor human nature.

The work at the head of this article has earned no ordinary laurels in this progressive movement; elaborate honours have been heaped on its author by the most eloquent pen of modern criticism; gratitude for many concessions to which we Catholics have unfortunately been but little accustomed, led us,\* on its first appearance, not to dwell upon the serious defects which we now feel it our duty to point out. The distinguished lady-translator who presents it now in its English garb, must still add to its fame, by the happy transition which, in her hands, it has undergone, from its pure German idiom to a flowing and, generally speaking, faithful English version. On many other accounts this work must challenge attention; first, there is a winning novelty for the lover of historic reading, in the idea that he takes up Ranke's *Popes*, to revel in the secret lives of those fabled old men, drawn from documents never before published, heightened by the plausible contrast of those truth-telling records with the disgusting calumnies of the vacillating Bower, — that venal apostate-Jesuit-Protestant writer of *Lives of the Popes*, the very Munchausen of ecclesiastical biography.

Again, there is a predisposing consciousness that when an

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\* See vol. v. p. 14.



upright stranger, and especially a devoted Protestant, lauds those long-traduced characters, after having had access to the diaries of their contemporaries, and ransacked the dispatches of the ambassadors at their courts, the love of truth must predominate. Hence this work ought to conduct its readers to conclusions which the benignant mind will always enjoy, by restoring to their true position in history those victims of calumny and fable. It is hardly necessary to say that we mean not to detract from those well-deserved attributions, nor to decry the real claims of Professor Ranke for the applause of the sincere enquirer after historic reality; but our position as readers, not being under similar disadvantages as our Protestant compeers, we cannot experience the same pleasurable results, and we rise from the perusal of his work with the deep regret of disappointed hope, and the still more melancholy conviction, that the true ecclesiastical and political history of the great pontiffs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is still unwritten. That feeling acquires a deeper tone of dissatisfaction when we contrast Ranke with his compatriots in the same career of fame,—candid and exalted men, who have poured out their lucid labours from the Protestant universities of Germany on the biography of some of the pontiffs of the preceding centuries, and set him such a noble example. From Heidelberg, for instance, there came forth Arendt's *Leo the Great and his Times*; from Schafhausen, Hürter's *Innocent the Third*, a majestic production of an ingenious and profound scholar; not forgetting another author, from his own northern regions of light, Dr. Voight, of Halle, in Saxony, and his celebrated defence of that most German-traduced pope, Saint Gregory VII, the now irreproachable Hildebrand. We shall not care to indulge in any more comparisons, but hasten to our task of inquiry—Is Ranke an historian? and deliberately state the grounds of our dissent. When we shall have fortified our readers against the erroneous conclusions to which Ranke's theorized facts inevitably lead, and pointed out the insincerity of his deductions from his own cited documents, we may be allowed to present an epitome of the momentous periods of Church history which are so luminously set forth by his master hand; if their patience be thus taxed by historic detail, we may venture to predict that their curiosity and appetite for substantial knowledge shall be highly gratified in the perusal.

It is only fair to allow the professor to introduce his readers to his design and undertaking, by citing the few concluding lines of his preface:—

“The papal power was not so unchangeable as is commonly supposed; if we recur to the principles which are the conditions of its existence, which it cannot abandon without condemning itself to ruin, we find that it has always been as profoundly affected by the vicissitudes which have befallen the nations of Europe as any other government; complete metamorphoses have taken place in its maxims, objects, and claims,” &c. “If we look through the catalogue of names so often repeated, it produces the impression of an unbroken stability; but we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by this appearance, since, in truth, the popes of different ages are distinguished from each other by differences nearly as essential as the dynasties of a kingdom. In them we trace a portion of the history of the world, of the progress of the whole human race, not only in the periods of the undisputed supremacy of the Catholic Church, but perhaps still more so in those marked by the shock of action and counteraction, as in the times which this work is intended to embrace, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in which we see the papacy threatened and shaken to its foundations, yet maintaining and strengthening, and even reextending, its power; in which we see it for a time advancing and conquering, but then again checked and tottering once more to *its fall*. This [concludes the professor] is the task I shall endeavour to fulfil.”

To accomplish this task, the author asserts that he waded through the manuscript archives of the great European libraries, the secrets of Berlin, the treasures of Vienna, the dispatches of the ambassadors of Venice, and that after having thence collected forty-eight reports on Rome, he journeyed to that city to rectify, at the fountain-head, the casual errors of such foreign chronicles, and there, in the immense compilations of the records of the pontifical families, in the libraries of the Corsini, Barberini, Chigi, and other palaces, found unlimited liberty to satisfy his mission. Of the Vatican librarians, he insinuates a murmur of their suspicious caution, though his words rather contradict than sustain his complaint.\* “I was enabled to ascertain what were the treasures of the Vatican, and to use a number of volumes, but I was not so fortunate as to obtain the full liberty of access which I desired.”

So far we are in possession of the author's object, and the means by which he pursued it. Had he performed his task with truth and candour, he evidently had the ability and the means of presenting to the world a work which should challenge the universal approbation of the philosopher and the

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\* Preface.

historian. The great struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism, between authority and innovation, was the mighty occupation of those centuries, and a historian could not select a nobler theme. The rapid progress of the reforming torrent, the gigantic strides of the so-called modern enlightenment, arrested and forced back by Catholicism, and the countries where the new creed had been universally established, reconquered by the ancient faith,—there was a problem for the Christian philosopher, the solution of which, on the data of history and the unerring principles of candour and truth, would have placed Ranke's work amongst the brightest gems of modern genius, and bestowed on the professor a chaplet of laurels that would outlive his monarch's crown: but Ranke's mind, evidently system-loving and theoretic, embraced within its sphere a given portion of European history, and building thereon a theory of human causes and effects, brings its various events to bear upon that adopted system. He permits himself a great liberty, he indicates a principle of his own imagining as the prominent cause of the incidental catastrophe he narrates, and traces the various oscillations of society to maxims in his theoretic code of its regulating laws; for instance, rigour in moral principles, and austerity in religious practices, is produced by a preceding relaxation in both, which, in their turn, must reproduce an impatience of restraint and an appetite for indulgence. Again, according to him, Catholicism in its prolific pruriency must engender Protestantism, and, in turn, amalgamate with its progeny, and thus derive a new life, or a renewed mode of existence, &c. Such theoretic ideas pervade every chapter of his *History*, and to give their exhibition a colour of probability, the ambassador's gossip, or the tale of some manuscript biography, occasionally even the lampoons placarded on the Torso of Pasquin, are profusely cited, and, we shall see, sometimes mistranslated.

Such sources of information are, after all, not the purest springs of truth; for example, although the Venetian ambassador would doubtless not lead his republic into error as regarded facts, still when he reports a conference or interprets the secret from the avowed intentions of a pontiff, we must be prepared to read his correspondence with caution, as biassed often by peculiar views, always as a statement congenial to his jealous government at home, as well as indicative of his own unconscious impatience or dissatisfaction abroad. Moreover, we must consider that during those cen-



turies the appetite for novelty had few vehicles to transmit or carry back gratification; no periodicals to satisfy its longings after publicity. The correspondence of an envoy had to fulfil most of those functions; and much of the anecdote and biography of that observing idler at a foreign court, must necessarily embrace those scandal tales and table-talk histories which now-a-days amuse our credulity in every shape and form of periodical publication.

What will strike the attentive reader of Ranke more than any other peculiarity in the historic illustrations of the professor's theory, is the singular phenomenon of moral effects from immoral causes; the wholesome efficacy of degenerate agency in purified productiveness; the extraordinary innate powers of the Papacy set forth as the mighty agents of the recovery and resuscitation of that Papacy, although worked and acting on the most defective, often the most baneful principles. This might be classed as the cardinal error of the historian; a propensity to see error in principles, no matter what consequences may be visible, or of fact; an analysis which abandons obvious data, because simply right, to recur to latent or supposititious causes, because obscurely determinable in the accompanying accidents of recurring events.

We shall limit the examination of this singular inconsistency to three principal heads, and shall thus have ample opportunity of illustrating the other defects and errors of this history in their details, as the workings of the religious counteraction subsequent to the Reformation were, according to him, undertaken and sustained by three great agencies: first, the institution of order of the Jesuits, then the Council of Trent, and lastly, the religious Ambition of the successive pontiffs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We shall begin by a brief notice of the first-named instrument in the hands of the popes for counteracting the progress of the religious reform. This at once introduces the reader to one of the most interesting, indeed we must say the most amusing, episode of the entire work; namely, the comparison between St. Ignatius Loyola and Martin Luther! Let us observe how pliantly the incidents of character or accidents of life are adapted to theory in this curious analysis of the most diametrically opposite characters.

Our author having briefly noticed the foundations of the Theatins, and of the Barnabites, both congregations of the regular clergy, as indicative of the great tendency of the age towards renovation of Catholicism, remarks that far greater

powers than those were necessary to stem the tide of Protestantism, and that such rose into existence in the singular and unlooked for origin of the Jesuits. He says:—

“Spanish chivalry alone had retained a religious spirit, and its potency was never more strikingly manifested than in the life of that singular man, Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, the youngest son of the house of Loyola. He aspired after the reputation of knighthood, splendid arms, noble steeds, the fame of valour: the adventures of single combat and of love were not less attractive to him than to any of his youthful compeers. Probably we should have heard little of him if he had not been wounded at the defence of Pampe-luna, 1521. He was carried to his own house, where his wounds were twice reopened; the intense pain which he bore with unshrinking fortitude was borne in vain, and he was maimed for life.\* He was versed in romances, delighted especially in the *Amadis*, and during his long confinement read also the lives of Christ and of some saints. Romantic and visionary by nature, forced from a career which appeared to promise him the most brilliant fortunes, rendered irritable and sensitive by illness, he fell into the most extraordinary state of mind; not only did he deem the actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which now appeared before him in all the brilliancy of spiritual glory, worthy of imitation, but he felt himself endowed with courage to imitate them, to emulate the self-denial and the austerities of those holy men. With the same vivacity of imagination he figured to himself how he would seek out the lady to whose service he had devoted himself.....Such were the fantasies which alternately possessed his mind. But the longer this state continued, and the more hopeless was the cure, the more did the spiritual gain ascendancy over the earthly visions. Are we guilty of injustice to him if we attribute this to his gradual conviction that he could never be wholly restored, never again fit for military service or for knightly exploits? Nor was the transition so abrupt as might be imagined. In his spiritual exercises, whose origin may be dated from the same time as the first rapturous meditations of his awakened spirit, he figures to himself two camps, one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon; the one of Christ, the other of Satan, arrayed in combat,” &c.

Here the heads of this celebrated meditation of Ignatius's

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\* Mrs. Austin outstrips the author in this passage. He does not maim the saint for life, but gives a graphic trait in his character, which she overlooks. “Und obwohl er so standhaft war, dass er sich zu hause wohin man ihn gebracht, den schaden zwei mal aufbrechen liess—in dem heftigsten schmerz kniffer nur die Faust zusammen, auf das schlechteste geheilt zu werden,” literally—whilst he had the courage to allow his wounds to be twice opened, “in the bitterest agony, he only clasped his hands together,” and after all the cure was most imperfect.

sublime spiritual proficiency are given, and Ranke continues:—

“These wild and fanciful reveries were perhaps the means by which his transition from worldly to spiritual knighthood was effected. For such was the institution, the ideal of which was framed upon the deeds and the authorities of saints, to which all his ideas were directed. He tore himself away from his father’s house, and went to live on Mont Serrat; not impelled by remorse, nor by strong and genuine religious aspirations, but, as he himself has told us, solely by the desire to achieve deeds as great as those which have rendered the saints so illustrious, to undergo penances as severe, and to serve God in Jerusalem. He hung up his lance and shield before an image of the Holy Virgin, knelt or stood before it in prayer, with his pilgrim’s staff in his hands—a vigil different indeed from that of knighthood, but yet expressly suggested by *Amadis*, where the laws of chivalry are accurately described. Thence he repaired after penitential exercises to Manresa, on his project of going to Jerusalem. But new trials awaited him. The mood of mind he had indulged began to manifest awful power over him. He thought he could obtain neither acceptance nor justification of God.”

Then we have an account of the agony of spirit which the saint endured,—his temptations, prayers, confessions, fasts,—and are introduced to his glorious competitor in theoretic analysis and historic fame,—the truly matchless Martin Luther:—

“We are here,” says Ranke, “involuntarily reminded of the state of mental distress into which Luther, some years before, was plunged by *similar* doubts. The high demands of religion could never be satisfied—a full and conscious reconciliation with God could never be reached, on the ordinary road marked out by the Church, by a soul shaken to its innermost depths by struggles with itself. But these two remarkable men extricated themselves from this labyrinth by different paths. Luther arrived at the doctrine of atonement, through Christ, wholly independent of works. This afforded him the key to the Scriptures, and became the main prop of his whole system of faith. It does not appear that Loyola examined the Scriptures, or that any particular dogma of religion made an impression on his mind.\* As he lived only in his own inward emotions, he imagined that he felt the alternate inspirations of the good and the evil spirit. At length he learned to distinguish their influence by this: ‘that the soul was gladdened by the one, and

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\* The author seems to forget that he had just now told us that the (*reformed*) doubts of justification and acceptance were plaguing his imagination; but this is not the only instance of such contradictory oblivion, nor incorrect statement.



troubled by the other.' This, [remarks the author in a note] is one of his most peculiar, and most original perceptions, &c.[!] One day he thought he had a sensible proof that all his sufferings were assaults of Satan : it was not so much that his mind had found repose, as that he formed a determination, an engagement entered into by the will, rather than a conviction to which the will is compelled to yield. It needed not the aid, nor the influence of the Scriptures,—it rested on the feeling of an immediate intercourse with the world of spirits. This would never have satisfied Luther. Luther would have no inspirations, no visions,—he held them all without distinction to be mischievous,—he would have only the simple written unquestionable word of God. Loyola, on the contrary, lived on fantasies and inward apparitions. He thought no one so well understood Christianity as an old woman, who, in the midst of his torments, told him that Christ would yet appear to him. At first he could obtain no such vision, but now he thought that Christ, or the Holy Virgin, manifested themselves to his eyes of flesh. He stood fixed on the steps of San Dominico in Manresa, and wept aloud, for he thought, in that moment, that the mystery of the Holy Trinity was visibly revealed to him. The mystery of the creation was also suddenly revealed to him in mystical symbols. In the host, he beheld the God and the man. On one occasion, he repaired to a remote church on the banks of the Lobregat, and, while he sat with his eyes intensely fixed on the deep stream, he was suddenly enraptured with visible intuition of the mysteries of faith. He arose a new man : for him there needed no longer either evidence or Scripture, had none such existed, he was ready to die for that faith, which before he believed—which now he saw.”\* Ranke continues : “ If we have clearly traced the origin and developement of this strange state of mind, of this chivalry of abstinence, of romantic asceticism, it will be needless to follow Inigo Loyola step by step further. On his return to Spain from Jerusalem, he encountered in his projects innumerable attacks. When he began to teach and invite others to join him in his ‘ exercises,’ he fell under the suspicion of heresy. It would have been the strangest sport of destiny, if Loyola, whose society, centuries afterwards, terminated in illuminati, had himself been connected with a sect of that name ; and, it cannot be denied, that the illuminati of that time (the Alumbrados of Spain) to whom he was suspected of belonging, cherished opinions which had a considerable resemblance to his fantastic reveries. Re-

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\* We must give the quotation from the “ *Acta antiquissima*,” as neither Ranke nor Mrs. Austin keep within its limits. “ *His visis haud mediocriter tum confirmatus est, ut sæpe etiam id cogitaret, quod etsi nulla scriptura, mysteria illa fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa quæ videret, statuerat sibi pro his esse moriendum.*” “ He often thought that, even though scripture did not teach those mysteries, he should be prepared to die for their truth after what he had seen.”

jecting the doctrine of sanctification by works, as heretofore held by all christendom, they, like him, gave themselves up to inward ecstasies, and, like him, they beheld in sensible revelations the profoundest mysteries of religion, especially that of the Trinity. Like Loyola and his followers, they made general confession a condition of absolution, and insisted, above all things, on inward prayer. He was distinguished from them mainly by this, that, while they believed themselves to be emancipated from all control, and raised above all common duties by the command of the spirit, he retained enough of the impressions and habits of his former life, to place at the very head of Christian virtues, the soldier's virtue—obedience. He constantly submitted his enthusiasm, and his inward convictions, to the Church and her authorities.”—Book ii. c. 1, p. 185, &c.

The serious reader, when arrived at the close of this long analytical lucubration, is lost in conjecture of the source from which it must have flown on the professor's eloquent pen. History certainly has no claim on its origin; and romance the author does not write; it may have been that some one of the Berlin archives has ministered to the intrepidity of an author who could deliberately assert that Luther had no faith in, nor derived any of his lights from visions. That would be a precious manuscript for his Prussian countrymen, but in every other part of Europe thoroughly worthless. Any one volume of his printed works would refute, *en masse*, the bold assertion; and each wayward foolery that danced through the mazes of his excited moments, would laugh at the credulity that could credit such an assumption. The demon-dreams, the day and night visions of that peerless reformer, are not worth referring to, but the curious reader may gratify himself still to advantage in following the varying changes of his dogmatical and ethical codes, as they, so to speak, are statistically set forth in the learned *Symbolick* of the lamented Möhler; where, as upon a map, we can trace the transit stay, and flight of this great discoverer of the reformed creed, through all its vagaries and symbols. Starting, not as Ranke affirms, from “the doctrine of atonement through Christ independent of works,” but from a latent element, an inborn propensity which really furnished the key, *first* of his heart, and *then* of the scriptures, he made that passion and its gratification the main prop of his whole system of faith and morals.\* He did precisely what every libertine feels the

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\* This is strikingly and curiously illustrated by a glossal commentary, which Luther himself wrote in his German Bible, at the 30th chap. of Proverbs: it is a distich of a ballad, which in juvenile days, he often sang from door to door,

disposition, and, if he had the facilities, would still do—suit his ethics to his habits, overstep the bounds of duty, outrage the obligations of morality and decorum, and, starting from that point, trample down all the gospel principles of action, burst asunder the links of imputability, quash the consciousness of free will, and arrive at last at Luther's glorious goal. "Si in fide fieri potest adulterium, peccatum non esset;" which in decent parlance runs thus, The sixth commandment binds not the believers in the doctrine of "atonement through Christ, independent of works."

That, according to Ranke, most important dogma of the Reformed creed, Luther explains at length in his letters from Wartzburg to Melancthon, A.D. 1521, the identical year of Loyola's conversion; we shall give two short extracts, one regarding "Independence of good works." "Be a sinner if you will, but sin with courage; rejoice in Christ the conqueror of sin, death, and the world; as long as life lasts we must be sinning." Then as to the dogma of the "Atonement": "It is sufficient for us to acknowledge, through the riches of God's glory, the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world. Of this, it is not in the power of sin to deprive us, even though a thousand times a-day we murdered and fornicated."

Here is certainly not the "chivalry of abstinence," nor the "asceticism" which inspired the knight-penitent of Manresa, but the romance of libertinism and sensuality, which from Wartzburg so effectively enlightened and reformed northern Europe. Here is visibly a nearer approximation to, not to say a palpable surpassing of, the fantastic reveries of the illuminati of Spain, in the rejection of the ("*Werkheiligkeit*") workholyness doctrine, by the matchless Reformer of the north, than by the sainted Jesuit of the south of Europe. Infidelity too often follows close on immorality; the Alumbrados of Spain tottered between their confines, and believed themselves emancipated from all control by the command of the spirit. Luther was confessedly an immoral man; wine and woman his household divinities; and if he did not sink into downright infidelity, he certainly became a consummate *doubter*. Ranke tells us, with a tone of triumph, that Luther

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begging his bread as a rambling musician, and which seemed to be the key-stone of the whole of his after-life thoughts.

Nichts lieberes ist auf Erden,

Den Frauen Lieb' wem sie mag zu Theil werden.

"Nothing on earth is so sweet as woman's love, when we can partake of it."  
—See *Tisch-reden*, p. 442, &c.



would have nothing but the "simple, written, unquestionable word of God;" but alas for the archreformer's creed and credulity, there are on record many candid and curious avowals from his own lips, which no one would now dare to utter, and escape the well-merited stigma of infidelity and profaneness.

This "man of faith" appears to have been in perpetual doubt of the integrity of his own justifying faith. He avows that to divert his troubled mind from that habitual torment, he launched into furious and impassioned attacks on the Papacy. His celebrated *Table-talk* reveals many of those profane absurdities. "I once," he says, "believed all that the *Pope* and the *Girls* (München) said; but what Christ, who never lies, says, that I cannot believe as firmly as I ought:\* that is very annoying, so we shall say no more about it till the day of judgment." At page 167, Jena edition, there is this singular passage: "When Christ says the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak, Luther affirms *that* to be true only of Christ himself, and not of man! for believers can only have the mere beginning of the spirit, and never its full complement. Some one asked, 'Could not God impart perfect or complete knowledge?' 'Oh,' said Dr. Martin Luther, 'if any one had true faith he could neither eat nor drink, nor do anything else, through joy.' When a text from the prophet was sung, 'Hæc dicit Dominus,' &c., Luther said to his friend Dr. Jonas, who had sung it, 'You believe as little of that as I do of theology. I can love my wife, that is certain, for I would

\* The quaint German of the "Tischrede" is rather mawkish, or perhaps, Ranke would have studied his prophet's character to more advantage for truth; but we may venture to give those passages in the original, though they smack strong of profane infidelity. "Ich habe dem Bapst und München alles geglaubt; aber was jetzt Christus saget, der doch nicht leuget, das kann ich nicht fast genug glauben. Dass ist je ein verdriesslich Ding, wir wollens sparen bis an jenen Tag." (Jena, 1603, § 166).

"Der Geist ist wohl willig, aber das Fleisch ist schwach, spricht Christus. Da redet er von jen selbsts . . . die Gleubigen haben nur die Erstlinge des Geistes, nicht die Vollkommenheit, und den Decem." "Da fragt einer, warumb gibt uns Gott nicht vollkommen Erkenntniss? Antwort Dr. Martinus; wenn es einer gar glauben köndte, so köndte er für Freuden weder essen noch trinken, oder sonst etwas thun." "Da man über Dr. Mart. Luth. Tisch, sang den text, aus dem Propheten Hosea, Hoc dicit Dominus." Sprach er zu Dr. Jona: so wenig ihr gleubet, dass dieser Gesang gut sei, so wenig gleube ich fest genug, das Theologia war sey. Ich hab mein weib lieb, ja ich hab sie lieber denn mich selber, das ist war, das ist, ich wollt lieber sterben, denn dass sie und die kinderlein sollten sterben. Ich hab Christum wol lieb, &c. aber, mein Glaube solt billich viel grösser und hitziger sein. Ach! mein Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem knecht."—§ 167.

give my life for her and the children; I have a love for Christ, who redeemed and saved me from the devil; but as for my faith, I wish it were stronger and more fervent; alas! O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant." Those halting reminiscences are not surely the characters of the boundless, all-confiding, justifying faith of the champion of the doctrine of "atonement in Christ independent of works!"

Before we close this now insipid subject of Luther, and his worthless claims to competition with the humble penitent Loyola's meditations on the banks of the Lobregat, let us cite a few words from a subsequent chapter of Ranke himself, indicative of a want of memory, or perhaps conclusive that he pressed his admiration of this patriarch of northern lights, his own prophet, beyond what facts would justify as to his contempt of supernatural agency, "no visions!"

"Luther saw nothing in the articles agreed upon at the conference (Ratisbon) but a patchwork combination of both creeds, and as he always imagined himself involved in a conflict between heaven and hell, he thought that here he discovered the wiles and works of Satan. He most urgently dissuaded his master the elector from attending the Diet, and told him, 'he was the very man the devil was in search of.'"—B. 2. c. 1.

From these first touches of our artist's brush, we can scarcely look forward to a very pleasing picture in his progressive delineation of Jesuitism, as an instrument of regenerating efficacy in the hands of the pontiffs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; yet, strange to say, we shall find it most successful in our author's theory of the resuscitation of that power.

The interesting history of Ignatius Loyola, Peter Faber, and Francis Xavier, studying and praying in the one apartment—the students' rooms in the college of St. Barbara, in Paris, that narrow cell which contained within its humble walls three such men!—is followed by the account of their's, and three other Spaniards', united vows, in the church on Montmartre; their ordination at Venice; their first sermon in broken Italian in the streets of Vicenza, mounted on stones, waving their hats, and calling aloud to repentance; their military appellation, the "Company of Jesus," just as the company of soldiers bears the name of its captain; and, lastly, their approbation by Pope Paul III, 1543. "Thus," says our author on concluding this chapter, "arose an institution of singularly practical tendency, out of the conversions

wrought by Ignatius's asceticism,—an institution framed with all the just and accurate calculations of worldly prudence.\*

Great allowances are required from ordinary capacities for the aberrations of a man of genius; but a royal historian and a university professor might be expected to shun palpable contradictions in his judgments. Now the pervading error, perhaps the covert design, of this whole work, is inconsistency; praise and condemnation alternate on identical subjects, as the author's judgment is balanced by facts or prejudice. He applauds till his regal caution recalls his sire's antipathies, or the object for which he was sent, at the treasury expense, to the eternal city. The eulogy on the Jesuits' institution might have been too glaring for the old king's eyes, and, accordingly, in the next but one chapter, an appropriate dark shadow is thrown over the same subject, and Jesuitism is depicted as anti-social and misanthropic in its tendencies. We can only give the pith of these opinions in his own words:—

“If we attentively consider the laws of this society, we shall find that one of the main objects which lay at the bottom of them all, was the complete separation of its members from all the ordinary relations of life. Love of kindred was denounced as carnal affection; the society would have the whole man, share even his secrets, &c.; the superior alone could absolve in cases which it was expedient for him to know, and thus had a perfect knowledge of those under him. Obedience usurped the place of every other virtue; obedience for its own sake, without regard to its object or consequences. According to the constitutions, it would appear, that even a sin might be ordained; we scarcely know how to trust our eyes,” continues Ranke, “in reading this Constitution. ‘It seems good to us in the Lord.....that none of our constitutions, or rules of life, should bind under, or induce the guilt of mortal or venial sin, unless the superior shall enjoin them in the name of Christ Jesus, or in virtue of obedience.’”—Book ii. c. 1, p. 225.

Shall we stop to admire this optical incredulity? It does, no doubt, require an obliquity of vision to see what does not appear, but there must be moral obliquity in apprehending the reverse of what is expressed or conveyed by words. Patience and credulity are both put to task when the historian requires us to think him *serious* in seeing the ordaining of a new sin, in a constitution expressly guarding its observers against even the scruple of any sin, when God's divine law, or their solemn vows, were not violated.

We look on in vain through his narrative for the natural consequences of these anti-social, all-absorbing blind obedi-

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\* Book ii. c. 1, p. 199.



ence principles. On the contrary, the effective agency of that society is analysed, and accounted for by the action of two or three great elements on which they impressed their peculiar movement. Let us hear now the alternation of eulogy :

“ They (the jesuits) constituted themselves a class of teachers who, dispersed over all Catholic lands, first gave to education that religious colour which it has ever since retained.....formed men of good conduct and manners, preserved a strict discipline, and obtained incalculable influence on the minds of men.”—Book ii. c. 1. p. 231.

He gives them credit for equal success in religious instructions, &c.

“ The Jesuits were exhorted by their rulers to follow an uniform method in the confessional, to practice themselves in cases of conscience, to hold up the examples of the saints, their works, and other aids against every kind of sin ; rules which, it is evident, are admirably calculated for the necessities of man.”

The successes of these ennobling instruments of religious influence are most strikingly pointed out, through the second book of this history, as “ Conquests for Catholicity spread over every nation of the earth.”

Now, we shall close this subject by a counter analysis from the author, as he draws towards the close of those religious campaigns, where Jesuitism fought and conquered the emancipating forces of light and reform, and dilates on that to him inexplicable result. This should give his readers a thorough insight into the varying principles of judgment, inaccuracy of data, and inconsistency of opinion which pervade this entire work. Book v. p. 35, we read :

“ All other intellectual movements which have exercised an extensive influence on mankind, have been caused, either by great qualities in individuals, or by the irresistible force of new ideas ; but, in this case, the effect was produced without any striking manifestation of genius or originality ; for the Jesuits—no one will affirm that their acquirements were the result of any free or vigorous exercise of mind, that their piety proceeded from the ingenuousness of a single heart. They conquered the Germans on their own soil, and took captive all minds by a system of doctrine, prudently constructed, and finished down to the minutest details.”

Let us see this captivating doctrine which had thus hoodwinked the Reformed world. We fear that we must confine ourselves to one brilliant specimen, for it is absolutely necessary to restrict our facilities of quotation and criticism.

The confessional again, in the author's theory, was to be the transcendent locomotive in this impulse; through its agency the minds of all men (even of those, no doubt, who never frequented it) were pre-organized for that system of doctrines which recaptured the Reformed world, and which, according to him, gave a direction to human intelligence, which "must be memorable to the end of time." He says:

"In confession, every thing must depend upon the conception formed of sin. Sin is defined a wilful departure from the commands of God: and in what consists this wilfulness? Their answer is, in perfect knowledge of the nature of sin committed, and in the full consent of the will to its commission.\*

"The Jesuits (continues Ranke) adopted this principle, from the ambition of propounding something entirely new, and, with scholastic subtlety, carried it out to most revolting consequences. According to their doctrine, it was enough not to will the commission of sin as such.....thus, how infinitely the boundaries of transgression were narrowed, since no man loves sin for itself! They recognized other grounds for excuse: for instance, perjury is, in itself, a deadly sin; but, said the Jesuits, a man who only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending what he swears, is not bound by his oath; for he does not swear, he jests.†

"Those doctrines are found in works which expressly describe themselves as moderate: and who would wish to trace further those tortuous aberrations of subtlety, destructive of all morality?"

Still, the professor himself could not resist that temptation, and would give the last thrust to those anti-reformers, by citing another oft-condemned theologian as their leader in the doctrines of probability—Emanuel Sa.

"They held that, in cases of doubt, an opinion might be followed, though its justice was not acknowledged by the individual actor, provided any author of credit defended it.....Scruples of conscience

\* The definition of Busembaum is cited in Latin in Ranke's notes, and an ordinary proficient in that language will be shocked at the professor's inaccuracy in rendering "*plena advertentia et deliberatio*," into German "*In Einsicht von dem Fehler*," which Mrs. Austin, with still greater infidelity to both German and Latin texts, translates—"perfect knowledge of the nature of sin." We must, in justice, hear Busembaum, though not always the most accurate theologian, speak here most accurately for himself. "Sin requires, first, on the part of the intellect, full advertance and deliberation; second, on the part of the will, perfect consent; third, in itself sufficient, or grave matter, '*gravitas materiæ*.'"

† Here again we have one of those disingenuous citations, which no honourable antagonist would ever resort to. The author is cited, but not rendered into German or English, as, adding the important and qualifying adjunct, "*nisi forte ratione scandalì*,"—a perfectly sufficient bar upon any Christian, although it does not arrest a scandalous misquotation.

were to be got rid of by the most tolerant opinions, even though the less safe."....." a slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from all guilt"!! Book viii. chap. 12.

Without encumbering ourselves by theological controversy, we must say, with regret, that Ranke, in the capacity of "historian of the Popes," forfeits all claims on truth and sincerity, when he suppresses leading facts in their history. Ignorance cannot be alleged for an author who *ex professo* writes on a given subject. Now decrees expressly condemning those maxims of probableism, were issued by Alexander VII, Innocent XI, and Alexander VIII, all of whose histories he affects to write impartially. Probableism could therefore have had but a very short and transitory sway on the empire of morals, and cannot be classified with those mighty "elements of activity" to which the Jesuits imparted, a counter-vailing preponderance against the light and life of reform. The truth is, that facts are baubles with a theorist, he takes them by the half or by the whole as they suit his wants, and, provided they can be inserted into his patchwork, he cements them together into what might well be called his mosaic of history, or fragments of antiquarian curiosity and research. This dovetailing propensity is in full activity through this history of Jesuitism, constituting as it does a great ingredient in his preconceived theory of Church history, that is, in the external revival and internal reform, as well as the subsequent decline of that Church. The disappearance of the satellite must forebode the decline and fall of the planet it revolved around; principles are easily found to account for its rise and determine its decline, and the whole orbit it percurrs seems to be some meteor tale, or planet history. The glory of its rise, or origin, is given to the reformed and religious tendency which the seraphic Luther had imparted to the human mind, because (the author sagely reasons), as there was an appetite, a natural want of reform, it generated an inclination for a self-acting impulse towards light; hence, an element of Protestantism predominated in society, lived and moved even in the bosom of the Church, produced in Catholicity, light, strength and energy, and, so long as it worked, reconquered through Jesuitism the whole of Protestant Europe. This satisfies one dogma of his theory, viz.: "Individual power giving movement to the whole world." Next, we have another favourite aphorism: "No power has ever risen to universal importance without instantly awakening in the minds of men a new order of Society." And, accordingly, Jesuitism, having attained its climax, must share the lot of the heterogeneous



body of which it was a part, and fall amid the eternal discrepancies of the Catholic Church.

Thus, to sum up in a few words, we have the history of that moral phenomenon, "Jesuitism." In the visions of Ignatius was revealed that institution, as we have seen of "most singular practical tendency," framed with all the "just calculations of worldly prudence, directing in its progress the human mind to virtue through its teaching and instructions, impressing on education an indelible character of religious influence, producing moral and virtuous citizens by its maxims in the confessional." And, lastly, who could have anticipated the result? ending "in defeat and failure," to give place to the new order of society, which, we must conjecture, means in Prussia, "the Evangelical Church," where police regulations enforce unanimity, and Scriptural dissidence is silenced by a monarch's mandate, and Protestantism is now a houseless, homeless shadow!

Next in order of "impellents" we find

#### "THE COUNCIL OF TRENT."

The historian who means to write history in one sense, and succeeds in establishing a contrary impression, is not in a very enviable position. To miss the object we aim at is disheartening enough, but to elaborate a system, adduce corroborating proofs, and arrive at a counter-conclusion by the innate stubbornness of unbending premises, can be classed in no other category than that of—total failures. If our author's character, as papal historian, shall escape that disaster, his good luck alone sustains his fame. The Council of Trent was one of the most important Catholic events of Church history: accordingly, it must come forth from his hands denuded of all its imposing claims on Christian admiration: whatever promise of good, whatever reforming prospects it held out to the world, as it was first projected, all emanated from the irresistible influence of its cotemporary reformer,—Protestantism. And when those hopes were blighted, those anticipations of light and truth dashed, it was the innate darkness of error that again expanded, and flung its opaque shadows and mists over the dawnings of that bursting luminary. Still, on his own showing, this maimed or murky progeny bursts into great activity, "renews, confirms, establishes," and all but perpetuates Catholicity. Let us trace these singular inconsistencies through the chapters of his history which treat of the affairs of Trent.

Much research and conjecture are fruitlessly lavished to prove that Clement VII—that, according to the historian,

"most virtuous, but most ill-starred pontiff,—never could be reconciled to a general council; and, indeed, the terrible scenes which Protestant fury had enacted, in the sack and pillage of Rome, would naturally disincline his mind from any project of reuniting the perpetrators of such horrors, or their representatives, in any council of peace or reconciliation. The pontiff's difficulties and doubts are manifestly circumstantial, for he thus qualifies his dissent from the emperor's views by the condition: '*quando non concorrano le debite circostanze*;' " which explanatory sentence is omitted by Ranke, when he quotes the original letter of the pope! (B. i. c. 3.) Yet how natural such distrust was in the pontiff's mind. Clement was an eye-witness of that sanguinary outburst of Protestantism under Bourbon, when George Frandsberg, the leader of the assailing troops, all Lutherans, exclaimed with assassin bigotry: "If I get to Rome I will hang the pope."\*

On the 6th of May, 1527, two hours before sunset, the Lutherans entered and sacked the "eternal city." "The splendour of Rome," says Ranke, "fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it marks an astonishing period of development of the human mind; with this day it was extinguished for ever." Alas, we might add, the sack of the city's splendour did not go down with the retiring sun of that fatal day. On the following morning, the black smoke of the new-wood fires which the brutal soldiery had lit up in the halls of the papal palace, poured its hideous stains on the fresh and blooming frescos of the immortal Raphael: the stanzas, or chambers of the Vatican, which his divine genius had filled with life and beauty; the glowing vaults, where religion can point out her ennobling influence in the inspirations which his pencil has embodied; the storied records of those walls where history seemed to walk forth in grace and majesty; the groups, where kings, philosophers, and pontiffs, are more glorified by the artist's touch than by any exploit of their own life, were all, on that fatal morning, if not besmeared and blackened for ever, stamped with the haggard look of desolation, which saddens every mind that contemplates their matchless fame and glory. Clement VII might well distrust the sincerity of such reformers, and defer the council, to await "the concurrence of more favourable circumstances."

The historian who describes the ferocity, lust and plunder of those blood-thirsty soldiers, and who saw himself, and

could appreciate even after the lapse of three hundred years, those frightful devastations of blind or maddened bigotry, affects to lament, and expresses amazement at, an admonition which the Pope's nuncio, Cardinal Campeggio, addressed to the emperor Charles V three years afterwards.

"With regret and repugnance," says Ranke, "I must say a few words of it,"\* and in those few words he has again to answer for an important suppression! The admonition exhorts the emperor to bring back the Protestant recusants by peaceable and fair means; to work upon them also by promises and threats, and if they still remain stubborn, the emperor *had a right* to extirpate this poisonous plant with fire and sword; which extremity, adds the admonition, "may heaven avert."—*Che Dio nol voglia*—and this last sentiment of deprecating clemency, is not deemed worthy of the author's notice! We must learn, however, from him, the promoting causes of the council. "What, according to Ranke, Clement could not reconcile his mind to assent to, the impetus of Protestantism forced from the Papacy; for councils had maintained their popularity precisely because the popes had shown a natural aversion to them; and accordingly, in 1530, the emperor availing himself of that public opinion, promised a council within a short space of time: all the other princes (Protestants) joined in this resolve, from an anxiety to strip the pope of secular authority and privilege. In 1533, the emperor pressed, in a personal interview with the pontiff at Bologna, the project, and towards the close of the same pontificate, renewed his solicitations; but political and domestic afflictions weighed down the virtuous pontiff;—blameless, according to Ranke, in the midst of his misfortunes, yielding to inspiring hopes of patriotic ardour, which then animated the entire peninsula; the pontiff attempted to wrest Italy from the stranger; from north to south enthusiasm seconded the noble daring, but energy and action lay dormant, and the project of emancipation, with plaudits, failed, perhaps for ever.

"He was," says Ranke, "the most ill-starred pope that ever sat upon the throne." The succeeding pontiff, Paul III (Farnese) yielded to the mighty tide of public opinion and events, and summoned the council. "The pope, according to Ranke, saw it was necessary to the zealous inculcation of Catholicism." Could a better motive exist? The historian must discover a more profane one. The pope thought he perceived that the emperor claimed a right to summon a

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\* Book i. cap. 3. p. 111.



council, and he anticipated him. "The old procrastinator," says Ranke, "had at length found the wished-for moment; the emperor being busy in war, he could do as he pleased in the council the letters of convocation were accordingly sent out, and the council actually opened in December, 1545. Reform and dogma were simultaneously discussed, and in those discussions, Protestant principles had ardent and eloquent defenders; even Cardinal Pole, is insinuated as being a protector of the Lutheran system of justification and regeneration: that system might have triumphed, had not the Jesuits, Salmeron, and Lainez, warned the council against innovation;\* but the great and triumphant counteraction against Protestantism in that council, was, [according to Ranke,] the emperor's recent victory over the Lutherans in Germany, and their universal submission to that conqueror's sway. How remarkably singular is the relation sometimes between cause and effect! Catholic principles triumphed at the council, and measures were taken to enforce them; foremost in that vanguard of the historian's marshalling, is the Inquisition, although the bull for the establishment of that tribunal bears the date of 21st July, 1542, and the opening of the council, as we have seen, December 1545, just three years and a half subsequent; but dates must succumb as well as facts, when theory or system is to be sustained. The council, twice interrupted, was re-opened a third and last time, January 1562. The narrative of the jarring elements which were there finally tranquillized, is, though not impartially told, well delineated by the author. His accuracy as to facts is, as usual, controvertible. "In this last re-union, the dissenting creeds, and their reconciliation with Catholic unity, was no longer thought of," according to Ranke, whereas, we have detailed to us by Pallavicini, many measures and many conferences for that express object. As a specimen of this oversight or inaccuracy, we shall enter into the examination of only a single example of injustice towards this historian, to whose general claims on veracity, we shall hereafter let Ranke himself bear testimony. "The emperor's ambassadors alone demanded the reforms, which the wants of Protestantism had in the previous sittings of the council so much enforced. But," continues our historian, "besides

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\* The reader of the eloquent article in the late number of the "Edinburgh Review," on St. Ignatius, &c. will be amused by the opposite view that is there taken of the conduct of Lainez and the Jesuits, at the Council of Trent.

those reforms of the Pope, Conclave, and Curia, the Emperor demanded the cup at the sacrament, permission for priests to marry, dispensation from fasting, purification of the breviary, erection of schools, church music with german words, and a reformation of the convents, &c. These important demands would have been a fundamental change in the constitution of the church," &c. Book iii. c. 7.

The theologian, or instructed Catholic, may smile at this last sentence, but every reader must regret, that the historian who dashes off with such pragmatic facility decisions on councils, popes, and fundamental principles of Catholicity, has still to learn the very rudiments of its doctrine and constitution. Our immediate object is his assertion, that the council was never occupied by those Protestant demands, nor that their historian ever noticed them. In his note, we read (p. 338),—

"Pallavicini almost entirely overlooks those demands. (xvii. 1-6.) *They are inconvenient to him*—nor have they in fact been made known under their proper form. They are presented to us in three extracts—the first in Sarpi and Rinaldi; the second in Batholomew de Martyribus; Schelhorn has taken the third from the papers of Staphylus. They do not perfectly agree. I am inclined to think the original is to be found in Vienna; I have abided by Schelhorn."

Now this learned research and conjecture, would seem to approach somewhat to the ridiculous, if the too serious impeachment of the Italian historian did not mar the apparent play on his readers' credulity. Those demands, so far from being cushioned or concealed by Pallavicini, are as repeatedly set forth as the history of their recurrence before the council required. In the tenth book the reader will find them detailed in full, as they were presented by the Emperor Charles V to the council. At a subsequent period, the identical one under Ranke's notice, they are pressed again by the Duke of Cleves; and, not to mention other occasions, a highly interesting passage in refutation of Fra Paolo, or Paul Sarpi's account of those demands, occurs in book 24, chap. 12, which, as it may be acceptable to such readers as are deterred, like Ranke, by the ponderous volumes of Pallavicini, we shall here give nearly in his own words.

"Soave (or Sarpi) goes on to tell us that the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, earnestly demanded from the pope, the use of the chalice, the marriage of priests, and other alterations of the laws of the Church. How perfectly consistent with what he had already written to disparage papal authority, that he should here add—when those demands were referred by the council for the pope's

own decision, the emperor would no longer press them, knowing that the people would not accept them, unless the council, and not the pope, conceded them. Here Soave escapes a downright falsehood, for by stating both parts of a contradictory assertion—one part must be true. The lie here comes first, as a favourite child, and the truth is told only in the second part. The facts are, on the 1st of March, the pope in consistory bewails the depravity of times when such petitions exist, and then named a congregation of cardinals to examine into them. But Soave did not know that the use of the chalice was conceded under certain reservations and conditions, and that in the consistory of the 14th July, the emperor having renewed his solicitations for such privilege in his states, and that prayer being sustained by the approbation of his bishops, and ecclesiastical electors and princes, on the grounds, that unless it were conceded, all Germany would become not only Protestant, but infidel,—the pope, still expressing abhorrence of such innovations, authorized some German bishops to permit that rite, not universally, but restricting it to places and circumstances described, and under certain specific conditions. In Vienna, the permission was hailed with great satisfaction, and by the nuncio's report, two-thirds of the heretics had returned to the Church; before long, however, it was apparent that this momentary excitement, like a fermented draught given to the hectic patient, only depressed him the more on subsiding; still it was necessary to remove from the German mind, the impression, that the reluctance of the council and the pope, were injuriously callous to their religious welfare. Both the concession and its results were short-lived, for under Gregory XIII, and Sixtus Quintus, as the bishops who had those privileges, died, they were not renewed to their successors, and this so long delayed and far-famed indulgence, furnished another instance of the vain prognostics and disappointed hopes which precede and follow all extraordinary dispensations. Sarpi continues, Pallavicini, whilst narrating those demands of the Germans, introduces indirectly a great deal about the prohibition of priests' marriages, &c.; and as far as regards the antiquity and authority of that prohibitory law, I shall leave it in the hands of those theologians, who have so often and so ably discussed it; its utility must be obvious to all who reflect on it," &c.

This passage, too foreign to our purpose, thus concludes:—

"The pope never entertained the slightest notion of any relaxation of those laws, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Germans, so warmly pressed on him by the emperor."

Pallavicini cites the authorities for these details, namely, the "*Atti Consistoriali*," and a manuscript memorandum of Sixtus Quintus, among Cardinal Montalto's papers in the Vatican Archives! The existence of such authentic records,



as well as the circumstantial narrative of Pallavicini, our author either disbelieved or never read: whilst he pours out his triple tirade against the pope, the convents, and the council, from self-contradictory documents in Schellhorn, and then predicts, that such a narrative will be sustained by an undiscovered manuscript, to come forth some day from the Vienna archives! Is this to write history?

Greater injustice to this impartial and profound scholar and historian is offered by referring to his authority, to bear out a malevolent tirade against the preparatory sittings of the final sessions of the council. Book iii. chap. 7:

“The bitterest animosity arose amongst the French, Italians, and Spanish delegates; the French jested about the Holy Ghost being brought to Trent in a knapsack; the Italians talked of Spanish eruptions and French diseases by which all the faithful were visited in turns; when the Bishop of Cadiz insisted that there had been renowned bishops and fathers of the Church whom no pope had appointed or invested, the Italians broke forth in a general outcry, and talked of anathema and heresy; the Spaniards retaliated the anathema on them; some mobs assembled, shouting Spain! Italy! Blood flowed in the streets and on the ground consecrated to peace.”

Nothing can exceed the injustice of citing Pallavicini as an authority for such events. The reader is referred to the 15th book, where the 19th should have been the reference; and there not one syllable of the blasphemy and profaneness above narrated, nor of the shedding of blood on the ground consecrated to peace, is to be found! The heresy attributed to the Bishop of Cadiz, and the consequent interruption is there satisfactorily explained.

“When the legates obtained a hearing for the bishop, he said, ‘If you interrupted the psalmist, when he said, ‘There is no God,’ and would not allow him to add, ‘as the fool says’;—you might with equal justice convict him of infidelity, as condemn me of heresy before my opinions are duly announced. If you allowed me to finish and did not interrupt, I would have added, that, although there was no necessity that bishops should nominally receive institution from the pope, still they were obliged to acknowledge the pontiff as superior; that the plenitude of jurisdiction resided in him, although he could not deprive bishops of its use and substance without sufficient cause.’”\*

It was obviously the object of the author to depict Trent as the focus of disorder, that he might thence deduce the observations which follow on the inadequacy of councils to fulfil

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\* Pallavicini, *Storia del Concilio*, &c. l. 19.

any longer their high destiny ; accordingly he says, book iii. page 341 :

“ It is a sublime idea, that, in seasons of difficulty, and especially during great errors in the Church, there exists an assembly of her chief shepherds able to remedy the evil. ‘ Let such an assembly,’ says Augustine, ‘ consult together without arrogance or envy, in holy humility, in Catholic peace ; and, after acquiring greater experience, let it open that which was closed, and bring to light that which was hidden.’ But, even in the earliest times, this idea was far from being realized ; how far less attainable now, when the Church was involved in a thousand contradictory relations with the state. On the contrary, the present state of affairs seemed to prove the truth of the assertion :—‘ that, in times of great perplexity, a convocation rather increased than removed the difficulties.’ Again, ‘ in the present state of affairs, no reconciliation, no expedient was practicable : even in February, 1563, the position of affairs seemed desperate ; universal discord prevailed, each party adhered obstinately to its own opinions.’ ”

This, beyond doubt, seems a labyrinth of disorder, out of which we should expect to hear the historian say, no human ingenuity could guide the bewildered Church, and from which philosophy would anticipate downright dissolution and despair. But Ranke’s design is to disparage to the utmost the institution itself to present it, bereft of all inherent energy and system, a chaos of dissention, indebted for its regeneration to the accident of individual capacity, and not to any intrinsic quality or providential guidance. To Pius the Fourth, the uncle of St. Charles Boromeo, is given the credit of attempting and conquering the difficulty, by his having dispatched the distinguished president of this council, Cardinal Morone, to the emperor at Inspruck ;—here, at a day’s journey from Trent, to exercise his address and diplomacy in dictating and deciding the council’s decrees !

“ It was not,” says Ranke, “ the cardinal’s intention to give way in essentials, nor to suffer the power of the pope to be weakened. The matter was” (to use his own words), “ to hit upon such decisions as might satisfy the emperor, without trenching on the authority of the pope, or the legates.”—Book iii. p. 345.

Our historian here tells us in a note, “ that the most important document he has met with relating to the transactions of Trent, is Cardinal Morone’s narrative of his legation ; that it is *short but conclusive* ; that neither Sarpi nor Pallavicini have noticed it, and that he found it in the Altieri Library in Rome.” (page 344.) With feverish curiosity the reader naturally turns to the appendix to peruse this unique treasure, which no other

eye had discovered, and, with almost frantic dismay, he there finds not one word of that secret-telling document! "Unfortunately," says Ranke, "I could not transcribe what I ought to give here whole and entire, and I can only present the abstract in the third book": and such abstract being the scanty phrase we have repeated, will the candid reader "believe his eyes" when he compares it with the original Italian (three lines) in the note, and finds it to be an egregious misrepresentation of the cardinal's supposed, perhaps real, writing,—literally thus:—

"It was necessary to find such a modification as would, in some degree, appear satisfactory to the emperor, at the same time would not prejudice the pope's nor legates' authority, *whilst the council would be in perfect self-possession.*"

Thus, to secure the freedom of the council, the innate self-possessing liberty of decision, was the cardinal's object, whilst the author's design is to represent it as hopelessly manacled by its own internal embarrassments and strifes.

"Not in Trent," says Ranke, "in open opposition to Palavicini, but at the several courts, and by political negotiations were the important dissensions appeased, and the successful termination of the council secured. 'Morone, who had contributed the most to this result, had also found the art of conciliating the prelates personally. He afforded a signal proof of what a man of sense and address can effect even in circumstances of the greatest difficulty. To him, *if to any man*, is the Catholic Church indebted for the happy issue of the council.'"—Book iii. p. 350.

After this peculiar view of individual agency, whether of God or man, we are surprised to read on the very next page, that the council sought, not so much to decide, as by adroit mediation to get rid of, the questions which had given occasion to bitterness and anger.

"The business of the council thenceforward progressed with astonishing rapidity. The proceedings were like those of an amicable congress, 'the spirit of opposition was subdued, and the council condescended to ask the pope for a confirmation of its decrees; so far was it from reviving the claims of Constance or of Basle to a superiority over the papal authority. Such was the successful issue,' continues Ranke, 'which so urgently demanded, so long deferred, twice dissolved, shaken by so many political storms, and even at a third convocation, beset with dangers, ended in the universal agreement of the Catholic world. The object which was certainly contemplated by the first movers of a general council, *i. e.* the limitation of the power of the pope, was not attained by it, on the contrary, that power emerged from the struggle, extended and



enhanced. The interpretation of the decrees, and the direction of the restored discipline, was concentrated in Rome, and Protestantism was thrust from her with countless anathemas. Primitive Catholicism included an element of Protestantism in its bosom, this was now for ever expelled, and the powers of the Church of Rome concentrated and collected against all future assaults."—Book iii. p. 355.

These singular and unlooked-for results, coming as they do in awkward opposition to the preconceived theories of cause and effect, must not escape the discriminating powers of reasoning which can still rectify vulgar errors of deduction; accordingly, Ranke would fain pour out the light of order on their too apparent discrepancies. He says: "This most important council, perhaps of all, and certainly of modern times, owed its signal success to the union of Catholicism with royalty"! and what (perhaps the reader will think) requires a still greater stretch of credulity, and certainly outstrips all conjecture, he adds that it (the council) derived that principle of success, and that germ of its future development, from a kindred element in Protestantism! That affinity, or congenial tendency, consisting in the union of sovereign and episcopal rights and dominion, the amalgamation of crown, crozier, sceptre, and cross! (Page 357-8, &c.)

Thus are the mighty phases of providential Wisdom obscured by the puny lucubrations of man's abortive philosophy! What can the reader imagine are to be the recognized results from this supple and dextrous policy of the council, as well as from the intrigues of the several courts?—perhaps *abuses*, no, but—

"Reforms," says Ranke, "of the highest importance for Catholicity: the faithful reclaimed and recalled to the practices of religion; seminaries founded, where the young clergy were carefully educated in austere habits and in the fear of God; parishes regulated; preaching; the frequentation of the sacraments enforced; and, lastly, an universal profession of faith, a measure the consequences of which were most important. No wonder (we may add, with Ranke) that on December the 4th, 1563, the last meeting of the prelates, they were full of emotion and gladness, and tears of joy were seen in many of those aged eyes."—Page 355.

We cannot better close this interesting subject than by a brief outline of the long critique which our author gives of the two rival historians of this council. To the very able analysis of their respective claims on the character of true historians, which extends over several pages of the appendix, we much regret the impossibility of doing ample justice.

There was, confessedly, before this, no fair and impartial attempt amongst Protestants to decide a question which divides the literary criticism of Europe; namely, the truth or falsehood of those two historians—Fra Paolo Sarpi and Cardinal Pallavicini. The Protestants hitherto have held Sarpi as the most veracious of historians, the Catholics as the most mendacious of narrators. Ranke will go far to decide the question, although he too studiously turns off from the final and clear deductions flowing from his own opinions and statement.

In the body of the history, sixth book, when treating of the affairs of Venice, he introduces a detailed notice of Paolo Sarpi, and represents him as one of the brightest literary and religious ornaments of his age:—

“ Paolo,” he says, “ indulged his love of solitude by entering, in his fourteenth year, a convent of the Servites in Venice, his native city. Every wish and desire of his life was dedicated to study, for which he possessed extraordinary aptitude. In the physical sciences he had remarkable success; his admirers say that he discovered the valves of the blood vessels, the expansion and contraction of the pupil of the eye, the first observation of the polar attraction of the magnet, &c. Above all, his mind was distinguished by comprehensiveness, method, and boldness in the paths of free investigation. It has been said that in secret he was a Protestant; it is not probable, however, that his Protestantism went beyond the first simple principles of the confession of Augsburg, if, indeed, he held those; at all events, he said mass every day during his whole life. It would be difficult to define to what form of Christianity he was inwardly attached; it was one often then held by men devoted to physical sciences—a religion of none of the established systems, and not yet absolutely defined, nor completely worked out. This, however, is certain, Fra Paolo entertained the most determined and irreconcilable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy, probably the only passion he ever cherished. Some ascribed it to a refusal of a bishopric, a mortifying rejection, no doubt, for natural ambition and a manly spirit, but it had a far deeper foundation, a mingled political and religious sentiment, shared by his literary associates, who were all then at the helm of the state,” &c.

So far Ranke’s account of his early life, and such characteristic features of the future historian, do not forebode much impartiality; however, we must allow the Servite to speak for himself, and then give our author’s opinions of the high character he aspired to—of historian of the Council of Trent.

“ My object,” says Sarpi, “ is to write the history of the Council of Trent; for though many celebrated historians have touched upon

points of this matter, and John Sleidan, a most accurate historian, has detailed with the greatest industry the causes thereof, still there is not a complete history. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I had the greatest desire thoroughly to know this history. I collected all that had been written on the subject, in print and in manuscript; I sought out the notices and papers of deceased prelates, and of others who had taken a part in the council, and their correspondence. I spared no trouble nor labour, and I have had the good fortune to see whole collections of such documents, and from those abundant materials I have arranged my narrative."

"But," says our author, "Sarpi has given no accurate list of the historians, or the original correspondents, as was the custom of his predecessors; his only aim was, not to sift with critical accuracy nor work out philosophically, but to weave out of those records a history well written and complete. The printed historians he uses are, however, easily traced; above all, the only historian whom he mentions, Sleidan. That author he not only constantly follows without examining his sources, but he translates whole passages, as for instance"—

Then follows a long extract from both authors, shewing the plagiarism of Sarpi from Sleidan.\*

"We cannot help remarking in this extract," says Ranke, "that Sarpi does not adhere to the facts as he found them; he states as a *fact*, what Sleidan gives as a *report*. This may be taken as a sample of innumerable other passages; but we meet with still more important changes. He frequently alters the expressions of the author he quotes, and makes them accord with his own erroneous views."

Here, again, a long citation, to prove this infidelity.

"But," continues Ranke, whose words we are all along using, "it is a still more important fact, that while Sarpi inserts the statements that he finds mixed with what he has met with in other places, he at the same time interweaves the whole narrative with his own observations, and those observations thoroughly imbued with bitterness and gall, chiefly of this character: 'The legate

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\* It is worth inquiring after this John Sleidan. He was a learned German lawyer, attached for many years to Cardinal du Belley, at Paris; but becoming a Lutheran, in A.D. 1542, he went to Strasburg, where he resided, and wrote the history of his own times. He was sent as delegate from the republic to the Council of Trent, in 1551, and employed in other public capacities until 1555, when the death of his wife caused the loss of his memory and understanding. His opinions (we should call them prejudices) on Catholicity are amply set forth in his work on the four great empires, in which all the prophecies of the prophet Daniel, and of the apocalypse of St. John, are applied in the ultra-Protestant sense to the Church of Rome!



convoked the assembly, and first gave his opinion, for the Holy Ghost, which usually moves the legates, to follow the wishes of the pope, and the bishops, those of the legates, now inspired them after its wonted manner.'—(A Catholic would call this writing—blasphemy.)

"From these examples we see how widely Sarpi differs from the compilers who had preceded him. His style has an agreeable flow, so that we cannot distinguish when he passes from one author to another; but his narrative bears the colour of his opinions—of his systematic opposition, dislike, and hatred to the Roman court."

So far for the use made of previous histories, in which, as it is well remarked, John Sleidan was his chief guide.

Ranke next examines the use he made of the manuscripts, almost all of which have been since printed, cites several passages, and shows how Sarpi, though he incorporates their substance into his narrative, never loses an opportunity to deduce an impression unfavourable to the council; sometimes purposely refrains from noticing its praise in the manuscript originals, even where such praise is not liable to suspicion:—

"He treats his manuscript authorities precisely as he does his printed documents, and that influences strongly his mode of viewing events."

Nine instances of such infidelity are here pointed out by Ranke! But we cannot follow the critique through those glaring misrepresentations, charged and sustained against Sarpi:—

"The last and chief object is: How did he use the more secret sources to which he alone had access, and which, he had reason to believe, would still remain unknown: such as instructions to the cardinals from the pope, and to ambassadors from the emperor?"

Here his additions and false imputations occur in every line, several are cited at length and refuted by Ranke:

"Here" he says, in one instance of the many cited, "he departs more widely from the original, and applies the words of the instruction to a case upon which they never could bear."

"The pope, in his instruction, reminds the emperor of his antipathy to a *national* council in Germany, and their perfect concurrence in the opinion that a *general* council could alone remedy all the wants and evils. This instruction Sarpi cites, and ascribes therein to the pope and emperor this singular and before unheard-of opinion.—'Recall,' says the pope to his legate, 'to his imperial majesty his opinion expressed to me at Bologna, that a national council would be most destructive of his own authority; for if his subjects once thought they could change their religion, they would soon easily alter their Government.'

"Now," Ranke remarks, "there is nothing of the sort in the pope's instruction, and I could not believe the affirmation of the author, without his authority, that the emperor ever so expressed himself.

"I do not think," continues Ranke, "my criticisms will appear too minute or captious: the only way to arrive at the conclusion, whether an author speaks the truth or not, is to compare him with the originals from which he has drawn. I find Sarpi deviating from his authorities on a point even more important than any of these already cited. In detailing the first conference between the emperor and Cardinal Contarini, he interweaves words never directed by the pope, and which, if they had been, would have made all conference a mockery. The pope's instruction is, that, first, it should be ascertained, if the Protestants would admit the primacy of Peter's chair, and the sacraments and other dogmas universally taught in all times in the Church. Sarpi translates this instruction, as if the pope, not only required those preliminary admissions, but also adds,—'and all the other things condemned in the bull of Pope Leo.'

"Now, had such been the instruction, the conference would have had no conceivable aim, for that bull expressly excluded many of the very doctrines to be examined, and the possibility of a successful issue lay in the vagueness of the pope's instructions, and the final judgment reserved to himself; whereas Contarini, according to Sarpi, was obliged to assert the papal authority in the sternest form, of all which there is not a word to be found in the instruction." (Appendix, &c.)

"In Sarpi's history," Ranke concludes "the authorities are brought together with diligence, and used with consummate skill; we cannot exactly say that they are falsified, but the whole work is coloured with a tinge of decided enmity to the papal power. All the reports and documents which he found were interpreted by him, in conformity with this impression which was natural to him, had its origin in the position of his native city, of the party to which he belonged, and of his own personal situation. His work is condemnatory and hostile, and is the first example of a history which accompanies the whole developement of its subject with incessant blame."

This last sentence, if all others were wanting, is decisive of our author's opinion of Paul Sarpi.

We are now come to his critique of Cardinal Pallavicini, and, as it is a criticism upon a criticism, it becomes extremely difficult to convey in a sketch the minute analysis to which Ranke has subjected that work, and, in which, when we take into account his own peculiar views of the subjects discussed by both historians, as well as that Pallavicini should very naturally see indifferent or controverted points in another

light from either, we can well assert that no fallacy, either in argument or fact, is brought home against those three ponderous volumes of the jesuit cardinal.—Paul Sarpi's history was published in London, 1619, after his death, by Dominic di Spalatro, an archbishop who became a Protestant. Translations into Latin, French, and German, soon followed, and made its refutation the more necessary. A Roman Jesuit, Alciati, collected materials for the answer, but died before its completion. The general then selected Sforza Pallavicini, a member of the order, to perfect the work, and it appeared in 1656, nearly forty years after its rival predecessor.

"This work," says Ranke, "contains an enormous mass of matter, and is of the greatest importance to the history of the sixteenth century. The archives were all open to him; he had access to all available materials which Rome could furnish; not only the acts of the council, but the correspondence of the legates, and an immense variety of other documents were at his disposal. His authorities are paraded on his margin, and their number is prodigious, as he had so many unpublished sources to draw from, and, in fact, compiled his whole work from those documents. The most important question is, how did he use them? It has been my good fortune to see a whole series of documents, never printed, and quoted by him. We must compare the originals and the text"....."We must first acknowledge that the extracts which Pallavicini makes from those instructions and papers, and the use he puts them to, are often quite satisfactory. I have compared several," &c. "He has used an undoubted right in making some transpositions which do not at all affect the truth. It is true, he softens some strong expressions, but, as the substance is the same, we cannot make this a ground of censure; his principal object is to refute Sarpi. He places at the end of each volume a catalogue of his errors, and reckons them to amount to three hundred and sixty one, numberless others not in this catalogue, he says he has refuted. But, Pallavicini is not always the better informed of the two; for instance, he devotes a chapter to refute Sarpi's statement that Pope Paul III had proposed to Charles V to invest his nephew with the Duchy of Milan. He says, 'How would the pope dare to write such letters to the emperor, it would have been shameless dissimulation?' Pallavicini is so vehement, that we cannot help believing that he writes *bonâ fide*. Notwithstanding this, the pope actually wrote the letters, and Sarpi is correct."

Although this decision in Sarpi's favour is of very little importance, still the critic should have favoured his readers with a proof of the existence of those letters. Neither Guicciardini nor the Cardinal di Bologna speak of the letters,



though they do of the fact. "But the question," continues Ranke, "is, does Pallavicini err *bonâ fide*?" and his answer is, "Not always." For this decision a most extraordinary cause is assigned:—

"Pallavicini was sometimes more orthodox than the documents which he quotes; they were written before the council decreed; he wrote after the definitions and decisions were published. He is, therefore, more definite and authoritative than the instructions he quotes!"

Again, the critic says:—

"It is an insufferable departure from his original, to place the narrative of a nuncio, stating the necessity of the peace of Augsburg, as an apology in the mouth of the emperor for concluding that peace!"

They might, however, be the identical subjects of the dispatch and apology, although the critic finds it disingenuous in the historian to conjecture such a probability, and the reader must at all events be amused at the hypercriticism.

"Pallavicini dwells upon what is agreeable to him, but ignores whatever might be unpalatable to himself or to the curia. This must have a disadvantageous effect upon our knowledge of the subject. For example: Sarpi says that the council was transferred from Trent to Bologna, not on account of the plague, but to avoid the importunate demands for reform, made by the Spanish bishops, and backed by the emperor. But it was not convenient for Pallavicini to admit that orthodox prelates could present such 'censures,' as they were called, though they are given by Sarpi, with the pope's replies. Pallavicini says that he can find no trace of such documents or censures; the only thing he can find is an answer of the pope to some monks, but those he takes good care not to insert."

The reader will scarcely credit our deliberate assertion, that our critic never could have read a page of those two historians, on this important fact! for the first paragraph of the book and chapter cited from Pallavicini (book ix. chap. 9), and the slightest knowledge of the sessions of the council, would have rectified his (Ranke's) gross mistakes. The decrees in question, which one historian relates and the other denies, had, according to Sarpi, three sacraments for their object; and the motives of the transfer of the council, as disputed on by both historians, are the subject of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the same book, which we venture to assert no man can read without being satisfied that Sarpi's account is pure fable, if not malicious falsehood. Haste may suit romance, but history requires serious reading, and Ranke writes often without that precaution.

"He [Pallavicini] has an admirable talent for silence, and of letting alone what is not agreeable to him."

An instance is given from Visconti's *Letters*, of Sarpi's exaggeration and Pallavicini's reticence, in which the professor seems to betray an ignorance of Italian phraseology not to be expected in a critic. He says Sarpi takes more from those letters than they contain; he says that the cardinal Lorraine spoke very diffusely on the decree of enforcing residence. Pallavicini breaks out into the greatest violence at this, and says, "The very contrary is evident;" and quotes Visconti. Let us hear Visconti himself. He writes: "*Perche s'allargò molto, non potero seguire se non pochi prelati.*" It is therefore true, adds Ranke, that people could not follow him, and did not understand him! Whereas the true translator of the Italian letter would have come to a nearly opposite conclusion. It is obviously thus: "The affair ran to such a length that only a few prelates could deliver their opinions thereon."

This mistranslated extract was thought of sufficient importance to be added to the new edition, as it was not in that of Berlin, 1836!

Pallavicini's sole aim, according to Ranke, "is to confute his opponent, without caring to bring the truth to light. He acts like an advocate who has undertaken to defend a client, labouring under a heavy accusation, in all points and at all hazards. He brings forward what may benefit his case, and leaves out, or flatly denies, what may be injurious. In unimportant matters he is accurate, but he completely distorts what is essential."

These severe criticisms, if they were true, might leave to Pallavicini the character of a special pleader, and to his book that of a well digested brief, but his character as an historian would sink for ever. We naturally look with much anxiety for the grounds of such specific charges, and examining the passages in the critique on which they rest, we are astonished at the flimsy and fragile materials on which such severity of criticism is founded.

Though not interesting in itself, we must notice the most important specimen of infidelity alleged against Pallavicini. In Ranke's opinion it is "the most palpable error" cited in this analysis. The subject is the pope's instruction to his legate, going to the conference of Ratisbon. Ranke says:—

"Pallavicini knew of this instruction, and his manner of treating it affords us great insight into his character. He contradicts Sarpi

with great vehemence, for making the pope assert that he would satisfy the demands of Protestants, in as far they would agree with him on the points of the Catholic religion already established. This, says Pallavicini, is directly at variance with the truth. Does he mean that the contrary is the fact? The pope's words are: 'Videndum est, an in principiis nobiscum convenient.' 'We must see if they agree with us in essentials;' those once admitted, we shall do our utmost to settle the other controversies. It is certainly true that Sarpi is here in error, for he restricts the powers of the legate more than the facts warrant. He says too little of the yielding disposition of the pope. Pallavicini states that Sarpi states too much; enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, of which nothing is said in the bull (*super aliis controversiis!*); brings together a multitude of things true, but not the whole truth, and which do not invalidate the words of the instruction."

So much for this cardinal error, the foundation stone of such grave severity and unjust censure. The expectant reader looks in vain for any other detection of prejudices and perversions among Ranke's minutial discrepancies and refined criticisms. We shall now close this secondary subject by a sketch from the same critic, of the relative abilities of these two celebrated antagonists in historic rivalry:—

"Their minds were of a completely opposite cast; that of Sarpi, acute, penetrating, sarcastic, and, although the '*Crusca*' will not admit his work into the catalogue of classics, on account of some provincialisms, his pure style suits his subject, whilst his manner of relating his facts places him second among the modern historians of Italy, I should say, after Machiavelli. Pallavicini is not without talent, and frequently draws admirable parallels. He is a skilful partisan; his was a talent for turning phrases and inventing subterfuges; his is somewhat of a heavy character of intellect. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom; Pallavicini is not without a certain easy flow of words, but muddy, flat, and shallow; both complete partisans, and not historians in the true sense."

The history of the Council of Trent is still to be written, and, if we credit our author, will ever remain so.

However that may be, it will be difficult, we think, for the peaceful student, little interested in the rivalry of either the lapsed Servite, or the dignified Jesuit, to retrace their portraits, as Ranke has given them, and not decide on their relative excellence,—their respective claims on his approbation. In the first, the sparkling genius, and the pellucid varnish, catch the eye's admiration, only to disappoint the taste and offend the judgment; there we see early prejudices, rancour of character, the bitter gall of disgust and dissatisfaction



brought to the task, of plagiarizing, and remodelling an old historian, John Sleiden. Then, we behold him distorting and displacing the secret details of manuscript chroniclers, and, to give the last finish to a portraiture of disingenuous malignity, he is again placed before us, perverting, almost in every line, the more secret, and, probably, never-to-be-published, instructions of popes and sovereigns to their ambassadors. These are, as the reader must have seen, the leading features of Sarpi's time-honoured history, as Ranke has wrought them out in masterly detail, and it needs no other pencil to throw over the picture a darker shade of deformity.

We have much to challenge respect and secure credibility, in the description of his maligned rival Pallavicini; he draws, we are told, from nought but original documents, the fountain-springs of history. The treasures of the Vatican archives supply his narrative, the hidden secrets of treaties, the long balanced policy of a slow and wary court are open to his view, and all since published and unpublished appear, when in his hands, to have been used "in a manner quite satisfactory." No falsification, no profane sneer, no addition to, nor subtraction from the record sullies his pages. Occasionally, Ranke labours to prove that Pallavicini ought to have taken a calmer view of a subject; ought to have defended and retorted with less earnestness, and merged into historic stoicism the triumph which the detecting of error, and the showing forth of truth, necessarily creates in an upright mind. On perusing over and again the eight or more passages wherein defective, or tortuous constructions are instanced, we confess that, in either interpretation, the difference weighs only as a feather in the balance of the mind, and influences in nought the decision of our judgment as to the right or wrong of the debated statement, whilst it leaves untouched the well-earned fame of this laborious and successful investigator after truth; and, we must add, establishes his decided superiority over his rival, even at the tribunal of our Protestant German Critic, Ranke.

#### THE POPES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

It is impossible to peruse Ranke's history of these pontiffs without paying a due homage to his admirable development of that historic period. Narrative, in his hands, loses all the dull monotony of the log-book; that weary task of recording each successive event, and following, step by step, the interchanging routine of peace and war, factions, struggle, and

civil strife. His mind is too elastic to be controlled by everyday occurrences, it springs out of the track of all his predecessors in the career of history, and heedless of annals, memoirs, and all such models, selects a far less toilsome course for its exertions and our advantage. Had his industry kept pace with his conceptions, his work would have still higher claims on our admiration, but the closing periods of the span he contemplated, bear marks of a too great anxiety to reach the distant goal, and leave his character for fame dependant on his vigorous efforts in the previous periods of his history. The work, however, excites and sustains the reader's interest throughout its varied epochs, and produces the pleasing impression, which every production of art must on the enlightened mind, when the stamp of genius is so conspicuously discernible. No one, we venture to say, will close his book without exclaiming, in the homely homage of sincere admiration, "Ranke is a clever writer." His systematic narrative is always most attractive, his candour often eminently impartial; in defiance of early prejudices, and, perhaps, actual interests, he tells truth of men and manners, blackened by the accumulated calumnies of the last three centuries. Even the usually cumbrous subjects of theology and controversy, derive an easy intelligence from his fluent pen: the abstruse differences of the Molonists and Jesuits, stand out in pleasing relief from his passing touch; and the still more unwelcome theories of justification, as they at last seem to repose in modern evangelicalism, after an almost perennial divergency from the parent channel, are brought to the level of ordinary capacity and lay reading.

These rare and invaluable qualities of an historian occasionally succumb in Ranke under the bias which is so natural in the most ingenuous when adverse subjects are discussed. That defect could only obscure or tarnish worth; but, we regret to add that too frequent instances of some more depreciating agency destroy their real value, and must excite deep regret. There is a haste and impetuosity which hurries him into great inconsistencies, and, starting with a fair and candid discernment, we find him often discanting and concluding under the influence of the most oblique judgment. The very subject of his eulogy in one chapter becomes the theme of censure in another; and the preponderance of papal power which here we find instrumental in every good, is there the spring and sole cause of every discomfiture in the same march of intellectual and moral progress. The temporalities of St.

Peter's successors, and the resources of concentrated riches and knowledge, are truly described by him as so many powerful levers to sustain and advance Catholicity; and yet the connexion of the spiritual and the temporal dominions is frequently set forth as the upsetting cause of the best religious projects. Again, in his own words:

"Whatever powerful contests and internal discussions appear within the bosom of Catholicity, the master idea retains the victory, the highest unity of Catholicity with its all-embracing power remains predominant; advances with steady course, unimpeded by moments of internal strife, from which it even borrows fresh energy for future conquests."

Still, when we come towards the close of his problem, all this seems lost to view, and the dissensions of Jansenists, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, are the starting point, and the temporal power the final causes of the Church's downfall, and the approaching utter disappearance of Catholicity. Book viii. *passim*.

There is scarcely a possibility of compressing into a few pages those eventful periods of modern history, and the most we can presume to promise ourselves is, to excite the curiosity of the reader to look at the originals by our feeble sketch of such attractive characters.

The object of the work, is the exhibition of religious progress and its agencies: accordingly, we shall indicate those movements as concisely as possible, occasionally pausing, where our guide falters or fails, to direct our readers in the true biography of the Roman pontiffs of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

With the acquisition and recovery of the temporal power of the popes under Julius II, and his victories, by which Bologna, Parma, and Piacenza were secured to the papal states, there is little to notice of interest, save to recall to the memory of the historic reader that the temporalities of St. Peter's chair antedate this period by several centuries, certainly remount to Pope Adrian I, Pepin, Charlemagne, if not with greater accuracy, two centuries higher, to that most illustrious of pontiffs, Saint Gregory the Great.

"The re-establishment of the states of the Church," says Ranke, "was at that time, Julius II, regarded by the world as a glorious, nay, even a religious enterprise, and the pope risked all to forward it."

He accordingly took the field himself; he was successful; endeavoured every where to appear as a liberator, treated



his new subjects wisely, and secured their attachment and fidelity.

The more genial and mightier project of the new Basilica of St. Peter's engaged the pontiff's peaceful energies—he laid the first stone by Bramante's design. In the midst of these bursting elements of power and intellect, Leo X (Medici) ascended the throne, and no being was ever better calculated to foster and enjoy their glories. Ariosto was the acquaintance of his youth, Macchiavelli his intimate friend, Raffaello his favourite genius; all his courtiers and ambassadors laud his religion, his goodness of heart, his learning; and, no doubt, Leo's gay and graceful court was entitled to those praises, when his life was contrasted with the horrors of Alexander VI's infamous family. Ranke omits to record of him, that biblical learning was the especial object of his patronage; that he established a chair of Hebrew in the Roman university, and pressed, by his letters and entreaties, Erasmus to edit the works of St. Jerome for the furtherance of that project; and that too in an age when literary enlightenment allured its votaries towards impiety, and widespread libertinism fostered religious innovations; when the study of the ancients would seem to have so captivated the human mind, and so amalgamated its elements with the mercurial character of that generation, as to displace almost every other influence; a species of intellectual sensuality predominated, poetry, painting, and music, all administered to its sway. Philosophy herself descended from æsthetics, and became half materialized in its rash theories. The pope was obliged to threaten Pietro Pomponozzo, one of the greatest philosophers of his day, to induce him to retract his opinions of the soul's materiality. There was an evident reflection of paganism, without the consciousness, a sort of antique incredulity and consequent corruption produced by the classical studies of that age; even, Ariosto complains to his friend Bembo of the perils and difficulties of educating his son Virgilio, and, Ranke says, "that the young Luther was astonished when he visited Italy."\*

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\* Luther's visit to Rome was A.D. 1510. Leo was not pope till 1513. Martin Luther came to Rome on some business of his vicar general, or of his order; had to travel on foot, and beg his way; arrived in ill-humour, and saw every thing in that murky mood of mind. Not even the austere St. Jerome could escape his splenetic forebodings: "I would not take ten thousand gilders and be in St. Jerome's place in the next world!" "Ich wollte nicht 10,000 gulden nehmen, und in der Gefahr stehen für unsern Herrn Gott, da Sanct Hieronymus inne stehet."—Tisch-Reden, fol. 413, Eisleben.

The leading policy of Leo's reign is well described by Ranke, as an effort, even at the greatest sacrifices, to preserve the independence of the Roman see, and a due balance of power among the sovereigns of France and Germany; but, the anti-religious, or reforming tendency of the age was never lost sight of by the pontiff; and a curious illustration of the jealous and counteracting disposition of the emperor Maximilian is well noticed. When he, (the emperor Maximilian) was pressed by papal influence to quash the prurient boldness of the young reformer, he said, "No! we might want him." "He excuses himself," says Vittori (who has left a manuscript compendium of the affair), "on account of the passport, or safety conduct he had granted, but, in reality, it was to keep the pope in check by Luther and his doctrines." At this eventful period, when the atmosphere was overcharged with fearful terrors, Leo died:

"His life," says this eloquent historian, "passed in a sort of intellectual intoxication, and in the unbroken gratification of all his wishes, the result of his own kindly and bountiful nature, his refined intellect, and his sense of merit; towards the close of his reign all the currents of his policy mingled in one full tide of triumph, and it may be counted amongst his felicities that he died then; other times followed, and it is difficult to suppose that he could have successfully opposed their unpropitious influences, although his name be stamped on a century, and on a great epoch of human advancement."

Ranke closes this eulogy by a cutting sarcasm, which he takes from a very discreditable authority, a lampoon on the old torso of Pasquin; it suited his purpose to revile what he was obliged to praise. "He glided in like a fox, he governed as a lion, he died like a dog."

Muratori tells us, that, when his holy successor Adrian VI was named, "The people burst into reproaches against the cardinals for that selection, and naught was heard but benedictions on the memory of Leo." This is certainly a better testimony than the pasquinade which Ranke puts in the mouth of the same people, as they accompanied Leo's remains to the grave.

The pope died at the early age of forty-six, and his pontificate, of eight years, seems to be visited with the unmerited censures and responsibility of subsequent misfortunes, which, for a series of years were lowering over the Church.

"Leo," says Guicciardini, "disappointed the world; he was destined, by the highest gifts of nature, and the best early principles,

to benefit the Church, but he forgot the duties of the pontiff to enjoy the glories of the prince."

Muratori is equally severe. No doubt, much prodigality and simony were the disgraceful vices of that age, but how can it be said that the pope ever lost sight of the interests of faith, and of the devastating progress of error,—the first duties of his state?

"How can we be told," says Monsieur Audin, in his admirable *Life of Luther* (Paris, 1841), "that in the religious quarrels in which Rome had such a stake, the Papacy was behind or remiss in its efforts, that, what religion and the Gospel maxims required was left unheeded? whereas, the treasures of patience, and the resources of zealous mildness were fairly exhausted in Luther's regard."

"The world was now for three years full of his quarrels about indulgences; every village in Germany rang with his name, and was up for or against his doctrines. As they advanced in age they acquired boldness. Luther was no longer the timid and retiring monk, but the most popular of orators; nay, to credit himself, when he would fain be silent, the press heralded forth his doctrines. At Rome, Miltitz will tell you, they would, even then, have given the world to silence him whom, neither Francis I in all his glory, nor Charles of Austria, (except during the intensely interesting event of his election) could throw into oblivion. What did not Leo do to avert the coming tempest? From the moment the integrity of the dogma was assailed, briefs were addressed to rouse the archbishops and bishops of Germany, to different religious orders, and to the convents of Saxony and Wirtemberg, to silence the innovator. Luther was deaf to the remonstrance. Then the pope had recourse to the emperor Maximilian, but without fruit. Perhaps the pomp of Rome might awe into respect the reformer. Luther holds two conferences with the cardinal Cajetano, exhausts his patience, and leaves his Eminence with a sneer. Then, Miltitz, a countryman, is the intercessor, and, in order to appease him, annihilates Luther's antagonists, Tezel and his questors, by his severe reprimands: but the reformer is not satisfied. Next, Staupitz, his own provincial, is unsuccessful, and, his bosom friend, Jerome Spalatin, undertakes the commission of reconciliation, but in vain. Even the poor monks of Jüterbock tried entreaty when the eloquence and learning of the former pacifiers had failed; but to no purpose. Thus, bent before the innovator, tiara and diadem, the cardinal's purple, and monk's coarse cowl; his inflexibility



was now fanaticism; to believe him, 'Deus rapit et pellit,' God drove him on," &c. (Letter to Silvius, Feb. 20, 1519).

Still greater injustice is done to the pontiff's memory by any accusation of severity or harshness. His reign was not that of a lion, but of a lamb.

"Never shall I forget," writes Erasmus to his friend, (book v. ep. 2), "the grace, the beauty, the elegant manners of Leo X; they at once struck me with admiration; his noble and lofty bearing, the blandness with which he received me, the indescribable charm of his conversation. The treasures which Plato required of a prince, shone forth in him—wisdom and goodness. Others are distinguished for feats of glory and of arms; to Leo belong the happiness of peace and the triumph of the arts, glories which never cost one tear nor sigh."

Even Luther seemed to have stayed the savage anger which bursts through every other line of his far-famed rabid epistle to the pope, to pay homage to the pontiff's personal virtues;—

"Among the monsters of this age against which I am waging war for now three years, my thoughts revert to you, O holy father. I protest, and I cannot mistake in this protestation, that never have I said or writ one word against thee.....You, Leo, you are a lamb in the midst of wolves; a Daniel amid lions; an Ezechiel among scorpions."

This filthy epistle escaped Ranke, when he flung his sarcasm at the memory of this most renowned of pontiffs, Leo X.

The accession of Adrian of Utrecht, was hailed by the friends of religion with great gratitude and joy. He was the mirror of every virtue; purity, piety, and learning, were the acquisitions and the habits of his life; but his "destiny," as supreme governor in those storms and strifes, may be read from his own hand, on his superb tomb, in Santa Maria dell' Anima: "Let a man be ever so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born." Beset by difficulties in Church and State, he learned by sad experience how difficult is the task of reforming the world. Poverty in the treasury; pestilence in the city, carrying off eighteen thousand inhabitants; the victorious Turk capturing from the Knights of Malta, Rhodes, and the Church's vanguard thus defeated, were miseries doubly aggravated by the stealthy and rapid strides of Luther in Germany, now backed by another invader, Zwinglius, in Switzerland. Well might Muratori write of such times, "Poveri Cristiani in questi tempi."

In the midst of those warring elements, the second Medici pope ascended the throne, and if ever pilot were adapted to ride the storm, and bring the vessel through in safety, it was to all appearances Clement VII. In him talents, virtues, prudence, experience, all that could bespeak success, seemed to unite, and the plaudits of the world to anticipate the laurels due to those promised victories. As the prime minister of Leo, he had the knowledge of government, and his high character for skill and integrity all but secured the happy result of any undertaking. Alas! with those prognostics, his popedom is one of the saddest epochs of papal dominion. Italy had now an undisputed preeminence in the great ingredients of power, knowledge, and the arts. A spirit of independence, and a love of self-government, the natural outbreaks of civilization in every state, carried away every mind, and forced their influence on the pontiff and his court. From the Alps to the Appennines, the whole country rose against the Spaniard's sway. History tells the sad tale of the plunder of Rome, under Bourbon and his German Lutherans; the bitter fruits of the seductive tree of liberty, which Italy would reimplant in its once native soil. That dismal havoc was more than the passing thunderstorm; there was a scathful brand in its bursting elements, which settled on the very vitals of Catholicity: for during its raging excitement, religious fidelity was sacrificed to temporary vengeance, and Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, passed a decree at the convocation of Spire, securing liberty of conscience to the reforming creeds, and thus opened the floodgates of innovation and religious strife. Broken down by distress, the pontiff discovered the false light which allured him, and endeavoured to regain his position. He renewed his amity with the emperor, and urged him to measures of restraint against the boundless license of the innovators. It was on this emergency that the instruction for the nuncio Campeggio, to the emperor Charles V, was uttered, at which Ranke affects such compassionate regret. If ever retaliation were justifiable, Clement had a strong case against his Protestant aggressors; stained, as they were, with Roman carnage, and laden with Roman plunder. But neither the emperor nor the pope were solicitous for retributive justice; whilst both concurred in their anxiety for a general council, to stay the stormy elements that raged around them. Ranke, in contradiction, or in oblivion of all he had written and cited in favour of the pontiff's exalted character, says that he shrank

back from the personal exposure to which such a measure would subject him :—

“Clement had personal causes of apprehension. He was conscious that he was not of legitimate birth; that he had not mounted to the highest dignity by an unsullied path; that he had suffered himself to employ the resources of the Church to promote private interests; had incurred a costly war, &c.; for all which he might be called to account.”

All those assertions, with one exception, stand in direct contradiction to the historian's own narrative and cited manuscripts, which overflow with testimony of his merits and virtues; besides, the object of the war was the too popular project of ridding Italy of a foreign domination. But if they were all as true as they are otherwise, no general council would have had to meddle with, or interrupt, them. The pope and emperor met at Bologna, to discuss the preliminary measures of a council, and the pontiff interrupted those conferences to betake himself to Marseilles, on a very different mission,—to negotiate with Francis I, the marriage of Catharine of Medicis, the pontiff's niece, with the French king's son. There the evil genius of Clement got the ascendant, and Protestantism shared the triumph. Jealousy allied France with some of the smaller German states at variance with the emperor and his Catholic projects. Philip of Hesse recovered his dominions, aided by the French subsidies; the treaty of Kaden followed, and debarred all further suits for the recovery of the confiscated Church property; and thus this second stride in the headlong march of the Reformation gave legal security to that religious license already guaranteed at Spire. Wirtemberg led the way in embracing the reformed creed, as it had in seizing on ecclesiastical foundations. Denmark, Prussia, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate soon followed. “Within the space of a few years,” says Ranke, “the Reformation extended itself over Lower Germany, and established itself in Upper Germany for ever!”

The melancholy events of Henry the Eighth's petition for divorce, came like the drop of gall to overflow the chalice of the pope's declining years; its history is too well sifted to be dwelt on here. It embittered the last days of this virtuous but ill-fated pontiff.

“We have called Leo fortunate,” concludes Ranke; “Clement was perhaps a better man; at all events, more blameless, more active, more acute, but most unfortunate; perhaps the most ill-starred pope that ever sat upon the throne. He was doomed to



see the attempt to build up an independent temporal power lead to the contrary result.....The great Protestant schism unfolded itself with resistless power before his eyes; the conflict of spiritual and temporal interests, in which the papacy had involved itself, appears to have been calculated to secure the ascendancy of those very adverse powers in Church and State,—Spain trampled on the one, and Luther tore asunder the other.”

The opening scenes of the next pontificate, of Paul III (Farnese), are like the brilliant beams of a morning sun, after the murky clouds of the boisterous night were gone from the horizon. A number of the most learned men were raised to the purple, and amongst those most distinguished cardinals, the English refugee—cardinal Pole. Several reformatory decrees, for domestic and curial abuses, ushered in this pontificate, and the celebrated conference was held at Ratisbon, where reconciliation almost touched the hallowed boundary of religious union. Never did parties approximate nearer to universal concord and peace. The pope had selected cardinal Contarini as his representative; a man in whose character, mildness, truth, and pure morality, seemed reflected; and of whose learning cardinal Pole said, “that he was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover, and that his knowledge was crowned by his virtues.” Gropper and Pflug, theologians of great character in Vienna, represented the emperor, and Philip of Hesse selected Bucer and Melancthon, the most pacific of the Protestant party. On the 5th of April, 1541, the negotiation opened. The cardinal succeeded, against all expectation, in bringing about unanimity on those four most difficult questions,—the nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification. This last point the Lutherans held, depended on faith alone; the cardinal added, on living and active faith. Bucer and Melancthon were satisfied, cardinal Pole full of congratulation and joy. But what occurred at Ratisbon should be confirmed by the pope and Luther, to whom an express was sent. He flashed into furious execrations at this patchwork combination of creeds, and saw nought but the devil in every shred!

Alas! for the world to have had such an umpire. The stalking-horse of politics just then appeared, to trample down the few lingering sparks of this hidden and holy fire. Francis I. saw, in the emperor's position as pacificator, his own decline. “Carnal envy,” says cardinal Contarini, “broke up the conference,” and he returned to Rome, having accomplished nothing of his noble mission and design for the pacification of the world.

From that apparent misfortune arose the mighty regeneration of the Church, in the immediate convocation of the Council of Trent. The glory of that step belongs to Paul III. Its opening efforts to recall the bewildered minds of nearly half of Europe's children, were such as the congregated wisdom of the world, under God's guidance, could alone effect. The chaos of fifty years of religious wrangling, the contested difficulties of theological controversy, were all but reduced to light and order. As the last and most important question of justification was receiving its fiat, the mighty magician that had evoked the storm, died.

The death of Luther, in 1546, would, one ought to conclude, have terminated the dissensions he so mainly called into existence; but what the cardinal Contarini wrote to Rome, on the previous death of Zwingli, was still too true: "If all the heresiarchs were not only dead, but converted, their heresy would prevail so long as love of plunder possessed the princes, and love of license the people, of Germany."

Ranke is more disingenuous in the very discursive notice he takes of the discussion at Trent, on justification, than in any other part of that history. He mixes up the deliberations on original sin with those on justification; insults the memory of the illustrious cardinal Pole, by interpreting some philosophical remarks on the first subject, as tendencies to Protestant opinions on the second; attributes to design the cardinal's absence from the council when that decree passed, whereas his declining health obliged his return to Rome, and his resignation as legate. Ranke copies throughout the refuted slanders of Fra Paolo, and adds one of his own against Pallavicini. "Sarpi," he says, "gives this discussion, not so Pallavicini." Whereas, if the reader will consult the eighth book of his history, he can measure the length and breadth of that error of Ranke's, in a long and most satisfactory account, as well as a refutation of Sarpi on the subject. Events over which this pontiff had no control, and, in part, political projects which posterity justly censures, stayed the triumphant progress of truth at the council, as well as the progressive energies of the emperor in reestablishing submission and allegiance in his kingdom. At the moment when both seemed to keep equal pace towards success, the council was transferred to Bologna, and there soon interrupted. Paul III forfeited the glory which seemed to have been his early destiny—to write the epitaph of heresy, and establish religious concord in the world.

His successor was the cardinal de Monte, who presided with Pole, and, after his departure, alone, as legate at Trent. Julius III not only reopened the council at Trent, but concurred in both moral and physical efforts with the emperor, to resist the reforming innovations; but France, bent on ambitious and anti-imperial projects, remained the ally of the Protestant belligerents, and Charles, though a veteran conqueror, saw himself, between the French on the Rhine, and the elector Maurice in the Tyrol, all but a captive. Those apparently evil results, had a most salutary influence at Rome. War, politics, and worldly wisdom, lost their value, and a new and religious spirit arose on the ascendant; that spirit asserted its rights against the Spanish and German pretensions at Trent, and turned with disgust from the old papal projects of family aggrandisement at home. Its first stride towards liberty was in the selection of cardinal Marcello Cervino, as Julius's successor, in 1555. "I had prayed," says a cotemporary, "that a pope might arise who would restore the ancient glories of the Church, the council, and the reform; and my wishes are now realized." Marcellus would suffer no relative to enter Rome; all his thoughts were on reform in Church and state, and the council, in all its energy. On the twenty-second day of his reign, Marcellus died! His successor was the austere cardinal Caraffa, Paul IV. At the advanced age of seventy-nine he ascended the papal throne, determined to reform the world, and seemed conscious of no other duty than the restoration of the ancient faith to all its pristine authority. That holy cause would seem to repudiate such impulses as the rigour of an inflexible and wayward mind could impart. The Congregation for Universal Reform, and the Inquisition, were admirable institutions if left to work out their own objects by their own machinery; but under the ardent and suspicious sway of the pontiff, became instruments of vehemence and severity. He suspected that the emperor fostered the Protestants, and threatened to excommunicate himself and his son Philip. From those groundless antipathies the pope advanced to open defiance, and took energetic measures to attack the imperial armies. His wicked nephews profited of this outburst to gain temporary advantages, and disgracefully sought Protestant aid against the duke of Alva, and his imperial armies. Defeat and misfortune taught wisdom to the pontiff's mind. Powerfully acted on by those reverses, his early reforms were returned to; his nephews, though cardinals, disgraced and



banished, and the whole character of the government was thenceforth altered. The dignity, devotion, and magnificence of public worship were greatly promoted by him; the decorations of the Sixtine and Pauline chapels, so well known in the Holy Week, at Rome, owe their origin to his zeal for religious ceremony. His decrees for reform discover the outlines of the decisions of the Council of Trent; but the same inflexibility and sternness of character still predominated, and the severest appeared the best mode of government. Every dissentient sentiment bore in his mind the suspicion of heresy. Cardinal Morone, who afterwards shone as the setting sun of the Council of Trent, and threw around its close all its golden glory, was cast into prison, and the cardinal legate, Pole, recalled from England, and all but disgraced in Rome. "The bitterest complaints," says Muratori, "burst forth from all quarters against the pope, when the dignity of legate was withdrawn from the archbishop of Canterbury, the brightest light of the Sacred College, and the mainstay of the Church of God in England, as his published works so well prove." Akin to this, but by far the most unlucky of the pontiff's well-intentioned but imprudent measures, was the repulsive authority with which the pretensions of the young queen Elizabeth were responded to. She professed obedience, through the deceased queen's (Mary's) ambassador, Carney, to the pope, and the answer given was that she had no right in a disputed succession to ascend the throne without the pope's sanction: "Let her now put forward her pretensions, they should be duly entertained."\*

"I never," says Muratori, "can reflect on this lamentable occurrence but with chilled feelings of sorrow and regret..... Whether Elizabeth was a sincere Protestant or a disguised Catholic, she was crowned and acted as a Catholic; and had no such severity

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\* This statement is questioned by the learned divine who is republishing Dodd's "Church History of England;" because no dispatch is found in the Foreign Office, London, to bear out the fact, and Pallavicini is supposed to have copied Sarpi in his statement. Those grounds are not quite satisfactory, to displace so old a tenant of history. The Records of State offices in Rome may still supply the English deficiency; and, undoubtedly, neither Muratori nor cardinal Pallavicini copy Sarpi; the very contrary being the fact. The eighth chapter of the fourteenth book of the Council of Trent opens with this narrative, and the controverted policy of the pontiff's reply. The margin bears as usual the authorities on which they rest. 1st. The life of the pontiff, written by Spondano, who discusses at great length the subject; 2d. the diary of the master of ceremonies; and 3d. the authority of Belcari; and Pallavicini unites with Spondano in maintaining, that though the pope's expression might be modified, his acts could not be otherwise. Dr. Lingard follows Pallavicini.

been exercised towards her, though it might not have determined her subsequent conduct, her memory would have had to bear the whole opprobrium of the deluge of error which overran Christendom. But evil has triumphed, and we must adore God's just judgments, though we cannot read the hidden characters of His decrees."

Catholicity, at this period, A.D. 1559, was in the darkest shadow of the passing eclipse. In Germany, Protestantism reigned far and wide; a Venetian ambassador reckoned that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of all Germany had remained faithful to the old religion. All the learned supporters of Catholicity who had taken the field against Luther were now dead, no young competitors for such an enterprise could be found; the colleges, the episcopal sees, the universities, were fast Protestantizing, and, for the previous twenty years, no student at the university of Vienna had taken priest's orders; even Bavaria seemed lost to Catholicity, its nobles becoming Protestants, the confession of Augsburg fully recognized, and the duke himself often attending Protestant sermons.

In Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, &c. reform received its legalized foundation at this precise period, 1557-8; Hungary had preceded in 1554; all the Rhenish provinces followed; Switzerland, and even France, were nearly captivated in Calvin's doctrine. The Venetian ambassador writes in this year, 1559, that three-fourths of France were filled by Geneva Protestantism; thus, in the north, east, and west of Europe, Catholicity, if not crushed altogether, was oppressed and dispirited, and, in less than forty years, that immense territory was overspread by Protestantism: from Iceland to the Pyrenees; from Finland to the summits of the Italian Alps! If, at that moment, one could survey the world from the heights of Rome, what an enormous havoc would not the spectator behold on the fatal field of religious dissension! and, the mind be as bewildered as the eye astonished to dwell on, or account for, such a spectacle. Ranke would trace all, to the interference of the successive pontiffs with politics and states; obviously overlooking the double character of the history of those popes, and their unceasing struggles to make their political efforts available in their religious enterprises, to stay the impetuous onflow of error and innovation. If Catholicity had but human energies to rely on, its final destiny would not long be a problem; it might struggle with its perils, emerge and float awhile, but exhaustion would, eventually, prostrate it for ever.

"Shaken to its very core," (says Ranke, with becoming candour,)

“endangered in the very ground-work of its being, it had found means to maintain and renew itself; up to the time of the last sittings of the council of Trent, Protestant opinions had continued to make their way with irresistible force. Now, however, things assumed a new aspect; the Catholic Church began then and there the work of self-restoration. We may affirm, generally, that she was once more inspired with a fresh and living energy; that she regenerated her creed, and originated a reform, which, on the whole, accorded with and satisfied the age.”

The reader of Ranke is often gratified by similar outbreaks of historic truth, and half compensated for the distorted theories of fanciful principles and their results, which, indirectly, are sought to be fastened on the incidents and characters of such popes as Paul III, Paul IV, and Clement VII. The Catholic cannot stifle the triumphant feeling which such candour must suggest, when Ranke, after quarrelling with every other means of resuscitating the expiring Church, recognizes that pre-ordained instrument of restoration, a general council, as imparting vitality to organs which all human skill had failed to revive. That glorious work may be said to have begun under the succeeding pontiff, Pius IV, and his sainted nephew, Charles Borromeo. Their lives were passed in giving developement to the regenerating Church reforms of the council of Trent. The historian sketches with great spirit the rapid progress of their success, but, concludes his account by a most ungenerous and puny calumny on the pontiff's setting glories. “His mind was relaxed from its tension when the council closed. He neglected divine service, indulged in the pleasures of the table,” (as if the old man could have the powers of an ostrich!) “delighted in sumptuous palaces, &c.,” and, for this statement, a dispatch of the Venetian ambassador is cited, which, if it were worth the trouble to recite here, the reader would be satisfied does not sustain one iota of those assertions.

“The popes,” he continues, “now renounced that worldly policy which had so frequently thrown Europe into confusion; their Italian principality, their extended territories, were exceedingly favourable to the success of their ecclesiastical undertakings: the surplus of its revenues greatly assisted the universal Catholic Church.” “A boundless theatre of activity now opens on our view, the action beginning in many different places at once, especially in Germany: where Catholicity suffered its greatest defeats, the conflict raged with greater acrimony.”

The Jesuits are now done justice to, and their pre-eminent struggles are well told. We cannot permit ourselves even an analysis of this campaign of religious triumphs. It is well



and candidly narrated by the historian. It began in Bavaria, where the Duke Albert no sooner obtained the permission for communion, under two kinds, than he suddenly retraced his steps, and took the lead in Catholic reforms as opposed to the innovation of Protestantism; laboured with ardour to restore the Catholic faith; sent the Jesuits into Baden, after they had re-converted his own dominions, and, in less than two years, the whole country returned to Catholicity. Pius V, the sainted Dominican Ghislieri, dispatched the learned Canisius with the decrees of Trent to the ecclesiastical courts, and they were received. Seminaries were established, the bishops every where insisted on the *professio fidei*, which bears this pontiff's name on every step of Church preferment. By those, and similar disciplinary regulations, Catholicism arose in renovated strength in Germany.

“The greatest changes,” says Ranke, “took place without noise, without attracting the observation of cotemporaries, or of historians, as if such were the natural and inevitable course of events.”

The mission of the Jesuit preachers in France against the Huguenots was most triumphant. To father Augier, even the Protestants gave the palm of victory; his catechism had prodigious effect amongst the people, whilst Maldonatus and his biblical glories defied and overcame all competition among the learned.

Catherine of Medicis headed the religious movement; but the melancholy event of St. Bartholomew occurred to mark the fatal limit where politics and fanaticism usurp the functions of truth and religion, and long and bloody was the reaction which those struggles for preponderance caused and fed. England defied every effort of this sainted pope, who declared that he was ready to shed his blood for her conversion, and that object took a powerful hold on the mind of his successor, Gregory XIII (Boncompagni). His opening reign was, naturally, strongly influenced by the prevailing temperament of the warlike struggles around him; and an Austrian armament was hailed as an hopeful project for recalling those islands to the pristine faith, but neither Spain nor Austria responded to the pontiff's zeal. He elevated an English exile, Stuckly, to the command of an armament, and an Irish refugee, Geraldine, joined the expedition. Stuckly, now called the Marquis of Leinster, turned his troops to attack the Moors, whilst Geraldine alone proceeded to and landed in Ireland, in June 1579. The Earl of Desmond joined the invaders, and the whole country was up against

the Queen; the struggle was of short duration; money failed, Geraldine was killed, Desmond routed, and Elizabeth's armies completely victorious.

"Men and women," says Ranke, "were driven together into barns and there burned; children were strangled, all Munster laid waste, and English settlers poured into the devastated country."—B. iv. c. 3.

The failure of arms brought the Pope's mind to its more congenial resources; he established a college at Douay, through William (afterwards cardinal) Allen, and founded another college at Rome for the English mission, from whence Parsons and Campion were the first who came to England.

Switzerland was recalled to Catholicity through similar agencies, united to the zeal of Saint Charles Borromeo, but the great field of victory was the Austrian dominions. In 1586, by the zeal of Julius Echter bishop of Würzburg, and the preaching of the Jesuits, fourteen cities and two hundred villages, containing 72,000 inhabitants, returned to Catholicity. The counter-revolution pervaded every rank, and the nuncio Malaspina describes it as "a mighty current, carrying before it all obstacles." "The torrent of Protestantism," says Ranke, "was driven back with a force equal to that with which it overflowed the land; preaching and teaching did much, and much was effected by ordinances and state regulations." "Catholicism marched with victorious strides from land to land." The most especial attention was given to education in the middle as well as in the higher ranks of life; profound learning and practical science prevailed in the universities. The new calendar too was introduced to the world in Gregory's reign, which may truly be called a reign of light and truth in every department under the almost boundless sway of Catholicity.

The Venetian Ambassador in France writes that in 1582, the evening of that pontiff's reign, the number of Protestants in France had decreased seventy per cent. among the educated classes, whilst the common people were again all Catholic.

To Gregory XIII succeeded the celebrated Sixtus Quintus, 1585. The pontificate of "Fra Felice" is one of the brightest epochs of ecclesiastical sway. He was born at Fermo on the Adriatic coast, one of the fairest spots in that elysium; there the poor Peretti watched the vineyard and tended the cattle by day, and studied his grammar by night at the lamp of the Madonna that hung on the cross-ways; entered the order of St. Francis, rose to be its general, and at length bore away the tiara, "not by arts or dissimulation," says Ranke, with

great truth, "but by the true claims on that highest dignity: personal worth." In that exalted station, Baronius, Belarmin, and Saint Philip Neri were his confidants and friends, and the history of his too short pontificate, is one succession of prodigies of art and power. Though Sixtus looked upon himself as an instrument in the hands of God, to advance the interests of all classes, still, throughout the complexity of political affairs and brilliant achievements, all was made subordinate to the benefit of religion. He had but one individual thought, one aim,—the triumph of Catholicism. The crowned heads of Europe looked up to him for counsel, and their destinies seemed to be at his beck. His kind forbearance towards Henry IV of France, though under excommunication; his wisdom in tranquillizing the ardent zeal of Philip of Spain; his moderation towards all, raised him to an exaltation abroad, which his great resources of wealth and dominion at home sustained, and enabled him to advance at every step the career of religion and the Church. His magnanimity won him universal applause; the king of Spain sent an autograph letter, informing his holiness that he had commanded his ministers at Naples and Milan to pay no less implicit obedience to the papal ordinances than to his own. Sixtus was moved to tears, "that the greatest monarch in the world," as he expressed it, "should honour a poor monk." Agriculture, arts, and manufactures, new cities, aqueducts, draining the Pontine marshes, building St. Peter's wonderous dome in twenty-two months; those and similar prodigies of imperial might, seemed to be his relaxations. His policy was upright. He governed single-handed and single-hearted. Nepotism was discarded, though he loved and favoured his family. He filled the vacancies of the college of cardinals with the most eminent men; they were truly, as his bull expresses it, "the salt of the earth, and light set upon a candlestick," &c. Never did mortal, in five years, leave such imperishable impressions of greatness, goodness, and glory, as Sixtus Quintus.\*

We must hasten on to trace the further progress of the "religious movement." The three next succeeding pontificates scarcely occupied one year. Urban VII, thirteen days;

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\* There is a disingenuous translation, by Ranke, on this pontiff's character. He says we have an account which describes him as "malignant and cunning" (arglistic und boshaft): whilst in the original we read, "una tenuta imperiosa e arrogante." The account is anonymous, written before, and perhaps in the view of preventing, his election.



Gregory XIV, ten months; Innocent XI, two months. The short reign of Gregory was characterized by great efforts and great sacrifices to aid the triumphant cause of religion in France, but the career of victories set in as a mighty current on the election of cardinal Aldobrandini, 1592, as Clement VIII. Activity from the earliest periods of life was the pontiff's habit. "In every particular," says Ranke, (B. vi. 243) "this pope acted with enlightened prudence; he was fond of work, and his nature seemed to borrow fresh vigour from toil." "Every day, more and more," writes the imperial ambassador, Delfino, "we can see that zeal for God's glory, and the public good, alone directs the pope." His reign opens with the reconciliation of Henry IV to the Church. The accession of a monarch at once so victorious, so gallant, so warlike, shed a fulness and splendour of authority around the papal chair, and constituted France as a focus of Catholicism, from which mighty influences should diverge. That glorious conquest was the result of the pope's forethought and moderation; it restored harmony between the rival nations of France and Spain, and concentrated all their energies for the pontiff's darling object—religion. The theologian is familiar with the disputes on justification which then occupied the Catholic world, under the denominations of Molinists and Thomists, and their efforts to systematize the mysterious workings of God's grace in the soul. The pontiff took such paternal interest in the controversy, that he found time, amid his various occupations, to preside at thirty-seven disputations and sixty-five meetings.

The same zeal that laboured to establish truth in the Church, led him to assert right in his temporal dominion. The fiefdom of Ferrara devolved to the Church by the demise of the last of the D'Este family, and thenceforward became part of the pontifical domain.

"It is," says Ranke, "frequently assumed by historians, that Ferrara was in a peculiarly flourishing state under the last prince of the house of Este, but this is an illusion, like a multitude of others, which rests on antipathy to the secular power of Rome. Montaigne visited Ferrara in that reign; he admires the wide streets and beautiful palaces of the city, but even he was struck, as travellers are in our day, with their empty and desolate appearance, the country impoverished and neglected, oppressively taxed and governed, &c. .... When, therefore, writers dwell on the prosperity and activity of Ferrara, they cannot mean this for either the country or the town, but merely for the court; even there tyranny too

often prevailed, and the immortal Tasso was imprisoned for seven years, for a few reproachful words spoken, in one of his melancholy moods, in the duke's presence."—Book vi. p. 278.

The transfer of Ferrara took place with the concurrence of the Catholic powers. It was indeed the pontiff's chief care to alienate none, to appease and preserve all:—

"The Papacy," says Ranke, "appears now employed in its highest vocation, as mediator and peace-maker; and the world was mainly indebted to Clement for the universal peace concluded at Wervins, 1598."—Book vi. p. 316.

Religious progress gained by this tranquillity, under the fostering zeal of the pontiff. The whole of Poland, where Protestantism had possessed itself of the episcopal sees, was recalled from its aberrations by the untiring advocacy of cardinal Bolognetto, aided by the kings Stephen and Sigismund. In a few years the catholics regained possession of the parish churches; and, as the letter of Waiwode of Culm expresses it, "the ancient God was worshipped there again." Dantzic alone continued Protestant; every where else, the nuncio writes, "Catholicity bears heresy to the tomb." The victories of religion, the Jesuits' colleges and missions, always directed by the nuncio, stretched their influence far and near. Several provinces of Prussia were recovered to the faith.

"The rapid and lasting change," says Ranke, "which was wrought in all those provinces is one of the most remarkable phenomena in history; are we to infer that Protestantism had not struck deep root amongst the people, or are we to ascribe it to the method pursued by the Jesuits,—their skill in controversy, their biblical knowledge, their active beneficence?"—Book vii. p. 413.

One striking instance of successful zeal deserves to be mentioned. It is said that in Grätz, at the festival of Easter 1596, there was but one Catholic communicant. Ferdinand, the emperor, went to Rome the following year; measures were taken to attack this stronghold of Protestantism, and at the Easter of 1603, just seven years afterwards, there were forty thousand communicants in that city; and "the stream of Catholicism," adds Ranke, "overspread the land."

The regeneration of Catholicity in France was one of the most brilliant epochs of this pontificate. In 1600 there were seven hundred and sixty parish churches, and two hundred fortified towns in the hands of the Protestants. The sincere cooperation of the king, Henry IV, the recall of the

Jesuits, and, above all, the internal renovation of the Church itself, restored Catholicity to her strayed children. St. Francis of Sales, and St. Vincent of Paul, were then conspicuous in the work of regeneration, and Protestantism shrunk back before the boundless activity of such antagonists.

"Their efforts," says our historian, in the candid homage of truth, which, in despite of prejudice, he so often pays to his convictions, and to facts,—“their efforts for the improvement or the consolation of humanity, the education of the poor, the promotion of learning, the mitigation of human suffering, every where command our attention. In Protestant countries, these objects are left to the energies of each successive generation, and to the necessities of the moment, but Catholicism aims at giving an unalterable basis to associations for such objects, and a uniform direction to the religious impulse which prompts them, that every effort may be consecrated to the service of the Church, and that successive generations may be trained by a silent and resistless process in the same spirit.”—Book vii. p. 450.

Akin to this candour is another attestation in favour of the so oft maligned theme of Catholic antipathies to literary progress :—

“In harmony with those views [he had been tracing to their elemental combinations the respective movements of Protestantism and Catholicity] is the fact, that literature on the Catholic side had attained to far greater perfection of regularity and form. We may indeed assert that the modern classical forms and character of literature in Italy, owe their development and finish to the auspices of the Church; in Spain, as far as the genius of the nation admitted; in France, with the most brilliant results. In the Germanic nations this classical tendency obtained no such triumph. Still less successful was the imitation of the antique amongst the Protestants of those nations. At the period in question the Catholic world was united, classical, monarchical; the Protestant, divided, romantic, republican.”

Clement the Eighth's pontificate closed in A.D. 1606; but with the prophet's mantle came down to his successor the glories of the pontiff, and Paul the Fifth's (Borghese) reign was one series of religious triumphs in Church and State. Ferdinand of Austria, Maximilian of Bavaria, and Philip of Spain, united their efforts with the pontiff for the propagation of Catholicity abroad and its supremacy at home. Protestantism had concentrated itself in the palatine Frederic, a prince of stern bigotry and sullen ambition; the Bohemians joined his standard, and all the minor Protestant princes took up arms with him. A single battle, on the Weissberg,



decided their fate; similar discomfiture awaited the Hugonots in France; and when Paul died, 1621, he left Europe celebrating the victories of religion and monarchy over Protestantism and rebellion.

The short pontificate of Gregory XV (Ludovisi) is as distinguished for peaceful triumphs and religious glory as the preceding one for warlike successes. His character, and that of his illustrious nephew, is best conveyed by the facts that by him the institution of the "Propaganda Fidei" was founded, the Roman college and church of St. Ignatius built, and that saint, as well as St. Francis Xavier, were canonized by him. "We must apply all our thoughts," says the pontiff, in his first allocution, "to extract the greatest possible advantage from the happy revolution that has taken place, and from the triumphant attitude of the Church." The conversion of Bohemia, and of a great part of Hungary, were the fruits of this magnanimous zeal, in 1624. The missionary Jesuits there reclaimed sixteen thousand souls. Still greater success followed the Propaganda missionaries; the nuncio is in amazement at the multitudes returning to the Church in Prague. The transfer of the palatinate to Bavaria, effected by the pope's influence with Austria and Spain, fixed Catholicism in those last holds of reform. "Your holiness," writes duke Maximilian, "has not only furthered, but completely accomplished this step." "Thy letter," replies the pope, "fills our bosom with a stream of delight; the daughter of Sion shall now shake off the ashes of mourning from her head, and array herself in festal garments."

The striking features of this period, says our historian, are a close union between all spiritual authorities (the Propaganda displaying, perhaps, the greatest vigour in the first years of its existence) and the pope; the result was the inevitable and final downfall of Protestantism in those countries; even a dawn of the struggling lights of Catholicism seemed to beam over England, by the accession of James I. The pope sent him word that he prayed for him, as the son of so virtuous a mother, and that he hoped still to see him a Catholic. But the still greater glories of this reign were the foreign missions. From South America to Japan, from Abyssynia to Mexico, the gospel light was poured forth on every tribe and in every country. In 1622, the Jesuits counted three millions of converts in Japan. In Abyssynia and in Egypt the old Nestorian heresiarchs passed over to papal submission, and even in Constantinople the

Jesuits triumphed in keeping possession of the mission in defiance of the patriarch, Cyrillus Lucaris, who had himself professed Protestant opinions.

"What a boundless, world-embracing activity!" concludes Ranke, "which ascended alike the Andes and the Alps; established outposts at Thibet and Scandinavia; penetrated into China as well as England; and everywhere, in this vast arena of activity, was young, vigorous, and untiring. The impetus, which is powerful at its centre, or starting point, imparts an increased activity to every agency of its wide diverging, almost boundless, circle."—Book vii. c. 2.

We feel that we have well nigh exhausted our readers' patience. Though from hence, in this *History of the Popes*, the historian's nerve begins to slacken,—the exciting narrative to languish,—still many episodes, such as Gustavus Vasa's partial triumphs over Catholicity, and the more romantic story of his daughter's (Queen Christina) submission and conversion to that vanquished but victorious cause, are replete with interest for the student of history. Our task for the present is accomplished. We must be satisfied to have accompanied our author through the reconquering periods of Catholicity, without any further inquiries after the data on which he attempts to work out his theory of its again "tottering and final fall." The suppression of the order of the Jesuits, and the internal dissensions in the Church, exemplified in the disputes of the Jansenists, are the great props of his system. To us those are the "mists of the mountain," the "dust swept away by the wind;" to him they present the throes of expiring greatness, the internal workings of a deathful process, which the French Revolution hastened to a crisis, and the wars of the first consul, followed by the impious vaultings of the same emperor, hurried on to the silent tomb. Accordingly, the Papal power, which through so many centuries bid defiance to Turk, Jew, and heretic, sinks into inanition under the sun-stroke of knowledge, which the progress of events and its own cherished fosterings had brought out upon the world. To this theory the whole work is adjusted, and its readers, who derive such profit and enjoy such pleasure from its graphic development of historic realities, find with amazement that they are pressed into "form and fashion" in order to sustain this, at best, histrionic view of facts. So much for theory!

Singular enough, the author had to witness results diametrically opposed to his conclusions. He notices the catastrophe,

for such he must have viewed the events passing before Europe, in the preface of his last edition; but still clings with parental fondness to his embryo conceptions, though stifled in Papal triumph before they ever felt philosophic life. Will he turn his eyes towards his own country, and with that candour which no doubt still lingers about his consciousness, ponder awhile on the struggles which are just now closed in his fatherland, and say on which side is victory? Is her abode at Berlin or at Posen? Over whose tomb reposes the never-dying laurel, or lingers the sigh of regret, or resound the plaudits of an admiring world? Is it on Frederic William's, his royal master, or the sainted Dunin's? Surely not *there* was the Papal power "checked and tottered once again to its fall"! The bark of the fisherman has been buffeted by and outlived many a storm; such was to be its destiny from its first launch upon the waters; "and when he entered into the boat his disciples followed him, and behold a great tempest arose, so that the boat was covered with waves."\* Such still will be its history, amid tempests and trials, to float aloft upon the world's waters till it shall be safely anchored in the haven of peace. Then shall the Lord of the vessel "command the winds and the sea, and there will come a great, an eternal calm."

The philosopher may marvel, the Christian must rejoice, for the bark will speed its way and fulfil its destiny.

ART. III.—*Life and Times of John Reuchlin or Caprion, the Father of the Reformation.* By F. Barham, Esq., London: 1843.

**W**HATEVER ills afflicted this fair realm of England, from her conversion to Christianity under St. Augustine down to the fatal epoch of 1534, were most assuredly not attributable to the religion which, during that long and interesting period of her history, grew and flourished upon her soil in so singular a degree: for *that* was a religion more peculiarly adapted to bring a blessing on the land,—“a vision fair of peace and rest;” making it “a land of hills and plains expecting rain from heaven, and which the Lord

\* St. Matthew, viii. 23-24.



God for ever visited, keeping his eyes for ever on it, from the beginning of the year unto the end thereof;” \* devoting her whole substance in this, to the interests of a future world, and consecrating her whole self, both spiritual and temporal, to those hallowed purposes.

For, in the first place, it was a religion which ever made the Church her homestead. There she enthroned her God in splendid pageantry, collecting all her means to honour Him whom she adored, and attracting to His worship all the people over whom she ruled. There was enticing imagery for the young, and solemn service for the old; the note of sorrow or of triumph in her voice, the sign of mourning or of gladness on her altars, the daughter of Sion robed in “the garments of her glory,” or clad in the weeds of her affliction, as the season suggested; the emblem of redemption elevated on high, that while they gazed upon the sad symbol of their faith, it might excite compunction, and with compunction hope, and with hope charity. More elevated still, they beheld the representation of the last and awful doom, with Him, who was crucified for the sins of men, coming in great majesty and power to judge mankind by the standard of the cross, attended by choirs of angels to minister to his will, with companies of prophets and armies of martyrs to attest the judgment, and the whole host of heaven to do homage to his wisdom and his justice; the blessed on the right and the reprobate on the left, a gleam of eternal brightness indicating the reward of the one, and sulphurous flame and tormenting spirits the portion of the other. But this was not the only instruction which the pious votary might read in the decoration of the material temple. If his soul were oppressed, or his eyes wearied by the contemplation of this awful scene, and he sought relief by casting them on the ground, there was still a lesson ready for him, for they but rested on the memorials of the dead. If he were a sinner, he was again struck with terror; if he were looking with pious expectation for what was to come, he read his hope and his consolation; for he knew that if death were the destruction of the wicked, it was also the resurrection of the just. Around him he beheld depicted the whole story of revelation, to elevate the mind by teaching it the dignity of a Christian, and the value of an immortal soul; the end for which it was created, and the price paid for its redemption. There were all appliances

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\* See Deut. xi. 11-12.

to excite devotion, and every requisite to satisfy it,—the daily sacrifice, the varied service, the frequent prayer, the priest of God to distribute his graces, to give strength to the weak and fresh vigour to the strong, to relieve the penitent of his burden at the foot of the cross, and impress the judgments of heaven on the obdurate sinner,—to afford consolation to the sorrowful, courage to the timid, and assurance to the diffident; in fine, through the powers conferred upon her ministers by her divine Founder, as the vicegerents of Him who said, “Come to me, all ye who labour and are burdened, and I will ease and refresh you;” dispensing relief to all the miseries, temptations, and afflictions with which the poor wayfarer in this valley of tears is sure to be tried, bewildered, or oppressed.

It was the religion which, from St. Augustin to Sir Thomas More, never omitted to put forth the most splendid examples of the noblest virtues; of the most steadfast faith, the most heroic courage, and the most ardent charity; leaving monuments of zeal to attest the disinterested and benignant piety of men who enthroned the covenant of God in the heart, and gave it dominion over the passions.

It was the only religion which ever possessed within herself such incentives to virtue, or which provided such safeguards against vice; which ever realized the counsels of the Gospel, and of frail, sinful creatures, made men “rich in virtue,”—burying them in peace, but giving them a name which liveth unto generation and generation,\* and sending their souls to that blessed abode, where “God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow, for the former things are passed away.”

It was the religion which, even “in the darkest times, was ever found to be fighting the cause of truth and right against sin, to be a witness for God, or defending the poor, or purifying or reforming her own functionaries, or promoting peace, or maintaining the holy faith committed to her;”† and it was the only religion that ever put forth all her energies, or combated successfully in such a cause.

And thus it was that the ancient religion of the realm covered the land with consecrated spots, where men were separated from this troubled world, and carried into serene and tranquil regions before their time—where they escaped

\* Eccles. xlv. 6, 14.

† British Critic.

from the thorny desert, to dwell among enamelled meads—from the contagious atmosphere of every vice, to the salubrious abodes of every virtue. They “who were better than the world in their youth, or weary of it in their age;” they whose sensitive nature rendered them alike incapable of resisting either the soft breeze or the rude blast, whose sympathizing tenderness ever melted before the feelings, or whose unresisting timidity ever yielded before the violence of others; they whose iniquities sat heavier on them than they could bear to carry amidst the haunts of sin, and who must needs lay them at the foot of the cross; they whose pilgrimage of toil and mourning had so bruised the heart that it could alone be healed within the balmy influence of the cloister, because there alone the voice of God could reach it amidst the sacred stillness, converting its sorrows into love,—all found their solace and their joy within these holy precincts.

There, too, it was, that the apostolic man was schooled in the science of the saints, till he went forth as the herald of salvation on his triumphant course, conquering sin and death, enlarging the boundaries of faith, and establishing the kingdom of God upon earth.

There it was that the storms of a thousand years swept unheeded over the virtue, which required the protection of the sanctuary to bring it to maturity, and where alone the sublime perfection of the Gospel could be attained: there, that men were congregated together to pray for the sins of their fellow-men—“for a world which forgets to pray for itself”—and to invoke the blessings of God upon his fallen creatures.

There it was that the arts and sciences found their cradle and their refuge, in a rude and troubled age; there the lives of the saints were chronicled, and the history of passing events recorded that otherwise had been lost in oblivion.

There it was that the word of God was treasured up, and explored for the benefit of others with less learning and less leisure than themselves, and there, even, that the classic lore of antiquity was preserved for the amusement and instruction of after generations, till the arts of more modern days were to place them beyond all future danger; then, as now, “a cloister without a library was said to be like a castle without an armoury.”

There it was that the renunciation of the superfluities of life was reckoned an honourable and meritorious sacrifice, and men were content to be abstemious themselves to enjoy the



means of gratifying the necessities of others; for there the hand of charity doled out the daily pittance to the destitute, without any offensive inquiry into the cause of a distress, the presence of which was alone a sufficient recommendation for relief. The spiritual, too, kept pace with the corporal works of mercy, and while food for the body was distributed without, food for the soul was abundantly supplied within.

It was the monastic rule that enabled the possessors of the abbey lands to let them on easy terms, which, together with the hospitality and charities which they practised, served as a check on the rapacity or cruelty of the feudal baron; and, as a consequence, a prosperous tenantry and a happy people were sure to grow up around the sanctuary. The same benefits were conferred by the property of the prelates and dignitaries of the Church, so that it became a proverb, "that it was better to be governed by a bishop's crozier than by a monarch's sceptre:" and such was the condition of about a fourth part of the kingdom, from which not an eighth probably of the revenue was collected. Yet another blessing did they bring with them, that when war and misery had well nigh desolated the land, through the reckless ambition of some daring noble, or the rough tyranny of some lawless sovereign, these "cities of refuge" usually escaped the general wreck, and remained as nurseries of virtue and of learning, for the regeneration of the people; while, if the Church also fell into disorder or decay, from similar causes or from other untoward circumstances, it was the monasteries that ever furnished the materials for its reform.

Such were among the blessings which the religion of our ancestors conferred upon the country. But there were others still; let us take them discursively, as they present themselves to the mind, without order or method.

It was the only religion which has ever really dedicated to God what belongs to God, lavishing the richest produce both of art and nature in His service, and making all things subservient to her sacred and exalted destinies; adorning the world with temples for His worship, which, having taken centuries to erect—and as many centuries having since passed over them—still stand to excite the admiration of all lovers of the beautiful and sublime, and to attest the superior zeal and piety inspired by the ancient faith.

It was the religion under which England was governed without a standing army, a star chamber, a national debt, or

poor law unions; under which all the best and proudest institutions of the country rose and flourished, and attained maturity; which freed the nation from the tyrannical exactions of the forest laws, and which won, and then consecrated by her sanction, the great charter of our liberties.

It was the only religion that ever really provided, without any state assistance, for the education of all classes—of the poor as well as of the rich—in school, in convent, or in college.

It was the only religion that has ever filled the hospitals with unpaid attendants, who, actuated solely by the charity of the Gospel, have brought every virtue of the Gospel with them, and supplied with a kind heart and a devout zeal the best remedies for the body, because administered in conjunction with the best medicines for the soul.

It was the first religion that ever advocated the cause of the slave in the face of power and interest, which broke down the wall of separation between the singular and even antagonist diversities of the human race, and placed “the son of the stranger upon an equality with the more favoured and cherished of her children. It was the only religion which ever established a company for the redemption of captives, even at the risk of their own liberty, and which, after an honourable existence of six hundred years, still survives the occasion for which it was created; the only religion in which piety and humanity have united to conquer the repugnance of our nature, and to congregate men of feeling hearts and enlightened minds within the dark caverns of the unhealthy mine, burying themselves alive within the bowels of the earth, in the sublime exercise of corporal and spiritual works of mercy to the wretched inmates of those dreary abodes, and whom the avarice of their fellow-men had condemned to this service of privation and misery.

It was the only religion that ever threw her mantle over the persecuted, the forlorn, and the unfortunate. Her voice was ever raised in their defence, and her laws were ever devised for their protection. She never failed to provide shelter and hospitality for the houseless traveller; the way-faring man of business, the prince, the prelate, and the pilgrim, all equally partook of the charity which the pious care of the faithful of old, had so munificently placed at the disposal of men bound by the most solemn compact to do good service to all comers; while the house of God, which they tenanted and served more especially, stood open to yield its

consolations where more was lacked than mere bodily rest and refreshment—that which might satisfy the cravings of the soul, heal the scathed spirit, and ease the burdened conscience. Even the most bold and indifferent, in those “ages of faith,” muttered a hasty *Pater* and *Ave*, and crossed themselves before they left the hospitable roof, and set forth upon their perilous way; while the sober and thoughtful made their more fervent orisons at the altar of God, offered up their griefs and their repentance, their hopes and their supplications, to the avenger of evil and the rewarder of good, the refuge of the weak and the comforter of the afflicted, that their pangs might be assuaged and their fears dispelled, claiming the protection of heaven, in the true feeling of a Christian, against the wiles of Satan and the machinations of wicked men; but more especially against the hazards with which those devout yet troubled times too often beset the path of the wanderer in this wilderness of sin and sorrow. There was a community of sentiment also between the casual guest and his hospitable hosts, which imparted such a consciousness of sympathy in all his feelings as infinitely to heighten the boon conferred upon him—which indeed seemed to be rather the immediate providence of heaven than the extorted charity of man,—and sent the pilgrim on his way with a hymn of gratitude to the giver of all good gifts, and of increased confidence in His favour.

It was the only religion that ever consecrated matrimony with a sacrament, or honoured celibacy as one of the first of virtues, remembering that the throne of the Lamb is surrounded by spotless virgins, who enjoy the blessed privilege of waiting on Him wherever he goeth.

It was the only religion that ever peopled the desert with anchorites, or filled the cloister with penitents from among the gay and dissolute; the only one that ever gained a barbarous people to civilization and Christianity; the only one that ever sent a tide of devoted warriors to stem the torrent of an infidel fanaticism which threatened to devastate the whole inheritance of Christ; the only one that ever converted a romantic lover into a true knight, or of a fanatic made a saint.

It was the religion that made Godfrey de Bouillon exclaim, in the gratitude of his triumph, that “he would never wear a crown of gold in that city wherein the Saviour of the world had worn a crown of thorns;” which induced Rodolphe of Hapsburgh, the sceptre not being at hand, to seize the



crucifix, saying, "This is my sceptre, I'll have no other;" and when Gregory VII thus expressed himself on his death-bed, surrounded as he was by every worldly sorrow, "Because I loved justice, and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile," that inspired a bystander to comfort him by the reply, "Sir, there is no place of exile for you, for the Lord hath given you the nations for your inheritance, and the boundaries of the earth for the limits of your dominion."

It was the only religion that ever knit all hearts together in blessed unity, which restrained the unlawful wanderings of the human mind, stifled schism in its birth, repressed error, reduced the loftiest spirits as well as the meanest understandings to a just obedience, established a happy sympathy between the greatest and the least, placed the prince and the peasant side by side on the bare pavement of her splendid temples, elevating the hopes of the one and depressing the pride of the other, and instructing both in that wholesome truth, that they worshipped a God who was no respecter of persons. It was the only religion that, by sound of anointed bell, has ever invited the poor husbandman to prayer before the rising of the sun, and has assembled him again at the termination of his labours, when crowds of pious and believing souls came to sanctify the declining day by filling the house of God with their holy chaunt, and proffering their supplications to heaven for protection till the coming morning.

It was the only religion that ever respected the censures of the Church, and exhibited to the Christian world the spectacle of a sovereign prince remaining for three hundred years without sepulture—as did Raymond of Toulouse—because he died under the ban of a spiritual attainder, the open enemy of God; the only one that ever produced a prelate bold enough to close the doors of the sanctuary against imperial majesty, considering even the presence of an emperor—the fountain of honour, the anointed of God, and the depository of his power—as a profane intrusion, when excluded, by his crimes, from the communion of the faithful.

It was the only religion which, at the voice of outraged virtue, ever shut her temples, hushed her bells, and made a whole people mourn in sackcloth and ashes, till the sins of their brethren were expiated in repentance; the only one that ever brought an offending sovereign to kneel in sorrow and humiliation as a suppliant for pardon at the feet of the common father of the faithful, the common protector of afflicted humanity.

It was the only religion in which the rights of the people were ever respected, and in which, for ten centuries and more, the canonical law, or at least imprescriptible usage, required their consent and cooperation in the election of bishops to govern the Church of God, and even in the appointment of the sovereign pontiff himself; and such was the confidence reposed in their decision, that *vox populi, vox Dei*, became a proverb; and this honourable privilege might have remained in their possession to this day, had not the vices with which they became infected, and the new order of things which grew up within the republic of Christendom, justly deprived them of it.

It was the only religion that could ever boast of the miraculous attestations of heaven in its favour, and which, in every age, has gone forth, and the signs have followed, casting out devils, speaking strange tongues, healing the sick, curing the lame, giving sight to the blind, and raising the dead to life.

It was the only religion that has ever sang the song of triumph over the solitary grave of a martyred missionary among the trackless deserts of the New World; and which, imparting fresh energies to their zeal, has carried the messengers of God with an heroic perseverance onwards in their enterprise, till, after incredible efforts and sacrifices, they at length reduced within the boundaries of civilization whole tribes of savage wanderers, almost as impatient of control as the wild beasts of the forests in which they dwelt, and converted them into a Christian republic, the most perfect that ever graced the annals of the human race.

It was the only religion that has ever carried the glad tidings of a crucified Redeemer among the empires of the east; among a people as singular for their civilization as for their obstinate repugnance to the light of the Gospel, and where religion, after struggling under alternate destinies for three hundred years, fertilizing the fields of Christianity with the blood of one hundred thousand martyrs,—numbers of them immolated under the most excruciating torments,—still presents attractions to the pious zeal of the missionary, who, at the peril of his life, brings succour to the persecuted and dispirited remnant of what were once so many flourishing provinces of the kingdom of God upon earth.\*

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\* In 1596, there were in China about half a million of Christians, with more than 250 churches; and in Japan, in 1715, 300,000 Christians, and 300 churches,

It was the only religion, which, by its love of labour, and its patient industry, has ever converted an arid desert into a fruitful garden, and reared the standard of the cross among the mountain tops,—that cross, “whose breadth is charity, whose length is eternity, whose height is almighty power, and whose depth is unsearchable wisdom,”—hallowing even the rugged summits of some desolate rock by transforming it into the abode of piety and virtue: or, which planting the sacred emblem of our redemption along the common thoroughfare, invited the weary pilgrim to offer up his sorrows on the altar of Calvary, to drop a tear of compunction for his share in that tragedy of woe, to slake his thirst at that fountain of life, and gather strength and joy through the merits and sufferings of his Saviour.

It was the only religion that ever enlisted a society of volunteers in the cause of charity, to do daily duty amidst the dreary regions of the Alps, within the limits of eternal snows and incessant storm, beyond the habitation of man, and the boundary line of vegetation—a society which a thousand years of ceaseless labour has not robbed of the fresh vigour of its youth, and which still affords shelter and protection from the dangers of those inhospitable climes to all who need it, let their creed or colour be what it may.

It was the religion which alone has adorned the calendar with its thousand saints,—with an Antony, a Benedict, a Bruno, a Bernard, a Dominic, a Francis, an Ignatius, a Xavier, a Vincent of Paula, a Boromeo, a Francis of Sales, and Philip Neri—men who are despised and dishonoured by the world, but who, if we estimate greatness by the only true criterion, the benefits conferred upon mankind—are infinitely superior to those who contemn them: so that well may we apply to them and to ourselves those prophetic words of wisdom, “we fools esteemed their life madness, and their end without honour: behold how they are numbered amongst the children of God, and their lot is among the saints!”

It was the religion in which “the covenant of the priesthood” has alone remained for ever in one unbroken line, verifying the promises of God to Peter, and, through Peter, to Peter’s successors, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of

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all through the indefatigable labours of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits.



heaven, whatever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," and then confirming the everlasting compact, by the assurance, "that heaven and earth should pass away, but that His word should not pass." Look at the singular verification of this great covenant in that eternal and mysterious city, which, serving for a thousand years as the capital of the last and most powerful of the five great empires, was appointed also as the spot wherein the grain of mustard-seed was to take root and grow into a tree, which, nourished by the blood of martyrs, soon covered with its shadow all the limits of the earth; a capital which, after the lapse of a few ages, in which the rising religion had to struggle for its ascendancy with all the powers and principalities of this world of pomp and vanity, and of the world of darkness and of Satan, was transferred to the sovereignty of him whose only claim was his rightful heritage from the poor fisherman Peter, who, in the pride of her imperial sway, had been barbarously and ignominiously crucified as a worthless and ignorant impostor. The heir of Peter, he was the only lawful depository of the "perpetual covenant," and which, for its blessed fulfilment under an over-ruling and Almighty Providence, he has faithfully transmitted to every succeeding generation; while the covenant itself, in eternal memorial of its divine origin, like that to which it had succeeded, written, as it were, upon the tablets of heaven by the finger of God in the great cathedral of Christendom, "the house of prayer for all nations!"\*—hangs suspended over the tomb of Peter,—over the very relics of the simple unlettered fisherman, to whom that covenant was made, with all the splendour of art and nature collected around to honour and adorn the most gorgeous temple ever erected to God, or the most superb monument ever raised over the remains of man! Can any one doubt, then, of the accomplishment of the prophetic pledge? Behold it verified to the letter in the material Church; while history, and the attesting faith of one hundred and fifty millions of Christians dispersed throughout the universe, yet all professing allegiance to this same successor of Peter,—with those who first afflicted her bowing down to her, and those who slandered her worshipping the steps of her feet, and calling the city of Peter the city of the Lord—all proclaim its verification in the spiritual!†

Such being the characteristics of the religion which pre-

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\* Isaias, lvi. 7.

† See Isaias, lv. 14.

veiled in these islands previous to their fatal separation from the centre of Christendom, it is clear that we must look to other causes for the miseries which, even then, too frequently afflicted the land: nor need we go far in our investigation for the discovery. For it was not the Lord who had "deceived this people, saying: you shall have peace: and behold the sword reacheth even to the soul."\* Sin alone will account for all. It had driven our first parents from a paradise of happiness into a wilderness of sorrow; had so dimmed the knowledge of good and evil, that it was with difficulty discerned by a generation now become the children of wrath, and whose corruption at length was such, that only a universal deluge could cleanse the earth from the foul pollution. Notwithstanding this signal vengeance of a repenting Maker upon a whole world, sin again recommenced its ravages, and the depravity was so spread, that, even the chosen people of God were too often infected with the leprosy, and too often became obnoxious to the devastating scourge of heaven. Levi himself was "a vessel of iniquity;"—from him descended Aaron and the priesthood, which, in the end, crowned the measure of their crimes, by condemning and crucifying the Messiah, who had won a title to their faith by the most stupendous miracles, and whom it was their duty to acknowledge and proclaim as their king and Saviour.

Sin it was that had so hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that the signs and wonders wrought for his conversion, but rendered him the more perverse and obdurate,—that had driven even the race most favoured by God into bondage, delivered them into the hands of the spoilers, and cut them off to a mere remnant,—that had all but reduced man to the condition of the brute beast,—that had called down fire and brimstone from heaven to make a smoking holocaust of whole cities to appease the excited vengeance of the Most High,—that had caused innumerable wars, and all their attendant miseries,—that had raised the vanity of one man to be expiated by the destruction of seventy thousand of his people,—that for three whole years had denied rain to the earth, so that there was a grievous famine,—that had destroyed the temple of God, and profaned the sacred vessels in the service of Baal,—and which, after immolating the Son of God in its impious fury as a blasphemer against heaven, adored an idol of Jupiter on the very spot on which he rose

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\* Jeremias, iv. 10.

from the dead, and erected a statue of Venus on the site on which the Creator of mankind was crucified for the sins of men! Neither did the expiation of past sins check the multiplication of new ones; and, ever since the birth of Christianity, the history of the world has still been but a succession of offences against heaven, and a series of just chastisements from God. We have still seen "in the place of judgment, wickedness, and in the place of justice iniquity;" we have still "walked in the way of the nations which the Lord had destroyed;" we have still been an obdurate and stiff-necked people, turning away our hearts and deceiving ourselves with error; we have still seen the people of God oppressed, and good "men fall before the children of iniquity;" we have ever been the friends of this world, and the enemies of Christ, and the obedient servants of sin unto death—so that there has been no cessation from crime, but for ever the same abundant cause for that beautiful and pathetic prayer of Tobias and Sara: "O Lord, take not vengeance of our sins, neither remember our offences, nor those of our parents." What marvel then, that, from time to time, the hand of God fell heavy on us and that evils and afflictions found us? It would indeed have been an undeserved mercy if they had not.

Let us now consider the character of the religion which succeeded to that, of which we have endeavoured to trace a faint outline, and which had well nigh existed for a thousand years in these realms, and then see whether this new order of things was not even a fresh kindling of the wrath of God, and a still heavier chastisement for our sins, rather than a boon from Him, "who openeth his hand, and filleth with blessing every living creature;" whether it were not, of its very self, a curse that blighted wherever it touched, and an awful and distinctive token of the malediction of Heaven—a malediction that carried with it this most miserable judgment also, that while it punished for past offences, it excited to new ones, so that the sinner has never ceased to add sin to sin.\* Though, in its course, Protestantism swelled into a very deluge, which, for a time, swept everything before it, both the altar and the throne; changing Carmel into a wilderness; converting a pleasant garden, abounding in many virtues, into a moral waste overgrown with thorns and briars; driving faith, hope, and charity, from the sanctuary; and leaving us, even to this day, with "a land of closed churches, hushed

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\* Wisdom, iii. 29.



bells, unlighted altars, unstoled priests, as if the kingdom were under an interdict;”—yet, all this came not at once, though it all sprang but from one sin. Like the fall of Adam, the unbridled passion of Henry cast its deadening shade over a whole empire, infused its poison into the veins of a whole race, and verified to the letter that awful denunciation of divine vengeance, that “an unwise king shall be the ruin of his people.”

True it is, that this “first-born son of the Reformation,” came not in peace but with a sword, and was indeed born for the fall of many; for he it was, who, by severing the unity of the Church, removed the key-stone from the arch, and exposed the whole structure to certain ruin: it tottered for a few short moments under the feeble props, which a spurious and unnatural exercise of the power so lately usurped could supply, and then sunk into an utter and undistinguishable wreck.

Once that the covenant with Peter was violated, the only secure foundation for unity was torn up, and, though every possible effort was made to repair it, no ingenuity could devise a substitute. The pride of innovation proved greater than its power; and act after act was in vain passed for “the repression and extirpation of all errors, heresies, and other enormities;” “for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of the realm;” for abolishing “*diversity of opinions*,” for establishing “the most perfect unity and concord in all things, and in especial in the true faith and religion of God;” and, though the whole power of the tiara was transferred to the crown,—which power the crown was nothing loth to exercise; and though it was backed by the civil authorities, with fire and faggot at their command,—of which too, they in their turn, were not slack to avail themselves; still diversity of opinions sprang up on all sides, and never ceased to occupy—often to elude—all the vigilance of the royal inquisitor, and to baffle the most barbarous execution of the law. But the authority which was powerless for good, was soon found to be most apt for mischief, and the tyrannical and unflinching disposition of him who wielded it, acting upon the dastardly subserviency of the great ones of the land,—the caitiff descendants of the proud barons of England,—for the first time, in the history of the country, laid all the liberties of the kingdom (which had been won with such

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\* Faber's Foreign Churches.

heroic resistance to arbitrary sway) prostrate at the feet of the monarch, giving equal force to the proclamation of the sovereign and the parliamentary law of the realm. Nay, so abjectly submissive, so passively obedient, did they become under the dawn of their new illuminations, and under the plastic hand of power, that they even passed a step in advance, and invested the *counsellors* of the king's successor, if he were under age, with the right of setting forth proclamations in his name, of the same authority as if issued by the king himself: and it was in virtue of this very act that the religion of the late reign was supplanted; that all the diversities of opinions, the errors, heresies, and other enormities which sacrificed the unity of the Church, the peace and tranquillity of the realm, and deluged it with irreligion, impiety, and sacrilege, were accomplished, during the minority of the infant sovereign who had succeeded to his more imperious, but less inconsistent father.

It was indeed to little purpose to pray to be delivered from schism, as they were ordered to do in the Litany of 1535, when they had wilfully run headlong into it; or, that all "perverse sects" might be avoided, when they had opened the broad road for their admission; or, that they might "withstand the frauds and snares of their ghostly enemy," when they themselves had set the toils; or, that they might "die in the very true Catholic faith," when they had not only most solemnly protested against it, and bound themselves by oath to abide in another, but had made the very profession of it high treason against the State! For is it not written, that "the hope of the hypocrite shall perish" through His appointment "Who maketh a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people?" And thus again did they earn the recompense that awaited them, and "the congregation of hypocrites was made desolate." That desolation came indeed with a rapid and appalling vengeance. It rent the veil of the sanctuary, but it had no better covenant to establish in its place. No, the covenant of God, the inheritance of Christ, his seamless coat, the pillar and the ground of truth, was treated with as little ceremony as an antiquated building grown out of date and taste,—like one of those fashions which this capricious world of ours has decked herself out withal for a season, and then discarded as something of which it had grown weary because it lacked novelty, and which they had as good a right to change as to change the fancy of their vain apparel. What had, therefore, been venerated for its antiquity, for its ma-

jestic comeliness, its beauteous splendour, its happy adaptation to its purposes, for the associations which had grown up around it, and to which every succeeding age added new charms, and imparted a new interest, became despoiled of half its glory, contracted in all its fair proportions, and profaned in its most holy rites.

To give zest to the meagre fare which was now served up to the religious appetites of the people, in lieu of the sumptuous feast to which they had been hitherto accustomed, that discarded Church which had heretofore provided it with such a lavish hand, became the object of the bitterest antipathy. The dark unfeeling zealots, and ravenous extortioners, who were dividing the land between fanaticism and infidelity, "knew full well that the sword of the law could not have been wielded, with such deadly effect, against the holy and ancient religion of these islands, if that religion had not first been decried, abused, and maligned, until it appeared to the multitude a very moral monster. 'From the sole of its foot,' like its divine founder, 'to the top of its head, there was no soundness in it;' it was buffeted, abused, spit upon; it was covered with a mantle of derision; it was scourged, and drenched with vinegar and gall; the water of affliction entered into its very soul; and it was, when thus disfigured by a clamorous rabble, and seemingly abandoned by God, that the bigots and the fanatic cried out to the agents of the law and the sword,—'away with it, away with it.'"

Having crucified it, they buried it, and esteemed it dead, but, after a long sleep, it has risen, like its divine author, from the tomb: and God grant that the sower may again cast the good seed around! May he open rivers in the high hills, and fountains in the midst of the plains; may he turn the desert into pools of water, and the impassable land into streams! and may he plant in the wilderness the cedar and the thorn, and the myrtle, and the olive tree!\* May they again grow and flourish, and cast their shadow over the length and breadth of the land; and may the desolate cities be again inhabited! The consequence of this total alienation from the ancient creed, was a new order of things, that left nothing wherewith the imagination might assist the reason; no associations, no reminiscences; the poetry of religion driven from her precincts, the mysteries of faith departing from her, no warmth of affection in her heart, and, consequently, no

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\* *Isaias*, xli. and liv.



glowing devotion in her prayers. It tore itself asunder from all former feelings and prepossessions; rendered the beautiful history of the English Church no better than a tale of fancy, and pronounced a verdict of condemnation against the greatest men that the nation ever produced, as well as against those to whom it was most deeply indebted. Not content with this state of internal desolation, it cut itself off from all sympathy with the rest of Christendom, and such was the fatuity by which the religious counsels of the country were thenceforth governed, that she appeared to be handed over to a judicial blindness in just punishment for her sins, a blindness which she has too faithfully transmitted from generation to generation: for, her subsequent story has never presented one interesting feature; exercising no influence beyond her own isolated territories; undertaking no enterprise, either in the cause of civilization, or Christianity; adding nothing to the store of religious knowledge, or of ecclesiastical history, but, on the contrary, manifestly retrograding in her course. As a member of the Christian community, she was a withered and lifeless branch, stirred only, from time to time, by the strife of her own internal dissensions. Usually sunk in apathy and indifference, she has been only roused to a knowledge of her own existence, by the spirit of angry contention within her own bosom; and, even here, she has been ever governed by external circumstances which belonged to the wretched concerns and interests of this world, and not of the next. In her infancy she cared little for doctrine or principle, provided she went wide enough from Rome, and established sufficient safeguards for the protection of the plunder which the abettors of the change were then enjoying; and, with this object in view, hostility to Rome was her best and surest resource. When the remembrance of Rome had been well nigh obliterated by a century of active persecution, the fears of a reaction in favour of the ancient creed, became a less powerful agent than the apprehension of an advance in the cause of innovation; for, Puritanism was beginning its work, driving on its approaches both against Church and State, undermining all authority, both civil and religious, and threatening universal anarchy and confusion. A return to better principles was the obvious policy of all who felt an interest in averting the impending evil, or who venerated any of the established institutions of the country. It was not, therefore, surprising that an attempt should be made to infuse a new spirit into the Church, if it were only as an object of human

policy ; and to strengthen itself by drawing closer its alliance with the State, was its first and most natural impulse. The theory of the divine right of kings, and of passive obedience to their authority, was exalted into an article of Christian faith, and employed as the engine most suitable to the purpose. For, with all its licentiousness of principle, breaking through all the trammels which had hitherto restrained the capricious exercise of the human mind, overleaping all the landmarks which their fathers had set, wandering into the wild regions of fancy, and emancipating itself from the thralldom of spiritual authority, the new religion was not only as positive in its dogmas, and as determined to enforce them, as the religion it had supplanted, but actually introduced one doctrine, while it discarded many which had long been held by all,—which no sect, or denomination of Christians had ever yet defined as an article of faith,—a blind and passive obedience to the temporal sovereign. The identity of Church and State was a principle most serviceable to both, and each was but too anxious to enhance the power and privileges of the other. The natural tendency of this condition of things was an approach to the more substantial, better defined, better understood, and more comprehensive doctrines which had been overthrown, or remodeled, under circumstances which drove the new teaching to seek excuses for its transgressions in the necessities of the times, in which a spirit of protestation against Rome was the leading principle, and which almost alone governed it in its decisions, during the period of transition and separation. The attempt, however, was a signal failure, and the external energies of a new and fanatical sect, carried the day over a frail and tottering system, which evinced symptoms of decay in its very infancy, and which soon lost its force when it abandoned the only principles by which it could possibly retain it. From the restoration, to the final extinction of exclusion and persecution on account of religious opinions, the Anglican Church lay like a dismantled log upon the waters, disfiguring the fair ocean by its unsightly bulk—a serious injury to other craft, and wholly incapable of righting itself. During this melancholy period of death-like inertness, she seems to have reduced Christianity, as far as possible, to the standard of heathenism. There was neither reliance on, nor respect for authority ; her doctrines were a paradox, and, for aught that any one believed of them, they might as well have been the mythology of the Greeks ; her revenues were a mere maintenance for the priesthood ;

her festivals only an occasion for feasting and display; while she was wholly bereft of any real influence over the faith or morals of the people, and performed a very secondary part amongst the social or political relations of the kingdom. But this moral sleep was not to endure for ever, and, during these latter days, a long period of peace, ever favourable for calm religious inquiry, a more intimate and friendly intercourse with other countries, and a general stir in the Christian world, have conspired to turn her attention upon herself again, upon her own inanimate condition, and induce her to endeavour to inspire fresh vigour into her system, and raise herself to a more elevated sphere in the religious commonwealth. Yet, after every attempt, how little has been achieved; and, whatever commendations may be due to the actors in this work of regeneration, we must still predict its utter failure, because of the natural and radical defects of the principles upon which they work; and, when the heat of this singular controversy is over within the bosom of a Church which has adopted unity of belief as an essential token of truth, and which has fenced its creed with all the powers at its command—the powers of the earth, pains, penalties, and disabilities; a controversy carried on by the most learned and most dignified of her sons, and one which has well nigh engaged the whole kingdom within the lists, and embroiled even the least contentious in the dispute, who can say that the cause of truth will have advanced even by a single step? Thus hath the modern Church of these realms been ever travelling on the confines of two worlds, the one of folly, the other of wisdom; too often does she cross the borders to the former, never does she enter the latter. Her language, too, partakes of the character of her conduct; it is one which none can understand farther than as it betrays the troubled and feverish condition in which she finds herself.

From the clear, distinct, and definite ideas attached to the authoritative decisions of the Catholic Church, and which ever held her in a real and practical unity both of faith and discipline throughout the land, and joined her in communion with all the orthodox and united Churches in the world, we must now fain be content with “the ambiguous formularies,” as they call them, of the wretched system which has been substituted in its stead. They themselves tell us of the “perplexing embarrassment” so prevalent amongst them on doctrinal points; we hear of nothing but “the perplexity of controversy;” of “conflicting opinions;” of articles which,



as to any intelligible meaning, are still in a state of transition; and after a discussion of three hundred years, as little likely to find any fixed interpretation as if they had never been discussed at all; the Church not knowing how even “strictly to determine the number of the sacraments,”—those “justifying rites, or instruments of communicating the atonement;”—and of a new “understanding of the Church and her system, in a way different from one of late popular.” The doctrines of eternal truth are still fashioned according to “the necessities of the times;” the whole Church is divided within itself into High and Low,—at one time imbued with a spirit of Erastianism, at another, with Calvinism; while a *via media* is recommended by some as a cure for all her evils,—for “doctrines popularly misunderstood,” for “internal disunion paralyzing her efforts, and wasting her energies.” They tell us of her “maimed condition;” of her want of holiness sufficient to mark her out visibly as a true living branch of the holy Church;” of her possessing perhaps “the rudiments of every thing, but *nothing* developed, so that it should at once be ‘manifest’ to all, ‘that God is in her of a truth;’” of “ manifold divisions amongst themselves, contending upon points which they, on one side at least, state to be fundamental,”—“bandying about the name of heresy,”—and “casting out the names ‘of brethren’ as evil;” of “the impossibility of understanding each other, or making themselves understood;” of a state “more like the confusion of Babel,” than that “city which is at unity in itself,” and “in which it was promised that there should be one speech and one language;” of “the laity having, thus far, no living guide, ‘the lips of the priest,’ not ‘teaching knowledge’ for them,—for persons whom they alike respect, teach them differently, and one of the two great classes of teachers tells them often that the other is in fatal error;” of “our poor frail nature (being) fretted often, instead of being humbled, by what is so unseemly,” so “that persons have difficulty in recognizing a Church so disturbed, as the representative of her who is ‘the pillar and the ground of truth;’” of her “not possessing the note of holiness, so as at once, and without all doubt, to allay people’s misgivings about her apostolic character;” of one party in the church “stigmatizing the other as ‘the troublers of Israel;’” of “the censures or admonitions of their bishops tending rather to unsettle persons in their Church, than to convince and correct;” of “antagonist principles” at work in the same body, and yet schism considered as no sin—dissension as no evil token.

We hear the working of one party declared by the other to be "tending to re-establish error rather than truth,"—her ministers to be "the instruments of Satan, to hinder the true principles of the gospel," "on the very verge of an apostacy from Christ," and "as teaching another gospel," and consequently "that they ought to leave the Church," in which they were so teaching; "that nothing but evil came from them,"—"defacing the brightest glory of the Church, by forgetting the continued presence of her Lord," and fit only to be "singled out from the rest of our Lord's flock, as diseased and tainted sheep, who must be kept separate from the rest, lest they be corrupted." They tell us that their "intestine divisions (are) such that they disagree among themselves what the doctrines of the Church are, even as to the very sacrament whereby persons are made members of it;" of "their miserable disunion, and want of discipline;" of "their present confusion and disagreement as to the first principles of their Church, and their practical contradictions or neglect of them," so that for the present at least "she can be no spectacle of a Church 'holding the faith in the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace,' and that unity and peace seem to be the last characteristics which belong to her;" that the real teaching of the Church is not to be discerned amidst the multitude of opinions and teachings of her ministers, so that those who constitute the "mighty movement now swelling month by month, day by day, within the Church, have received a sectarian name, in itself a blot upon the Church,"—while they whose office it is to guide that movement into its legitimate channel, and to witness the doctrines of the Church, have allowed the leaders and abettors of that movement "to be entitled 'heretics,' for vindicating an article of the creed, and left it undetermined whether (these) or they who opposed that teaching, spake the mind of the Church," while "the chaos of conflicting opinions rolled onwards" unarrested. "What wonder," exclaims the original leader of the movement, and we exclaim with him, "if some are faint-hearted whether our Lord be in the vessel, which is not only so tempest-tost, but whose very ship-men and pilots are so disunited, how or whither to guide her, 'neither sun nor stars appearing.'" And all this is but a consequence of the change.\* What more has she gained yet? Out of her own

\* See the charges of the bishops of Durham, Chester, Gloucester, Winchester, Calcutta, and of the archbishop of Dublin, as quoted and commented on in the Rev. Dr. Pusey's letter to the archbishop of Canterbury.

mouth shall we still condemn her: "Our vine," say they, "has been burnt with fire and cut down; our heathen populations; the extent of schism among us; fresh and fresh divisions, drawing away some of our more earnest members; our internal disunion, paralyzing our efforts, and wasting our energies; the fewness of those who share in works of piety, or charity; our greediness of gain, in order to minister to our luxuries; the indifference about holy things openly professed; the absence of any high standard, or dislike to it; the appalling strides of a lawless infidelity; these, and much besides, are saddening proofs of a past and present winter."\* Again, "it may be confessed, that a secular temper came gradually over the Church during the last century, which was but little abated at the earliest part of this, and of which we have too many traces still. In earlier days, we never heard of self-denial, or any of the harder duties, even when collections were made for objects of charity; 'sacrifices' was a name unknown; every thing was on an easy footing; decency and propriety were the standards and substitutes for holiness; daily advancement seemed scarcely contemplated as possible; to live under rule was unthought of; fasting was apparently expiring, and hanging upon the lives of those elder members of families, who yet kept one or two of the most solemn yearly fasts; daily service was being fast given up, even in our towns, for want of worshippers; even in the resorts of those who had leisure, the very service in Lent was often broken in upon, because two or three could not be brought together. In the country, Good Friday itself was in whole districts neglected; catechizing disused; what discipline we might exercise, and training of the young neglected; our people grew wild, and most of what was earnest in the lower ranks fell into dissent. In whole districts, to belong to a new zealous sect was the very badge of spiritual life; to belong to the Church, was to be accounted lifeless. Communion was withdrawn from sight, and our 'daily bread' offered perhaps twice or thrice in the year. More are thought to have commemorated his precious death, in sects who knew of no further blessedness in the Holy Eucharist, than in the Church, which taught that thereby, 'he dwelleth in us, and we in him.' Doctrine and practice declined together; the true doctrine was forgotten; the service became cold and few came; religious fervour seemed to be out of the Church rather than

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\* Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, p. 176, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.



within it. What would now seem almost laxity, was then accounted to constitute men 'saints;' religion was never spoken of, nor common topics spoken of religiously; our final account seemed to be forgotten among the one sort, in the other, a 'judgment according to our works' was denied; measures of duty, teaching, ends, motives, hopes, seemed alike earthly, or, on the other hand, men were called upon to rely upon a Redeemer's blood, without being taught *how* to 'follow the blessed steps of his most holy life.' On one side was a foundation with nothing built thereon; on the other, a lowly building;—well perhaps that it was so, since it had no foundation. Even they who professed to be most unworldly, seemed to have their eyes fixed on some mere outward manifestations, or haunts of worldliness; to be lopping some 'uppermost branches,' not laying the axe to the root; expediency was the standard of popular morality; religious education, church building, and works of charity, were at a stand, so that if any one gave on a larger scale, he became a sort of witness against the world; efforts for the conversion of the heathen, were carried on more extensively by sects than by the Church; indevotion, was shown by complaints of the length of the service; unspirituality, by the continued proposals to alter it. In the state our empire was our idol: while fifty millions were year by year expended on war, not one five-hundredth could be obtained for one year for a religious purpose: the preferment, as it was called, of the Church, was matter of open state negociation and bribery, so that a minister of the crown who disposed of it conscientiously, became, on this ground only, an object of admiration; we were ashamed to own, in the presence of our heathen subjects, that we were Christians, paid military respect to their idols, and denied our knowledge of our own God; the thought of sending out a bishop to India produced a panic; he entered it almost as a thief; he who was to bear the banner of the cross, was 'obliged to get him by stealth into the city' over which he was to preside, 'as people being ashamed steal away when they flee in battle:' at home, a celebrated statesman could venture to make it a ground of objection to a measure, that it would promote 'too much religion,' and was listened to; our very clergy seemed often more afraid of 'over-much' religion, than of over-little; their own claims, when they felt them, they seemed mostly to rest on their education, their birth, their manners, their kindness, anything but the apostolic commission they bore from God! Of their

two great sections, the one seemed to maintain the skeleton of a traditional system, holding truth often as a negation of other truth, (as, baptismal regeneration to plead against the necessity of change in life); the other, despairing that 'these dry bones' could 'live,' betook themselves to a system foreign to our Church, formed themselves in the writings of the nonconformists, and so were often themselves driven into dissent, finding their teaching akin to it, not to the formularies of the Church. They sympathized more with those without the Church, than with those within, and were themselves, as they have sometimes owned, on the very verge of dissent. Of the sacraments, to use the language of an elder familiar with this school, 'the one was denied, the other regarded as a means of religious excitement.' One must even fear, that the dislike and disuse of the Athanasian Creed, argued a deeper disease, than the unwillingness to take up its anathemas, since one heard at the same time of the simplicity of the Christian religion, its reasonableness, in other words, its want of mystery."

"One may recite all this, which is only a specimen of much more that remains untold, though one must recite it with aching heart and shame of face."\*

Let us now hear him who at first stood second on the list, but from being second is now first, having passed the original leader of the movement, as being perchance better qualified for the task, and having lately presented a splendid proof of his ingenuousness and sincerity: speaking, in his Introduction to his famous Tract, No. 90, of the actual condition of the Church of England, after a chequered existence of three hundred years, but at a period, when, if ever, she should have been walking in the ways of peace and light, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of this peaceful and enlightened age: and yet what are his views? "It is a very serious truth," says he, "that persons and bodies who put themselves into a disadvantageous state, cannot at their pleasure extricate themselves from it. They are unworthy of it; they are in prison, and Christ is the keeper. There is but one way towards a real reformation,—a return to Him in heart and spirit, *whose sacred truth they have betrayed*; . . . our Church's strength would be irresistible, humanly speaking, *were it but at unity with itself*: if it remains divided, part against part, we shall see the energy which was meant to subdue the

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\* Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. 1842.

world preying upon itself, according to our Saviour's express assurance, that such a house 'cannot stand.' . . . Till we are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church sit still; let her children be content to be in bondage; let us work in chains; let us submit to our imperfections as a punishment; let us go on teaching through the medium of *indeterminate statements, and inconsistent precedents*, and principles but partially developed.\* We are not better than our fathers;—let us not faint under that *body of death* which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them." Another, and a very reverential personage, and a very eminent partizan of this movement, has favoured us with the following commentary upon these observations, and which tend still more to develop the real and radically inefficient character of the Established Church—of a Church without law or grace. "Is Mr. Newman," says Mr. Ward, "(so cautious and guarded in his statements as all admit him to be,) is he to be supposed to use words of such unprecedented strength as these, *without meaning and at random?* Or, is it conceivable that he could use them, if he thought our articles fair and adequate exponents of Catholic truth? How could he speak and think as he does of the English Reformation, if he supposed that the formulary then *originated*, was even *as* naturally susceptible of Catholic as of Protestant interpretation? No! he would acknowledge, and apprehend, that as it has been expressed, while it is *patient* of a Catholic, it is *ambitious* of a Protestant sense; that, while it was never intended to *exclude* Catholics, it was written by, and in the spirit of Protestants; that in consequence of it, the English Church *seems* at least to give an uncertain sound; that she fails in one of her very principal duties, that of witnessing plainly and directly to Catholic truth; that she *seems* to include whom she ought to repel, to teach what she is bound to anathematize; and, that it is difficult to estimate the amount of responsibility she year by year incurs, on account of those (claiming, as many of them do, our warm love for a zeal, and earnest piety worthy of a purer faith) who remain buried in the darkness of Protestant error, because she fails in her duty of holding clearly forth to them the light of Gospel truth."†

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\* Or as it was expressed in the first edition, "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies."

† "A few words more in support of No. 90."



Was such language ever used? was it possible it ever *could* be used towards the ancient Church of these realms? But to that which has supplanted it, it applies with all the force of indisputable truth. Such, then, are her gains by the change! and such is the condition of the Anglican Church, as painted by those of her children who know her best, but which it is yet the boast and pride of most modern Englishmen to uphold as a model of perfection, and to glory in having substituted for the superstitions—as they, in their frenzy and delusion, call them—of the olden time.

Even more has she gained still! A measure of grace which is weighed by the justice, not by the mercy of God, and which gives no fruit to their labours. The very endeavours to rouse the sullen frame produce but a feverish excitement, a quicker circulation, a higher pulse, more present vigour, ending, as heretofore, in still greater debility for the future: and this indeed is the natural consequence of stimulants misapplied through ignorance of the disorder. Yet stimulants are not the only remedies prescribed, for there are many physicians, each with his own nostrum, and each with his own patients, though all items of the same great aggregate, while the variety of recipes create a strange conflict in her constitution. Greater and better men are needed for the work, but the people's sins and the vengeance of heaven yet interpose, making them still "bondmen of error," and delivering them over as victims to the "contradiction of tongues." Who, then, should bear to sit quiet in such a state? For is not their Church, according to their own showing, like a plague-stricken city, which all should make haste to quit who would not fall a prey to the pestilence? "The stars of heaven, and their brightness, display (not) their light (for her), the sun (is) darkened in his rising, nor does the moon shine with her light:"\* that is, there is no longer "a sign among them," neither a column of cloud by day, nor a pillar of fire by night, so that the light of faith hath departed from them, and without faith there is no grace, and without grace there is no virtue. "The ways are made desolate; no one passeth by the road; the covenant is made void; he hath rejected the cities, and the land hath mourned:" and yet they remain within her as unconcerned as if the atmosphere were as pure as the heavens, and withal as full of confidence, contentment, and peace, as if the lamb were dwelling securely

with the wolf, the leopard were lying down with the kid, and the calf, the lion, and the sheep, were abiding together, so that a little child might lead them! Whereas the great rebellion against God of which we are speaking, was "the lifting up of the banner upon the dark mountain," gathering together all the passions of men "to lay the land desolate," "as a destruction from the Lord." It hushed the voice of prayer in a thousand sanctuaries, and made them over to the screaming of the bat, the croaking of the raven, and the hooting of the owl; verifying all the denunciations in which the judgment of heaven was pronounced upon sinful man, even when sin was done almost as much in ignorance as in wilfulness: "the house of our holiness and our glory, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt with fire, and all our lovely things are turned into ruins;"....the sanctuaries of God shall be "a ruinous heap of stones;..... and owls shall answer one another there, in the houses thereof;..... and the raven shall dwell in them;..... and thorns and nettles shall grow up in its houses;" and where there were a thousand vines, the place is now filled with thorns and briars. All this was accomplished to the letter: and the land was indeed desolate and forsaken, and a spectacle to the rest of Christendom. The asylum of peace and holiness became "a mouldering arch, and desecrated wall;" the refuge of the poor was no longer to be found; the churches were shut, the bells were silent, the holy places defaced; good men's bones cast out of their graves; the shrines plundered; the ashes of the saints scattered to the winds; the altars overturned, learning discouraged, piety decayed, infidelity rampant, and religion a very Babel of confusion!

Was all this done in envy of the ancient faith? Was it, that they would trample it under foot, because it was so beautiful? that they would destroy what they despaired to emulate? that they would despoil it of its treasures, because they knew not how to value them? that they would cut off their people from the best affections of the heart—from those heavenly consolations which seclusion alone can supply and nourish, that most precious balm for a wounded spirit, that blessed intercession of peaceful holiness for a sad and sinful world—not that they might transfer such heavenly privileges to themselves, for they knew neither how to prize them nor how to use them, but that they would not suffer the earth to be gladdened with joys, which *they* had not a soul to relish? All this was done, because what *was* done, was done in utter

recklessness of consequences, by those who led and profited by the sacrilege, and who, for the accomplishment of their ends, set all the worst passions of our nature in hostility to heaven,—avarice, craftiness, malice, and impiety, which then exercised a most bitter tyranny over the souls of men;—such was their sin, and such was their excuse! But now, when the lust of plunder has been laid at rest, not because it was satiated, but because there were no more spoils to covet, and the delirium so long sustained by the apprehension of a compulsory restitution of the ill-gotten wealth has long since passed away, and liberated our reason from its thralldom; what but a judicial fatuity can it be that still unites a whole people in such resolute opposition against every effort for the restoration of their lost blessings? Are they not herein abandoned by God to a spirit of blindness and of error? And may we not believe that the very judgment of heaven against the Jews, announced through the prophet Isaias, has fallen upon them also? “Go, said the Lord, and thou shalt say to this people: hearing, hear, and understand not: and see the vision and know it not. Blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted and I heal them.” For is not the law of God as clear now as when it was declared, that “the ways of God are so plain that even fools shall not err therein?” or as when it was said, “This is the way, walk ye in it: and go not aside, neither to the right hand nor to the left”? or as when it was promised, that “the heart of fools should understand knowledge, and the tongue of stammerers should speak readily and plain?” Is not this blindness, then, too clearly another kindling of wrath for the sins of our forefathers, which have so afflicted the spirit of His Holy One, that He is turned to be our enemy, and fights against us? For is not our whole history, since this fatal rebellion against truth, a history of sin and shame, which has left a heavy legacy of repentance to us, but of the obligations of which we are still unconscious?

The great unruly torrent of the sixteenth century, which, in a day, uprooted the united labours of many ages, was indeed a second deluge, not for the sudden destruction of one generation alone, but sweeping away the souls of men as quickly as they succeeded each other, for a period of time which still endures, and the termination of which, even after three hundred years of expiation, is known only to Him who afflicts us



for the sins of our fathers and our own, until we confess our iniquities, and the iniquities of our ancestors, whereby they have transgressed against him, and walked contrary to him.\* And thus are we still visited with “the day of revenge;” and “who shall accuse thee, O Lord, if the nations perish which thou hast made?” “for thou shalt be justified in thy words, and shalt overcome when thou art judged.”

Another consequence of the change, and a very important one too, has been, that it has disconnected its followers from all the saints and sages of venerable antiquity, and thrown us upon a dreary waste, in which the eye is refreshed neither by flower nor by fruit. It has cut them off from all affinity and relationship with any one saint in the calendar, whether native or foreign; from “spirits without a home and without a name” on earth, but who have inherited “an everlasting name” in the imperishable home of the blessed, for whom altars have been erected in every department of Christendom, and whose memories are enshrined in the hearts of all true believers. And what an unenviable position to be in! unable to claim any share in the glory of these illustrious saints—with as wide a gulph between them, as between Lazarus and Dives—compelled to acknowledge the value, but without any partnership in the property—unworthy and unwilling to worship in the same temples in which *they* proffered their holy orisons, and in which *they* sacrificed the adorable mysteries, (unless perchance desecrated by the overthrow of both shrine and altar)—they are condemned to stand aloof in silent admiration at the crowds of faithful votaries who daily come to supplicate their intercession, with a devotion to which *they* remain wholly insensible. Should they not feel humiliated at the spectacle? Should it not startle them into reflection on the cause?—that they should find strangers, where they ought to meet brethren—that they alone should be sceptics, where all others are true believers? Why! it is a blessed thing to be associated with such beings, even in the humble position of suitors for their protection. What a wayward spirit must have taken possession of their minds, that they see it not! Hath not the Lord, in his wrath, mingled for them the spirit of a deep sleep, and shut up their eyes?† How, otherwise, should they not discern the futility of their principles, which they declare to be calculated for unity and Catholicity? For are they not disunited everywhere, even

\* See Levit. xxvi.

† Isaias xxix. 10.

in their own house ; and are they not Catholics only amongst themselves ? Let them but pass the limits of their own shores, and they are at once strangers in the land ; they encounter an angel with a flaming sword at the gate of every sanctuary, because driven from the blessed plains of paradise in virtue of their disobedience, they are condemned to hard and unprofitable labour amongst the thorns and briars, and to wander like outcasts upon the face of the earth. Victims to their infidelity, they are alike aliens to a stedfast faith, as to a quiet conscience, and are become the inheritors of a vineyard, which ever baffles their skill and refuses its produce. Every hand is against them, and their hand is against every other ; their days are days of warfare, and the battle never ceases within their borders.

Even when at her best, there is something so little about the interests and concerns of a mere national, isolated Church, in comparison with the gigantic concerns of the universal, that the thought of her must ever fall short of satisfying the mind, or filling the heart, as it is in the nature of our being, that they should desire to be filled and satisfied. Rome, on the other hand, has ever commanded a mysterious reverence, which, even in the days of temporal oppression and humiliation, has won her the sympathies of the world, and pointed to her as the future hope and refuge of all that was good and virtuous. The imagination ever lingers over her as on a sunny and a sacred spot ; the cradle of Christianity, the nurse of empires both spiritual and temporal, the mother and guide of all the faithful in all the domains of God ; fertilized by the blood of martyrs, sanctified by the piety of confessors, and rejoiced by the penitence of sinners. Armed with privileges, and with power never entrusted to any other city, with power to bind or to loose, to bless or to curse, the limits of her dominion circumscribed only by the utmost boundaries of the earth, with all the nations under the sun for her inheritance, she stands unrivalled and alone. Yet, all participation in the glory of this spiritual and mysterious kingdom, has England likewise forfeited by her apostacy.

Even in matters of smaller moment, how strikingly are not the characteristics of the two religions portrayed ! In Catholicity, the most delightful associations, like so many cherished friends, follow and accompany you at every step, as you advance in her long and varied course—the presiding genius over music, painting and sculpture ; over history, eloquence, poetry, and philosophy. While Protestantism, dating

only from a period of unrivalled excellence in the arts, has, nevertheless, nearly, if not entirely, discarded them from her service: she cleared the landscape of all its beauties, and left it cold, dull, dreary, and desolate. Contrast their respective ceremonials, the furniture, beauty, and decoration of their respective temples! What an imposing spectacle is a pontifical high-mass in St. Peter's, with all its gorgeous splendour, and picturesque magnificence, under the glittering fane which the inspiring genius of Christianity hath lifted into the clouds of heaven! Does it not transport us from this world into the next, to the choirs of angels, the altar of incense, and the throne of the Lamb? Can we dwell with the same mind upon the cold, tedious, heartless, lifeless worship, in its naked and misshapen rival in the national Church? Again; when death hath summoned us to our final reckoning, and the Church is called upon to perform the last sad offices over the lifeless corpse, and for the departed spirit, in what a different feeling is it not accomplished! In Catholicity, it is a real Christian function—a long and solemn line of cloistered monks and pious clergy, bearing the emblems of our redemption in presence of the corpse enveloped in a blaze of light, to tell of the hope of a blissful immortality,—all chaunting in mournful cadence a requiem for the departed soul, propitiating heaven in mitigation of her penalties, praying that the justice of God may be satisfied, and that the repentant sinner may speedily rest in his eternal home! Then, the propitiatory sacrifice offered up on the altar of the Most High, before a supplicating multitude, impressed by the appalling spectacle of death,—and we have a lesson for the living, and a blessing for the dead!

But, turn we to the same scene under the *Reformed* religion, and what is it? Is there anything so sickening to the heart as a great London funeral? Not an emblem of Christianity about it; belonging entirely to this world, without any reference whatever to the next—a long, long pageantry of *empty* carriages, in mere mockery of woe, and so singularly emblematical of the hollowness of the religion in whose service they are engaged! and when the poor, forlorn remains have been consigned to that grave, which is but too truly “covered with the dismal shade of death,” the final scene of the drama is still in keeping with the rest, and a monument is erected over them in a Christian Church, too often in total forgetfulness of heaven, recording only the deeds of earth, represented under the symbols of heathen mysticism.



We well remember the last sad offices over one of the best of monarchs,—our late lamented sovereign William IV, and certainly we never could have seen them displayed to greater advantage—and yet, what were they? Only a more solemn representation of the same heartless and unmeaning performance. The whole service was much too long and too tame,—the music was neither touching nor animating,—there was nothing to excite the feelings, and rouse the spirit to a sense of the high import of the awful scene, and awaken the soul from the lethargy of sin and death; nothing to startle the mind from the languid and fatal security in which it is too apt to indulge, and to bring the judgments of God before the unrepenting sinner. Not a single lesson was drawn from the terrific nature of the change; the difficulties of salvation, the penalties of sin, the immutable and eternal sentence pronounced upon us at the moment of our dissolution, were not one of them presented to the mind by the tame, dull ritual of the Reformed Church! The spectacle was left to speak for itself, and to tell much more than could be conveyed by a dry and frequent recapitulation of what no Christian ever doubted, and what, abstractedly considered, can make but little impression, the resurrection of the body! Not a prayer was proffered for the repose of the poor soul! God only knows, how much or how little it might have needed them! The termination was as cold and insipid as the rest: all the pompous titles of the terrestrial monarch were heralded forth, but of the King of kings no account was taken—no allusion to the passing glories of the world—to the vanity of loving aught but God—to the use of the talents entrusted to us—to the unsparing justice of heaven, which calls kings to the same tribunal as the meanest of their subjects, and where both are judged, according to their works, without respect to persons.

All her religious services,—for the same may be said of all,—being thus lowered in their character, and all her former religious associations being thus severed and lost, having descended from her proud pre-eminence in the commonwealth of Christendom, and faith, hope, and charity, having each and all of them waxed cold and dim under the revolution of feelings, and war of principles, which, as we have seen, have never ceased to infest her, as the most fearful consequence of her schism; let us for a moment consider whether she has gained anything to compensate for all this, even among the transitory concerns of this fleeting world.

We have already seen what, in this respect, she was, before the fatal epoch we have endeavoured to illustrate; let us view her, for an instant, in her present condition. In lieu of monasteries, we have workhouses; in place of voluntary charity, an unfeeling compulsory assessment for the poor; jails are multiplied or enlarged; whole masses of the population are unemployed and starving; while vice and crime are increased beyond all former precedent, and discontent and turbulence reign throughout. We have principles of equality, where we had heretofore principles of subordination; a spirit of worldly ambition and insatiable covetousness, where formerly was a chivalrous sacrifice of self, and a generous outlay of riches for the public good. Coarse, vulgar, riotous mirth, have been substituted for the light-hearted, innocent amusements of the people; among the higher ranks, society is overgrown, and the best feelings of the heart are supplanted by pride, envy, hatred, emulation, and contention; while a universal, luxurious extravagance has dissipated the means of benevolence, and handed over half the ancient estates of the kingdom to the Jew and the stockjobber.

Still she has had her reward, and what is it? "The harvest of the river is her revenue: and she is become the mart of the nations . . . . her merchants are princes, and her traders the nobles of the earth." But with the reward of Tyre, may she not also inherit her chastisements?—"and the earth is infected by the inhabitants thereof: *because* they have transgressed the laws, **THEY HAVE CHANGED THE ORDINANCE, *they have broken the everlasting covenant.***—**THEREFORE** shall a curse devour the earth, and the inhabitants thereof shall sin: and *therefore* they that dwell therein shall be mad, and few men shall be left." Long indeed have these prophecies been fulfilled amongst *us*—long have "the inhabitants of the island" been delivered over to a spirit of religious madness, and the faithful adherents of the ancient and everlasting covenant are but a few—a mere remnant of the inheritance of Christ!

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ART. IV.—*Spicilegium Romanum*. Tom. 1—8, Royal 8vo. Romæ: Typis Collegii Urbani, 1839-42.\*

THE appearance of a work from the pen of Cardinal Mai, is an event in which the entire literary world is interested. It is hardly three years since his eminence completed the publication of the *Vaticana Collectio*, and simultaneously with this immense work appeared the ten volumes of *Auctores Classici*. How the interval, up to the present year, has been spent, is attested by the eight goodly volumes whose title appears above;—each considerably larger than those of the former series, and containing matter, if not so curious, yet, perhaps, of greater general interest and utility.

Without a leisurely, and indeed studious, examination of each separate volume, it is impossible to form any idea of the prodigious difficulty of such a work. But assume the very lowest standard of editorial labour;—forget altogether the preliminary drudgery of searching for unpublished manuscripts in a vast store-house like the Vatican, so often visited upon a similar errand; omit the physical labour of deciphering their faded, perhaps obliterated characters, and the still more perplexing task of ascertaining whether and how far this may still be unpublished; of plodding through whole volumes of "*Excerpta*" and "*Catenæ*," for a mere chance of being rewarded in the end by the discovery of two or three inedited fragments of a lost classic, or a few undiscovered homilies of a Holy Father:—abstract from the toil of translating and illustrating their contents, of prefixing explanatory prefaces, and appending critical or dogmatical notes:—in a word, forget every thing except the mechanical drudgery of preparing the copy, and correcting the proofs; reduce the office of editor to the mere duty of copyist, or supervisor of the press; and still the publication of eight such volumes, in such a space, by one unaided individual, will be a prodigy of industry and labour, almost incredible in one, whose high station and public duties must necessarily absorb so large a portion of his time.†

The nature of this vast collection may be gathered from the title, *Spicilegium*; and we may form an idea of the treasures of the Vatican library, from the fact, that, ransacked

\* Though the volumes bear different dates, all were published together in the early part of the present spring.

† His eminence, in addition to his other numerous and honourable occupations, has just received the additional burden of *Prefettu dell' Indice*; one of the most laborious and responsible in the Roman court.



for nearly five centuries by the learned of every country, and of every profession, it can still afford "Gleanings" so rich, so varied, and so copious, as those which his eminence has here given to the world. Each of the eight volumes before us contains nearly seven hundred, several of them seven hundred and fifty pages, and within a few weeks two similar volumes will be added to the series.\*

The collection is of a very miscellaneous nature, containing works in Greek, Latin, and Italian,—in poetry and in prose,—in ancient and modern literature, and in every department of both divinity, philosophy, law, history, medicine, and even military science. Nothing of merit is too obscure to escape the observation, or too insignificant to be below the notice, of this universal scholar. From a homily of St. Augustine, to a fragment of Menander;—from a scrap of Dion Cassius, to a drinking song of the middle ages, he finds a place for all in his ample pages; and illustrates all by that profound and universal erudition, with which long converse with every source, edited and inedited, of human knowledge, has enriched his cultivated mind. A complete history of the Vatican library would comprise in itself a compendium of the literary history of the world; nor can we conceive a more interesting task, than to trace its vicissitudes from St. Sylvester to Gregory XVI,—from Mgr. Laureani, the present prefect, up to Johannes Levita, librarian of St. Gregory the Great.† And yet we doubt if, throughout this immense space of years there be a single epoch in the history of the Vatican, so distinguished by activity,—a period in which so much has been done to communicate its treasures to the world, as the period which has elapsed since the discriminating eye of Pius VI selected Angelo Mai as the fittest guardian of its treasures. Others have fallen upon happier times, as Perotto, and Cervino, and Sirletus, and Baronius;—times, when to find a work ready to one's hand, there needed but to open the first manuscript which presented itself. Others, too, as Leo Allatius and Assemani, confined their researches chiefly to one particular department. But Cardinal Mai has come after them all: he has had to plod through exhausted fields, whose best fruits had already been gathered, content to glean up

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\* *Annali della Scienze Religiose*, January and February, 1843, p. 146.

† A very interesting sketch will be found in the preface of Joseph Assemani's "*Codicum Vaticanorum Descriptio*," vol. i. But the chapter on the librarians, though extremely erudite, contains little more than their names and the date of their appointment.

the few ears which escaped the searching eye, not only of the first reaper, but of the numberless gleaners who had followed in his steps. He has given his attention, too, to every single department without distinction. And yet in each and all he has had the good fortune and address to produce fruits not unworthy to be placed beside the choicest produce of the golden ages of literature. It will of course be impossible to give, in a single article, anything approaching to a minute account of the various works contained in this extensive miscellany. We shall find an early opportunity of returning to examine it more in detail;—particularly several works of the fathers, and early ecclesiastical writers. For the present, we must be content to give a general notion of the most remarkable works comprised in the volumes already published.

There are many persons to whom the first volume will perhaps appear the most interesting in the entire series. It contains a collection of biographical notices of eminent men (for the most part Italian) who lived in the fifteenth century, written by a contemporary, and evidently drawn from personal knowledge of the events which he describes. The author was a Florentine, named Vespasiano. Though he is frequently referred to by Italian historians, but little of his personal history was hitherto known. He is mentioned with great praise by Muratori,\* who regarded the supposed loss of this work as an irreparable injury to the history of the fifteenth century; and Mehusi, in the preface of his life of Ambrose of Camaldoli, has given some scattered notices regarding him. But Cardinal Mai has thrown light on much that was hitherto obscure. He has collected with great judgment, from the lives now first published (which are written with great modesty and simplicity), many very interesting particulars regarding the author. He appears to have been born about 1420, and, on the death of his father, engaged in the most honourable and influential occupation of bookseller. Vespasian, however, had a spirit beyond the commercial part of his profession. His well known taste and acquirements gained him many friends; and he seems to have used, with great disinterestedness the influence with the learned and the noble which his position enabled him to command. There are few of the distinguished literary characters of this brilliant epoch, whom he did not number among his friends; scarce

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\* *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xxv. p. 251.

one of the munificent patrons of literature that then figured in Italy, with whom he was not in close and familiar relation. Manetti, Perotto, the two Paldonfini, Leonardo d'Arezzo, and the Acciajuoli, were his intimate friends; Sozomen of Pistoja addresses him almost as a brother; while the illustrious pontiff Nicholas V, and the enlightened princes Cosmo de' Medici and Federico d'Urbino, received him on the footing of an equal and a friend. To the literary history of this interesting period, therefore, his work is a valuable accession. A great deal of the learned gossip of the times—facts as well as characters—may be collected from his pages; and except that Vespasiano had many, instead of one, “immortal friend,” he may, in a certain sense, be called the Boswell of the fifteenth century. There are few ancient libraries in Italy, in the collection of which he had not a share;—the Dominican library of St. Mark, and the Medicean at Florence,—that of Ferrara, the Sforza library at Pesaro, and the Vatican itself, owe many of their choicest treasures to his active and enterprising spirit. He has given in several instances (pp. 193-4, 336-8) catalogues of the works that he himself procured, which may even still be useful in throwing light on the date and character of some manuscripts whose history is doubtful or obscure. Upon subjects like these, he writes with a simple and ingenuous enthusiasm which sits very gracefully upon his quaint old phraseology. An hour spent over his pages almost carries one back to those golden times, when the love of letters drew men from all quarters of the world to the treasure-houses of Italy;—when expeditions were despatched into Greece, to collect manuscripts in every quarter, and masters of the Greek language were tempted by the most flattering offers to settle in Italy;—when Cosmo de' Medici kept forty-five scribes constantly employed in the transcription of manuscripts;—when Palla Strozzi regarded the acquisition of Chrysoloras among the noblest triumphs of his life, and Nicholas V sent out Enocho d'Ascolo to all the cities and monasteries of Europe, commanding all, under the censures of the Church, to throw open their literary treasures to his inspection, that, through him, they might be communicated to the world.

Although the style of Vespasiano is careless, and even ungrammatical (to such a degree, indeed, that, in order to render it readable, Cardinal Mai has been obliged to make considerable alterations), yet his vocabulary is the purest Tuscan, and his eminence regards the work as, in this respect, a valuable acquisition to the language.



Six of the lives had already been published, among which are those of the popes Nicholas V and Eugene IV, which Muratori has given in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. The editor, however, very judiciously has given all together, those which were published as well as the ninety-seven which were still inedited. From an ancient manuscript catalogue, cited in the preface of the eighth volume of the *Spicilegium*, it would appear that Vespasiano had written at least twelve other lives, the titles of which are there given; and it is certain that he also wrote a work *De Illustribus Feminis*, probably upon the same plan. Both these, however, seem to be irrecoverably lost.

The lives are arranged under five heads: \* i. Popes and sovereign princes; ii. Cardinals; iii. Bishops, prelates, and religious; iv. Statesmen; v. Men of letters. Under the first head, the lives of Nicholas V and Eugene are already known; but Muratori looked upon that of Alfonso of Naples as lost. It is a long and extremely interesting life; and, taken along with those of the Sforzas of Pesaro, Cosmo de' Medici, and Frederico d'Urbino, contains many new particulars both of the foreign and domestic history of Italy in those troubled times. Among the lives of the cardinals, that of Bessarion, though it contains little that is new, is perhaps on the whole the most favourable specimen of the author's manner. The catalogue of his library (pp. 193-4) is a great literary curiosity. The lives of SS. Antoninus and Bernardinus, too, are no inconsiderable accession to our stock of ancient sacred biography.

But our readers will naturally feel more interest in a few of the lives which bring us nearer home; though perhaps there are not many who will recognize the English names in the strange dress which they wear in the pages of the quaint old Florentine. It is not easy to guess, for example, that Gulielmo *Grain* (p. 280, *et seq.*) is William Gray, who was bishop of Ely under Henry VI (1454-80). Vespasiano's account, which he had from his own lips, contains some particulars not mentioned by Godwin.† One of his anecdotes is a curious illustration of the state of Germany in those times.

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\* The editor has very appropriately prefixed, as an introduction, Baldo's very elegant and interesting "Trattato dell' Istoria," which, though well known to the learned, had never before been published.

† We know not whether there be any ground for Vespasiano's statement, that he was of the royal blood. Godwin says he was one of the noble family of the Grays of Codnor.

During Gray's residence as a student at the university of Cologne (to which, we may observe, Godwin makes no allusion), the style which he maintained created an exaggerated idea of his wealth, which proved extremely inconvenient when he wished to leave Cologne for the purpose of completing his studies in Italy. There were many, he feared, who but waited his departure to assail him upon the road; and, even if he escaped from their hands, he was almost sure to fall among the "robbers of the Rhine." To avoid both, he feigned sickness, and giving his physician directions to continue his visits regularly for eight days, he quitted Cologne with a single companion, in the guise of an *Irish* pilgrim, which would be less likely to attract observation: our countrymen enjoying, even then, the character of not being overburdened with the goods of this world. Still less, we should suppose, at least judging from ourselves, will the name *Andrea Ols* be referred to its rightful owner, whom, after some examination, we believe to be the Andrew Huls, or Holleys, who is mentioned in a commission given by Rymer,\* as one of four commissioners appointed by Henry VI (July 26, 1429), to treat with the ambassadors of Arragon. The particulars of his history are, we believe, new, and not uninteresting. But we prefer to give the following scene from the life of the notorious John, earl of Worcester, surnamed "the Butcher," who was beheaded in the civil commotions of 1470. In the manuscript he is called *Duca di Sestri*; but Cardinal Mai well conjectures, that this is a mistake either of the author or of the transcriber, and that the allusion is to this ill-fated nobleman, who, according to Rymer,† was appointed high constable of England by Edward II. The story is told with a simplicity and grace not unworthy of the father of history himself.

"They discovered his place of concealment, and carried him a prisoner to London. According to their wont, all the mob cried out that he should die; and the chief occasion of his death was his having revived certain laws, against the will of the people. For this cause he was condemned to death. They wished that he should die after the fashion of royal culprits, and, for this purpose, erected an immense scaffold, all adorned with tapestry and hangings and other ornaments. While he was going to execution..... all shouted out, as he passed along, that he should die, because he had passed the 'law of Padua,' as it was called, because he had

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\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iv. part ii. p. 156.† *Ibid.* xi. 634.

studied there. And therefore it is best always to do what is right, and not to trust to the favour of the people, who are like the sunny gleams of a winter day, which quickly come and quickly flit away.

“ When he was on his way to execution he was accompanied by several religious, both English and Italian. Among them was an Italian of the order of St. Dominick, a pious and eloquent man; and as he walked by the side of the nobleman, he said to him, ‘ My lord, you are brought here for your unheard-of cruelties, and especially because, in your desire to exterminate certain families hostile to the government, you put to death, from the sole desire of preserving your power, two most innocent children, not a year old.’ The duke replied that he had done it for the state’s sake. The friar replied that ‘ for the state we may do what is just and honourable, but nothing else; and that it was the opinion of St. Jerome, that no merciful man ever died an evil death, whereas it was the contrary for the impious and cruel.’ These ultra-montanos have very great devotion, and especially in all matters of religion. When duke John was about to be beheaded, he turned to the headsman, and prayed him to cut off his head in three strokes, in reverence of the Most Holy Trinity, though he could have cut it off in one. The headsman did as he had promised, and took off his head in three strokes. If he chose this manner of death in penance for his sins, it is to be hoped that God had mercy on him; seeing that he was moved by a certain fear, and selected this death in punishment for his sins. The greater number of men of rank are blinded by ambition, and know not God, and therefore come to an evil end.”—tom. i. pp. 526-8.

Most gladly would we dwell at greater length upon these simple and unstudied sketches, and particularly on the fifth part, which contains the lives of Vespasiano’s literary contemporaries, among whom he appears completely at home. The lives of Poggio, Leonardo d’Arezzo, Manetti, and Nicolo Nicoli, are full of most curious and interesting matter, most of which fell under the author’s own observation, or was derived from the parties themselves, or their immediate friends. One of the anecdotes in Poggio’s life is not very complimentary to the literary character of England in those days. He used, in his playful moods, to tell of the prodigious loss of time at meals which he observed during his mission to that country under Martin V, and to relate how, to keep himself awake during the three or four hours of their interminable dinners and suppers, he used to *rise several times from table and bathe his eyes in cold water!* The catalogue of Poggio’s wholesale literary discoveries (p. 549) will excite the envy of many a less happy modern editor, whose ambition



is ordinarily limited to the discovery of a few stray readings, or perhaps half-a-dozen conjectural emendations. It includes, among many other works, the *De Oratore*, the letters to Atticus, and several orations of Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Silius Italicus, Quintilian, Lucretius, the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus, Columella's *Agriculture*, and several treatises of Tertullian and Eusebius. We should add that his researches were undertaken at the instance of the pope, who was the most munificent patron of letters in that munificent age.

The second volume is much more miscellaneous in its contents. It commences with an inedited, though long known, translation, in very graceful Latin hexameters, of the second, third, fourth, and fifth books of the *Iliad*, by the accomplished Angelo Poliziano, whom cardinal Mai justly calls *Musarum Amor*. The manuscript from which it is printed is the very copy presented by the author to Lorenzo de' Medici, and by Leo X to the Vatican. It is one of those which were carried to Paris by the French, but restored after 1815. From the concluding words of the dedication to Lorenzo—

——“Sed tu nos protege ab omni  
Si quis adest, teneros qui carpat Zoilus annos,”—

it would appear that it was written while Poliziano was still very young, and amid the graver occupations of after years was suffered to remain unfinished.

It is a matter of more serious regret that the celebrated cardinal Sadoletto's work, *De Christiana Ecclesia* (which follows next in order) is also imperfect; the manuscript containing only the first book. It was written while the author was engaged in that celebrated commission of reform which Paul III intrusted to Sadoletto, Contarini, Caraffa, Pole, Fregoso, bishop of Salerno, and three other equally distinguished cardinals, whom he had created for the occasion. This circumstance naturally adds to the authority of Sadoletto's opinions, although it is well known that in some points he differed from the rest of his brethren. The sections on clerical celibacy (pp. 160-78) will be read with great interest. To this work the editor has appended two theological, or rather scriptural, dissertations, by the same author; and a number of his letters, which, as well as those of cardinal Aleander, will well repay the trouble of perusal.

The chief part of the volume, however, is occupied with a Greek commentary on the poems of St. Gregory Nazianzen. The author calls himself Cosmas Hierosolymitanus; and his

eminence very clearly proves him to be that Cosmas, bishop of Majuma, in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, who was the contemporary and friend of St. John Damascene. He is already known by his own poems, which possess considerable merit.\* Although the work is imperfect, wanting the third part, yet, as each of the parts is independent of the others, the published portion is a complete work in itself. In addition to its own intrinsic value,† it supplies us with several lost fragments of St. Gregory's poetry. To Cosmas's commentary is added, very judiciously, a similar collection of the historical and mythological allusions contained in St. Gregory's funeral oration on St. Basil, and in that entitled *Εἰς τὰ ἁγία φῶτα*. It is compiled by an abbot named Nonnus. These works are principally interesting, as forming a supplement to the similar collections which are printed in the second volume of St. Gregory's works.

We pass over several Greek discourses attributed to Libanius, the rhetorician, and a prologue, to the *Arithmetica* of Nichomachus, in order to come to a short supplement of this volume; which, as it belongs to that class of manuscripts which Cardinal Mai has made peculiarly his own, merits our especial attention. It is a fragment of an early ecclesiastical historian, printed from a very ancient palimpsest, the original writing of which had been effaced, to make way for the *Iliad* of Homer, which is now found re-written upon it.‡ It is with great reluctance we yield to the necessity which our limits prescribe, of condensing his eminence's account of these valuable fragments. Did our space permit, we should much prefer to give it entire in his own elegant, but simple and unaffected latinity. A fac-simile of the manuscripts, *omissa HomERICA veste*, is appended to the volume.

During a short sojourn at Frascati, in the May of 1842, Cardinal Mai frequently visited the library of the Basilian monks at Grotta Ferrata, whose store of Greek manuscripts was once among the richest in Italy, though many of its treasures have been transferred to the Barberini, and still more to the Vatican library, especially under Pius VI and Pius VII. The state of his eminence's health forbade any close or long continued application; but the old passion made

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\* Biblioth. Patrum, tom. xii. p. 737, *et seq.*

† For a testimony of the primacy of St. Peter, see p. 274.

‡ The reader will observe in this circumstance a confirmation of the line of observation which we adopted in a former article upon cardinal Mai's palimpsests.

him forget these prudential considerations, and he found it impossible to resist the temptation of examining one manuscript, evidently palimpsest, though its characters were very much defaced. It proved to be a fragment of the Iliad, written upon a number of repprepared sheets. The original subjects, however (for it was entirely made up of scraps), were for the most part sacred or liturgical; but, on closer examination, he found four leaves which had been historical. The first hope which occurred was, that these four leaves formed one continuous sheet (*quaternio*); but he was disappointed to find that, though these four leaves evidently formed parts of the same work, yet all were separate and independent fragments. Thus, the first leaf contains part of the reign of Julian;—(the Persian expedition, the end of which, however, unhappily is not given); the second, comprises the reign of Arcadius and Theodosius; the third, some later events of Theodosius; and the fourth, part of the reign of Justinian. The author was evidently a contemporary of Justinian, whom he repeatedly calls *ὁ ἐνσεβὴς ἡμῶν δεσπότης* (pp. 27-8); a phrase which clearly implies, that Justinian was the reigning emperor when the history was written.

The fragments, which had been very carefully erased by the scribe who prepared the palimpsest, being deciphered, it remained to determine the author, and to ascertain whether they had yet been published. His eminence discovered several entire sentences (especially in the first fragment) in Johannes Malala. This writer, however, was long posterior to Justinian;\* and, as the Byzantine historians, especially the later among them, copied the very words of their predecessors, without scruple and almost without alteration, the recurrence of the very same passage in two works, cannot be taken as an argument of the identity of their authors. But besides, much of the Tusculan fragment is not in Malala at all; and there are several points in which the narrative of the former entirely differs from his. For example, the very first sentence (p. 6) relates to the prodigies by which the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, under Julian, was supernaturally interrupted; an event on which Malala is entirely silent. Neither is there any trace in the latter of the very graphic description of Theodosius's personal appearance, (p. 16) nor of the indignity offered to Pope Vigilius, in being dragged by the beard from the very altar, because he refused

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\* See Hodg. Dissertatio ad Johan. Malalam, cap. xv.



to confirm, at the instance of Theodora, the heretical patriarch Anthimus (p. 26). But there is a further discrepancy of rather more importance. Malala relates, that in the month of January, at the thirteenth indiction, the name of Pope Vigilius, and that of Mennas the patriarch, were expunged from the sacred diptychs: κατεβιβάσθη τὸ ὄνομα Μηνᾶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐκ τῶν ἀγγίων διπτύχων, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα βιγιλίου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ρώμης. Whereas, the author of this ancient fragment agrees with Theophanes\* and Anastasius the Librarian,† in stating that the name of Mennas was erased, and that of Vigilius *read first*;—the words *πρῶτον ἐλέγετο* being subjoined in both these authors to the passage as it runs in Malala. This important discrepancy, Cardinal Mai ingeniously explains by supposing, either that these words were maliciously suppressed by the copyist of the manuscript from which Malala was edited, if he were a schismatic (a circumstance of which there are numberless examples), or omitted accidentally in the hurry of transcription.

We recommend these very curious fragments to the reader's notice. The exile and persecution of St. Chrysostom, are very graphically described, and in considerable detail. The editor does not venture to determine the author, though he mentions the names of Theodorus Lector and Zacharias Scholasticus, both contemporaries of Justinian.

The third volume possesses more interest for the theological student. A large portion of it is occupied with a history of seventy miracles performed by the martyrs SS. Cyrus and John, compiled by St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who died about the year 640. This venerable man, himself, recovered his sight at the intercession of these martyrs; and, in gratitude, composed this work, one of the most precious monuments of those centuries. Cardinal Mai's edition is printed from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, which formerly belonged to the library of Giotta Ferrata, but now is in the Vatican; most probably the very manuscript to which the Bollandists (March 11) refer, and which, had not their labours been interrupted, they proposed to publish. The accompanying Latin version is scarcely inferior in interest to the original. The first twelve chapters of this translation are almost contemporary with the text, being the work of Boniface, who was counsellor of the Roman Church in 685, under Benedict II and Lugiug I. The prologue, with the remaining chapters, are by the celebrated Anastasius, the

\* Opera, p. 192.

† p. 64.

librarian, who lived in the end of the ninth century. In addition to its historical value, this work is remarkable, as having been cited with approval in the Iconoclast controversy, by the second Council of Nice. The passages quoted will be found at pp. 68, 380, and 403; but, to these and others of a similar character, we shall have occasion to refer in a future article.

To this work of S. Sophronius, his eminence has added a very appropriate pendant, in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, of Alexandria, also translated by Anastasius. These acts were published by Combefis, with a version of his own. But the text of the Vatican manuscript is far superior to that employed by him; and those who are acquainted with the general character of his versions, will not regret to find that Cardinal Mai has substituted the ancient translation of Anastasius.

There existed among the monastic authors, from the earliest times, a practice of compiling *Catenæ* of the fathers on different subjects, or on different books of Scripture, either as a collection of their opinions, or as a kind of joint commentary on the particular book in question. The number of such manuscripts in the Vatican is very great, and several of them have already been published in the Cardinal's former series. As no part of his eminence's task (excepting always the palimpsests) was half so laborious, so none so strikingly displays his extraordinary erudition, as the judgment and skill with which he has selected from so many undigested fragments of different authors, thrown together without reference and without guide, those portions which were still, wholly or in part, inedited, and referred them to their respective authors. About twenty pages of the third volume are devoted to selections from a similar compilation. The *Catenæ* from which these selections are taken, like those published in the seventh and eighth volumes of the *Vaticana Collectio*, were drawn up by the monophysite heretics, and are partly in the Arabic, partly in the Syriac, language. Even these, however, Cardinal Mai presses into service; and in reading the striking, but hitherto unknown, testimonies to the doctrines of our Church—to the real presence and the holy sacrifice of the altar—with which they abound, we could not help being struck by the providential disposition of things, which employs the enemies of the Church as instruments for the preservation of testimonies to her doctrine.

Among the extracts which the Cardinal has given from these *Catenæ* (the principal one of which is called *Fides Patrum*) are some from St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, SS. Sylvester, Felix, and Innocent I, Hierotheus, a very early bishop of Athens, cited in the work attributed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, and several others; some—as Severus, patriarch of Constantinople—openly monophysite; others, whom, though strictly orthodox on the Eutychian question, the monophysite compiler endeavours to wrest to the confirmation of his own peculiar opinions.

The volume closes with two most important letters;—the first, addressed by Henry VIII of England, *contra Lutherum ejusque hæresim*; the second, by Leo X, to the same monarch, in reply to the commendatory letter in which he had presented Cuthbert Tunstal to the holy father, for canonical institution in the see of London. The former is a long and very elaborate production, addressed to the princes of Saxony, written with considerable warmth, but yet with great dignity and spirit. It is without any date. It would appear from the prefatory remarks, that the editor supposes it to be anterior to one addressed by the King to Leo X, which, as we shall hereafter see, is given in the preface of the sixth volume. It is true, that the king, in that letter, alludes to one which he had directed, *ad Cæsaream Majestatem omnesque Principes Electores*. But it must have been different from this. The letter to Leo is dated May 21, 1521; whereas, the letter now before us, being written after Luther had replied to the *assertio septem sacramentorum* (1522), must have been, at the earliest, late in that year. The reader, moreover, will observe, that this is addressed not to the “Emperor and Electors,” but to the “Princes of Saxony,” only. The letter to which Henry, when writing to the pope, refers, must be the remonstrance which he addressed to Charles V, in the very commencement of his reign.\*

The king's reply to Luther's scurrility is quite characteristic:—

“My adversary has made clear to the whole world either of two things;—his own utter imbecility, or the perfect conclusiveness of

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\* It is difficult to determine the date of this letter; but it must have been before Luther's apology, to which it is not unlikely that it gave occasion, as this was written at the instance of the elector of Saxony and king of Denmark. Cardinal Mai is unable to say definitely that it is inedited. As far as our present means of examining enable us to speak, we think it is. Even if it be not, it is not unworthy of republication.



my arguments, to which he could find no reply but silly scoffs and frenzied invectives. If he imagine I am moved by these, he is egregiously mistaken. For though he calls me mad, and calls me so, I think, more than a thousand times, yet I never shall be so mad as to be annoyed at being called mad by a madman. I am deceived, therefore, or this fellow's foul-mouthed contumelies against me, and against the royal name, will excite your indignation, most illustrious princes, more than it does mine. For there is a certain reverence of nobility which binds generous minds together, and makes them, even in an enemy, while they hate and persecute the man, yet honour the person and venerate the dignity. How could you find in the world a man of generous birth so rude and barbarous, as to be induced, even by the bitterest hostility, to assail a nobleman with scurrilous and petulant tongue. Still less will any one possessing the generous nobility of virtue, in that degree in which I am persuaded you all possess it, suffer calmly the name of a prince and a friend to be made a mocking for low-bred scoundrels."—T. iii. p. 743.

We cannot pursue this topic further; but it may not be uninteresting to translate the concluding paragraph of the letter, which throws light on the motives of the opposition with which Luther's version of the bible was universally received by the catholic powers of Germany; an opposition often misunderstood and misrepresented:—

"When I was on the point of sealing the letter, it occurred to me that Luther, in the silly stuff which he has published against me, excuses himself from replying to the rest, under the pretence that he is translating the bible. I think it right therefore to exhort you, above all things, to use every means to prevent his so doing. For, though I do not deny that it is good that the holy scriptures should be read in all languages, yet it is certainly most perilous that they should be read in a version, the bad faith of which makes it clear to every one, that his design is to pervert what is good and salutary by a false translation, so that the unlettered people may imagine they are reading from the holy scriptures what the execrable man has drawn from execrable motives. Once again, farewell, most serene and well beloved princes."—p. 749.

In the preface of the sixth volume, the editor has given four other letters of the same prince. Two of these are addressed to Cardinal Sixtus Gara Roboreus, nephew of Julius II, the former (April 29, 1519) announcing the death of his father, Henry VII; the latter (July 8, 1519) his coronation, along with his queen, Catherine, of whom he speaks in terms of such affectionate praise, as completely to confute (especially

when we consider that, by his father's death, he was then entirely free) the opinion of some historians,\* that he was forced into this marriage, so fatal in its after consequences, by the command of his father, who was unwilling to restore the dowry which Catharine had brought on her marriage with Henry's elder brother, Arthur. The other two, addressed to Leo X, are still more important. One (May 21, 1521) is the private letter which accompanied the presentation copy of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*.† It is entirely different from the published dedication prefixed to the book,‡ and contains many fervent protestations of his "devotion to the apostolic see," and "zeal for the holy Roman Church," which the king pledges himself "ever to defend and protect with all his power." To the other (August 8, 1522) we have already alluded. It is the document presenting Cuthbert Tunstal to the pope, for canonical institution to the see of London. Its language presents a curious contrast with the claims which the king afterwards put forward. Here he simply commends Tunstal to the pope, as one "whom he judges to be most worthy that the care and burden of the see should be entrusted to him by his holiness;" and after professing his own affection for the personal virtues of the prelate, "earnestly entreats that the pope will deign to promote him to the aforesaid see, and constitute him pastor and bishop therein." There is not a single word to indicate any idea on the king's part, that he possessed, or wished to exercise, an independent power of election or institution, or any other than that of simple nomination and presentation.

As we shall have occasion to return in a future article to the works of St. Sophronius, which form the chief contents of the fourth volume, we shall here content ourselves with a brief enumeration of them. They are:—1. A discourse on St. John the Baptist. 2. A very interesting commentary on the liturgy. 3. A charming collection of hymns in anacreontic metre (edited with a translation, and a critical preface and notes, by a literary protégé of the cardinal, Don Pietro Matranga,

\* Among others, even the Maurists, in the "Art de vérifier les dates.

† Four copies of this work are still shown in the Vatican. They are all presentation copies. Three have the autograph signature of the king; and the fourth, in addition, contains the following rather flat and ungraceful distich:—

"Henricus Anglorum Rex, Leo Decime, mittit  
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiae."

‡ See this curious document, pp. 1-4. Edition of Paris, 1562.

vice-rector of the Greek college at Rome). 4. A *Triodium*, or collection of prayers. The manuscript from which it is printed is similar to the *Triodia* described by Leo Allatius, which were intended, not so much for private use, as for the public service of the Church. The Vatican *Triodium* contains prayers from eight different authors, among whom are St. John Damascene and Theodore Studites. The principal source, however, from which it is drawn, is St. Sophronius; and the others, being partly edited already, partly of little interest, the cardinal has confined himself to the prayers taken from St. Sophronius only. They fill a hundred pages of small and crowded type.

The reader may perhaps be disappointed to find these and several other works in the *Spicilegium* unaccompanied by a Latin version; and his regret will naturally be increased by the recollection of the fidelity, as well as classical elegance, which distinguished the translation of the former series. His eminence has made his own explanation, in the preface of the tenth volume of the *Auctores Classici*:—

“Many persons will ask,” says he, “why I have published St. Cyril and other authors in Greek only. I answer, that, on the one hand, overpowered by the number of valuable works which surround me, and on the other, oppressed by want of time, and yet entertaining a hope of repose and learned leisure at some future period, I have for the present done what I deemed most important; and, to prevent further delay, I have hastened to commit to the press, and thus rescue for ever from the danger of decay, and the uncertain vicissitudes of fortune, these precious relics of ancient, and especially of sacred literature. Therefore I have been so sparing of paper, that I even excluded the gospel texts from these commentaries [of Cyril], conceiving the numbers of the verses a sufficient indication. However, I hope, should life be spared me, to translate hereafter, at least St. Cyril, in order that those unacquainted with Greek may not be excluded from the participation of the salutary doctrines of this most holy father.”—*Classici Auctores X*, p. xix.

However we may regret the want thus created, we cannot condemn—on the contrary we must commend—this resolution, and admire the self-denial which enables a scholar so accomplished as Cardinal Mai, to confine himself within these comparatively humble limits. It is impossible not to recog-

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\* We shall cite only the concluding lines of the hymn on the blessed Eucharist:—

“Ὁ πάθος, ὦ φιλίη, ἣν διὰ χριστοῦς  
Σάρκα βροτοῖς ἰδίην ὥπασε δαῖτα.”



nize, in the extraordinary success which has attended his eminence's labours, a special vocation for the department to which he has devoted himself, and which few possess the opportunities, still fewer the qualifications, to pursue with advantage or success. Editors and translators we have in abundance,—perhaps, indeed, in excess: centuries may elapse before another Mai shall arise: and on the other hand, a few such years as those whose wondrous fruits we now see before us, will have left but little in the editorial line undone, even in the Vatican, all exhaustless as it has been traditionally reputed.

Besides these works of St. Sophronius, and part of an ancient life of SS. Cyrus and John, translated by Anastasius the librarian, contained in the body of the fourth volume, the introductory part contains:—i. A most eloquent panegyric of the monastic state, by Serapion, an ancient Egyptian bishop, whom St. Jerôme mentions in his work, *De Viris Illustribus*.\* ii. A homily on Pentecost, attributed to St. Chrysostom, but on the genuineness of which the editor does not definitively pronounce. iii. A homily of Diadochus, bishop of Photice, in the fifth century. iv. Five homilies of St. Proclus, the disciple and amanuensis of St. John Chrysostom, and one of his successors in the see of Constantinople.† The first of these, in Greek and Latin, is printed from a manuscript of the tenth century; the second, from a palimpsest, from which it was defaced to make way for a treatise of St. Chrysostom. The remaining three are lost in Greek, but have been preserved in the Syriac version, from which they are here re-translated into Latin. We have, besides, three short discourses of St. Cyril of Alexandria, on the martyrs Cyrus and John; the prologue of a *Catena* on St. Matthew, by the celebrated western Iconoclast, Claudius of Turin, which his eminence proposes at some future time to publish in full; several fragments of ancient sacred biography; four homilies of Paulinus, bishop of Beziers (*Biterrensis*), in the middle of the fifth century, and one of St. Peter Damian.

But among the miscellaneous contents of the latter part of the fourth volume, the most remarkable is a history of the martyrdom of St. Artemius, collected by St. John Damascene, from the history of the Arian Philostorgius. This his-

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\* *De Viris Illust.* cap. xcix.

† Most of his works will be found in the "*Bibliotheca Patrum*;" they were published in 1 vol. 4to. by P. Ricardo. Rome, 1630.

tory originally consisted of twelve books, each of which, like the lines of an acrostic, commenced with one of the letters of his name. But it is now entirely lost, except what Photeus has preserved in his compendium (published by Godefroi, and afterwards more correctly by Henry de Valois). Tillemont accuses St. Artemius of Arianism.\* It is gratifying to find his orthodoxy fully established in the work thus recovered, and that, too, on the testimony of a writer who was himself an Arian.

Another important acquisition is the *Πανοπλία*, or *Thesaurus Fidei Orthodoxæ* of Nicetas of Chona, a Greek author of the twelfth century. Of the twenty-five books in which it was originally composed, but five have been published, and these only in the Latin version of Morel.† The editor expresses his regret that want of leisure, and other more important considerations, have interfered to prevent his giving the work entire. But he deems it better not to pass it over entirely; and therefore has selected (in Greek only) from the unpublished books the most interesting portions, under the following heads:—i. The Macedonians; ii. The Nestorians; iii. The Eutychians; iv. The fifth council; v. The sect of Eutychians called *Αφθαρτοδοκῆται*, or *Incorrupticolæ*; vii. The sixth council; viii. The Saracens; ix. The Lizicinians; a sect of whom we confess never to have heard even the name, till we read it in his eminence's extracts from Nicetas (p. 498). According to his account, this sect took its origin and name from Lizix, a Manichean, who in the reign of the emperor Michael II, denied the divinity of our Lord, and the divine maternity of the blessed Virgin, and scoffed at the cross and the sacred mysteries. He seems to have seduced many into his heresy; but by the zeal and eloquence of St. Methodius was brought back to the faith, and reconciled to the Church,—almost a solitary example of such a mercy to an heresiarch, if such he can be considered.

Nicetas is followed, not inappropriately, by Theodore of Mopsuesta. Almost all the commentaries of this gifted but misguided man have perished; but in the present volume Cardinal Mai has collected a large portion of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, from an ancient manuscript *Catena* in the Vatican. The first six chapters are scanty and

\* Tom. vii. p. 731.

† In 1 vol. 8vo. 1580. They are also in (we think) the twelfth volume of the Bib. Patrum.

imperfect: but the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, appear to be almost complete. The commentary of the eleventh verse of the eighth chapter, is a clear and satisfactory acknowledgment of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father; and in the hurried examination with which we have been forced to content ourselves, we have not been able to discover any trace of the heterodox opinions which the author is known to have entertained.

The volume closes with a fragment of Ferraudus the deacon, and (as if to verify the miscellaneous character which the title conveys) another of a work upon military tactics, by Asclepiadotus, an ancient Greek writer.

The portion of Apponius's commentary on the Canticle, with which the fifth volume commences, would have been regarded some years since as a valuable accession to our ancient biblical literature. But it has lost some of its interest, by the publication of the entire work from the same manuscript, by the Cistercian fathers of St. Croce, in Gerusalemme, in whose library (known to bibliographers as the *Bibliotheca Lessoriana*) it is preserved. Bellarmine, in his *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, describes Apponius as a writer of the ninth century; but Labbe very clearly proves that he was much earlier. Venerable Bede, who died in the end of the seventh century, cites him by name, and in a way which implies that he was already well known;\* and Cardinal Mai, with very great probability, refers him to the middle of the sixth. Apponius addresses his commentary to a priest named Armenius. It is impossible to fix with absolute certainty the precise time at which Armenius lived. But one of the letters of Agnellus (who was bishop of Ravenna in the middle of the sixth century) is addressed to a priest who is of the same name, and, there is strong reason to believe, the same person with the Armenius to whom Apponius dedicates his commentary. It is divided into twelve books: of these, six were published in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Cardinal Mai has added the seventh, eighth, and part of the ninth. The edition of the Cistercians comprises all. The commentary, independently of its antiquity, appears, as far as we can judge, to possess considerable intrinsic merit; at page 54 will be found a very clear exposition of the power of the keys, and of the practice of confession and priestly absolution.

The work of Apponius is followed by three sermons of

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\* Conc. sup. Canticum. lib. ii. *sub finem*.



Faustus, bishop of Riez (Rejensis), in the fifth century, and one of Faustinus, of whom little seems to be known with certainty. We have read these sermons with great pleasure; and we would gladly see a similar spirit in many of our more polished modern discourses. The conclusion of Faustus's homily *De Spiritu Sancto* (p. 96), and of that of Faustinus *De Epiphania*, are not unworthy, either in sentiment or in manner, of the happiest efforts of St. Augustine or St. Leo.

A still more valuable relic of antiquity, is a Latin version of St. Cyril's (of Alexandria) treatise against Nestorianism. The original, it is true, is preserved in Aubert's edition; but an ancient version, and especially from the classic pen of Arnobius, is no mean acquisition. In the controversy of Arnobius and Serapion, the latter calls on Arnobius to produce the entire treatise of St. Cyril from which he had quoted, lest they should be deceived by garbled extracts selected at pleasure. Arnobius complies; but the manuscript from which Feu-ardent printed his edition\* of this discussion, stopped short (possibly from the indolence of the copyist) at the words "*cumque fuisset codex apertus recitatus est titulus sic etc.*" In the doubt thus created, Feu-ardent not only was obliged to omit St. Cyril's treatise in his edition, but is unable to determine in his notes to which of the treatises Arnobius appealed. Cardinal Mai has been fortunate enough to find in the Vatican two manuscripts of the *Conflictus Arnobii et Serapianis de Deo uno et trino*, both of which supply the deficiency. The tract quoted by Arnobius is the seventeenth of the *Homiliæ Paschales*.

In the same volume the editor has introduced a long and very minute account of several ancient manuscript catalogues, of some of the oldest and most remarkable libraries in Italy and Germany, which the bibliographer will read with much interest. It occupies about a hundred pages of very small type. The libraries selected are those of Lauresham (Lorsch), Resbach, Corbie, and Fulda, in Germany; and in Italy, those of Monte Casino, Nonantula, Santa Croce, in Gerusalemme; and lastly, the most interesting of all—the celebrated Ambrosian library at Milan; which was the scene of Cardinal Mai's earliest literary essays, and which, even though it had

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\* Appended to Feu-ardent's edition of St. Irenæus (Cologne, 1596), p. 552. For an enumeration of the smaller tracts which follow St. Cyril's work, and of several others which want of space compels us to omit, we must refer to the "*Spicilegium*" itself, or to a very complete catalogue of its contents in the "*Annale delle Scienze Religiose*," January and February, 1843, pp. 146-50.

no ancient glories to boast, has acquired in our own times enough, and more than enough of fame in his successful labours.

We cannot help regretting, that his eminence did not annex some account also of the catalogues of the private libraries, many of which, he informs us, are still preserved in the Vatican. There are few who would not feel pleasure in conning over, at least in their titles, the books of such men as Bessarion, Picus of Mirandula, Sirlito, or Onofrio Panvinio. However, nothing could be more interesting than the catalogues of the monastic libraries. The lover of ancient literature will here discover, not without many a regret, for their after fate, that the calumniated monks of the middle age, preserved through all the vicissitudes of empires and dynasties, which succeeded the incursions of the northern hordes, and through all the anarchy and barbarism into which Europe was plunged by these revolutions, many a precious treasure, of which, by the suppression of the monastic institutions, and the fanatical destruction of their libraries, Protestantism, with all its boasted enlightenment and love of letters, robbed the world,—even long after what is unjustly called “the revival of literature” in the fifteenth century. While he sighs over the titles of many a lost treasure here registered—the works of Cælius Aurelianus, Pollio’s commentary on the *Æneid*, Vacca’s scholion on the *Pharsalia*, treatises of Terullian, Ambrose, Gregory, and Fulgentius,—seventy-seven hymns of Venerable Bede, and numberless similar relics; he will, perhaps, form a different estimate of these misrepresented bodies, from whose history, as it is ordinarily told to the British public, everything that is not discreditable to their memory, has, in almost every instance, been studiously excluded.

Among the other works comprised in the fifth volume, the most curious is one by the celebrated scholiast on Homer, Eustathius, who was archbishop of Thessalonica, in the twelfth century. He has hitherto been but little known as a writer upon sacred subjects; and perhaps, on the contrary, the fashion has been to confound him with the herd of classic triflers, who waste their years and their talents, in sifting the grammatical and critical niceties of language, to the neglect of the more solid and useful departments, not alone of sacred, but even of profane learning. The theological student, therefore, will be gratified to recognize his old acquaintance in the new, and, perhaps, more appropriate character of commen-

tator on the Pentecost Hymn of St. John Damascene. His commentary occupies two hundred pages, and is drawn up exactly on the plan of the Homeric scholia. Independently of its literary interest, it will be found useful in defining the origin and precise meaning of many theological, or rather liturgical phrases, whose signification, even with the aid of Ducange, it is often extremely difficult to determine. In the publication of Eustathius, the editor's task was no sinecure. The manuscript is of cotton, and the writing, besides being extremely minute, is full of very peculiar and perplexing contractions. The affinity of subject induced him to add to the work of Eustathius, a few pages of similar scholia, upon other hymns of St. John Damascene, by Johannes Zonara, and Theodorus Prodromus, and a short discourse on those of St. Gregory Nazianzen, by an author named Nicetas, of whom we have not been able to learn anything, except that he was bishop of Dalybria.\*

We have already anticipated in another place, part of the contents of the sixth volume;—the letters of Henry VIII, which are inserted among the prefatory matter. But the principal interest of this volume, will be found to consist in a series of lives of the popes, from St. Peter down to Gregory VII. The author of this valuable work, of which Muratori speaks in the highest terms, was a Spanish bishop, named Bernardo, originally bishop of Tuy, but afterwards translated to the see of Lydève, in France, where he died in his seventieth year, 1331. He brought the series down to John XXII, to whom it is dedicated; but Muratori, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, has given only the lives of the pontiffs posterior to Gregory VII. Cardinal Mai, accordingly, has completed the work, by publishing from an ancient Mexican manuscript, all the previous lives which were wanting in that edited by Muratori. Many of them will be read with great interest; but it is necessary to observe that, in consequence of the insertion of the lives of a few anti-popes, who are

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\* In the fifth volume will also be found eleven Greek declamations of Chariclus, from whom four similar compositions are published in the second volume; also a specimen of a Greek commentary on Hippocrates, by Theophilus, and a larger fragment of a similar work by the master of Theophilus, who was named Stephen. We must not omit to mention a few smaller scraps of Dion Cassius, which this indefatigable restorer of lost literature has discovered; and which, inconsiderable as they may appear, he has not thought unworthy of a place in the end of the volume, as a supplement to the valuable relics of the same author, which he had already given in the memorable second volume of the "Vaticana Collectio."



numbered according to their assumed titles, the order and designation of some of the pontiffs, is different from that ordinarily adopted by other authors, especially the more modern ecclesiastical historians.

To this valuable series, the cardinal has appended several smaller ancient biographies of the popes;—one by Bonizo, bishop of Sutra; another, collected from various manuscripts, by Zaccagni, formerly librarian of the Vatican, who had prepared the work for the press, but died before its publication. Among these miscellaneous lives will be found the last chapter of a contemporary life of Innocent III (published, but imperfectly, by Muratori).\* Hurter, in his life of Innocent, regrets this deficiency very much. Cardinal Mai, however, discovered a manuscript, which supplies this gap in the life as published by Muratori. The supplement (which contains an account of the charitable and pious endowments and bequests of the pontiff) will be found at page 301-12. Many of them are very curious; and, perhaps the document, as a whole, throws greater light on the character of this great pontiff, than a lengthened history of the events of his reign. With the same view, his eminence sought out and discovered a considerable number of the sermons of Innocent, which had never before been published. The printed collection of his works (Venice, 1578) contains only sixty-eight; but one of the Vatican manuscripts has no less than seventy-nine; and to remove all doubt as to the authenticity of the undated discourses contained in it, they are found, not collected together as if in an appendix, but interspersed with those whose authenticity is undoubted. Several of these which we have read, especially that upon "The pharisee and the publican," and that "On the contempt of earthly sufferings," are not only full of most admirable matter, but replete with tenderness and pathos of the very highest order. There is occasionally, it is true, a good deal of that mysticism which was in use with the preachers of those times: but even the sermon, which is most remarkable for it—the discourse "On the four chariots of the prophet Zachary,"† is at the same time equally remarkable for the eloquence, clearness, and unction, with which the moral lesson is conveyed.

The theological reader may sometimes have seen allusions to a large collection of canons, by St. Anselm, of Lucca, which exists in manuscript in the Vatican. It is divided

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\* Rer. Ital. Scriptores, iii. pp. 486-567.

† See particularly pp. 544-5.

into thirteen books, all of which are distributed into chapters, under separate titles. The editor's first intention was to publish it entire, but circumstances obliged him to content himself with giving the titles of the chapters, which form as it were a summary of the work:—a plan which he also found it expedient to adopt, with regard to another work of similar character in nine books, to which Ballerini refers, as also the treatise of Sjecardo, bishop of Cremona, *De officiis Ecclesiasticis*.

We must hasten over the remaining contents of the sixth volume. A few fragments of an unknown ecclesiastical historian, and of extracts from the *Excerpta Gnomica*, of a monk named Cyrus Georgidius, (a sort of common-place-book, similar to that from which the valuable fragments of the historical palimpsest were drawn), are not without interest. The latter of these it must have cost almost endless labour to examine, particularly with the view of ascertaining whether the extracts (for which the reference is never given in the manuscript) had been previously published. It contains, among other curiosities, a few new lines of Menander, the comedian. The volume ends with Cardinal Pallavicini's beautiful, but hitherto inedited treatise, *Del Principe Letterato*.

As yet we have not spoken of the preface of this volume, because it is to a certain extent independent in its matter. Besides an elaborate and most erudite notice of the works already described, it contains an account of several valuable and interesting manuscripts still inedited;—which, however, we trust the illustrious editor will yet find an opportunity of publishing. Among these we would willingly select as a specimen, a most simple and beautiful defence of the use of sacred images, attributed to Gregory II, and several very decisive testimonies from the Greek Church to the supremacy of the pope, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father. But, in order to relieve the tediousness which we feel a string of meagre bibliographical notices, such as we have hitherto given, must necessarily produce, we prefer to transcribe the following account of a very old manuscript, which, if it be not of any great utility, is at least a curiosity in its way.

“Innocent III, in his sermon addressed *Ad Claustrales*, enumerates among the other imperfections of the monastic life, the violation of silence, if not by words, at least by signs. On the contrary, the anonymous author who accompanied St. Peter Damian in his visit to the monastery of Cluny, and wrote an account of it, which

we have published in the sixth volume of the *Scriptores Veteres*, praises the monks of that community for their habit of employing signs, in order to avoid the violation of silence. And yet, Innocent III, and this writer, do not contradict one another; for the one is speaking of the correct and moderate use of signs; the other, of the excess and abuse of the practice; for there can be no doubt that, where the number of signs is very great, and the signs themselves are arbitrary and far-fetched, there must be great loss of time and much idle curiosity, in acquiring a knowledge of the system. However, I conceived a desire to learn something of the nature of the practice, and after a short search, I discovered an old and very beautiful manuscript (No. 564) containing in two books, a most curious account of the mode of life of the Cluny monks. The fifth chapter of the first book, which is very long, and divided into twenty-two sections, gives the rules for speaking by signs, which perhaps may have prepared the way for that admirable system, now so usefully employed in the instruction of the deaf and dumb. However, the dumb learn signs, because they wish to speak, whereas, the monks of Cluny learned them in order to avoid speaking, remembering Menander's maxim, that οὐδὲν σωπῆς ἔστι χρησιμώτερον. The chapter is entitled *De signis Loquendi*; and its sections are—1, on signs of different kinds of bread; 2, on signs of vegetables; 3, on signs of fish; 4, on signs of different kinds of food; 5, on signs of apples; 6, on signs of foreign apples; 7, on signs of different kinds of herbs; 8, on signs of spices; 9, on signs of liquors; 10, on signs of vessels; 11, on signs appertaining to dress; 12, on signs of ecclesiastical things; 13, on signs of masses and hours; 14, on signs of priestly vestments; 15, on signs of things relating to divine worship; 16, on signs of books; 17, on signs of persons; 18, on miscellaneous signs; 19, on signs of buildings; 20, on signs which relate to writing; 21, on signs of iron instruments; 22, on signs of animals.

“We shall now give a specimen of the sixteenth section. ‘For the general sign of a book extend the hand, and move it as if in turning the leaves of a book. For the sign of a missal, premising the general sign, add the sign of the cross. For the sign of a breviary, premising the general sign, extend the right hand between the thumb and four-finger of the left, as if polishing iron. (This is the common sign of everything that is in frequent use.) For the sign of the epistle-book, premising the general sign, add the sign of the cross upon the breast. For the sign of the gospels, premising the general sign, add the sign of the cross upon the forehead. For the sign of the book from which the lessons are read in the nocturns, premising the general sign, place the hand upon the cheek,’ &c.

“This extract is scarcely one-fifth of the sixteenth section.”—*Spicilegium*, tom. vi. pp. 38-40.



The seventh volume partakes less of the nature of a miscellany than any other in the collection. It contains only two works;—the first, a treatise of St. Germanus, of Constantinople; the second, a work of the celebrated Photius, patriarch of the same see. The former was a contemporary of St. Gregory II, in the beginning of the eighth century. He was a determined opponent of Leo the Iconoclast, by whom he was forced to resign his see. His works were burned by order of the emperor, and to this circumstance Cardinal Mai attributes the extreme rarity of copies. This learned and holy man, on the strength of a passage of Theophanes (probably corrupt) was accused of monothelism, and although he is well defended by the Bollandists (March 12), it is very satisfactory to find that his own work, now first published by Cardinal Mai, clearly attests his orthodoxy on this, as on every other point of Catholic faith. It is entitled, *De SS. Synodis et Hæresibus*, and contains an abstract of the origin and history of all the heresies up to his time. It is divided into fifty chapters. The reader will find (41-44) a concise but satisfactory account of the Iconoclast heresy, with a very clear and explicit statement of the true doctrine of the Church on the use of sacred images, with an ample defence of the practice, from the misrepresentations by which it was assailed;—misrepresentations precisely similar to those which are directed against our own practice at the present day.

The manuscript from which this interesting relic is printed, contained also a work of Photius, which is perhaps more important for the ecclesiastical reader. It is a complete body of the canon law of the Greek Church, as it existed in his time. The first idea of the author, when he commenced the work, was simply to collect all the canons of the first ten councils, to which he afterwards added those of the councils held under himself, thus carrying the work down to 883. This great collection he called *συναγωγή*. Afterwards, in order to facilitate the study of the body of ecclesiastical law, by methodizing its contents, he arranged these canons under fourteen heads; and this new work, called *συντάγμα*, though entirely distinct, is frequently confounded with the former, even by such men as Fabricius, and Assemani, and Morelli. A third modification was to make at once an index, and an abridgment of the *Syntagma*. Instead of drawing up at full, under each title, the whole series of canons which refer to it, he merely set down the numbers of the canons as they stood in the larger work. It is easy to conceive the importance of

this arrangement, in times when all was done by the tedious and laborious process of transcription, for the difficulty of copying was greatly diminished, if not entirely removed, and the utility of the Syntagma proportionally increased. This latter work was already known, and is published in the collected edition of the works of Photius. It is the Syntagma that Cardinal Mai has given to us in the present volume. The manuscript from which it is taken, seems not to have been known to any one but Vossius. It originally belonged to the Colonna family, but was recently transferred to the Vatican. In the preface, and also in a note (at p. 25-6) on the famous twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon, will be found several interesting testimonies on the papal supremacy, to which, however, we must for the present be content to refer the reader.

Among the miscellaneous contents of the eighth volume, we can only particularize a few; beginning with four short discourses of St. Augustine, though they are placed last in the volume; they are all taken from very ancient manuscripts, and both in style, in matter, and in the allusions with which they abound, present every evidence of authenticity. The third and fourth are unhappily imperfect, particularly the third, the manuscript having suffered very much from time.

Next to St. Augustine, the treatise of Sedulius, our countryman, *Rectoribus Christianis*, has of course the first claim upon us. We say our countryman, for Cardinal Mai proves very clearly in his preface that this can be no other than Sedulius Scotigena. The history of this work is rather singular. Its existence in manuscript was long known, but, what may appear almost impossible, a doubt had arisen whether it was ever published. That it was prepared for the press by Freher in 1612, appears quite certain; and Schöttgen says that Fabricius mentions its publication in octavo at Leipsic, in 1619; but he adds that he has never been able to find any one who has seen or alluded to it; and the cardinal's researches have been unsuccessful in resolving the doubt. He determined, therefore, that in these circumstances it might be practically regarded as inedited, and that, even though this impression were false, the work had become so exceedingly rare, that it was as much, or perhaps more, exposed to the danger of being entirely lost, as though it still remained in manuscript. For this service thus rendered to the ecclesiastical literature of our country, we feel sincerely grateful; and the more so as his eminence proposes to give, in the ninth, Sedulius's *Expositiones in Præfationes St. Hieronymi ad Evangelia*, and the

ninth volume of the *Scriptores Veteres* already published contains his *Expositiones in SS. Matthæum, Marcum, et Lucam*.

The greater part of the contents of the eighth volume, however, belongs to the literature of the fifteenth century. Those who remember Cardinal Valeris's delightful treatise, *De occupationibus Cardinali Diacono dignis*, published in the *Scriptores Veteres*, will learn with pleasure that the present volume contains three other tracts, written in the same charming spirit, and with the same classic elegance by which the former work is distinguished. Two of these, *De Cauta Imitatione SS. Episcoporum* and *Quatenus fugiendi sint Honores*, are addressed to the inimitable Cardinal Frederic Borromeo. An equally interesting specimen of modern latinity, are the letters of Antonio Galato (who died in 1517), and those of the celebrated Antonio Graziani, secretary of Cardinal Commendon, afterwards bishop of Amerida. We fully subscribe to the judgment of the editor, who places these letters upon a level with those of Poggio himself; and we are tempted to crave the reader's indulgence for a departure from our ordinary custom, and to insert one of Graziani's letters in the original Latin. We select one of domestic interest, being addressed to the celebrated Nicholas Sanders, and written at a period when all communications between England and Rome cannot but be of importance. We abstain from any commentary upon the letter. It may be useful as affording some light regarding the position of the individuals who are named in it, and is written in a spirit so evidently confidential, as to make us regret that the collection of Graziani's letters contains only one of them addressed to Sanders, and still more that the one to which it is intended as a reply is unhappily wanting:—

I. Antonius Maria Gratianus Nicholao Sandero. S.P.D.

"Omnem conditionem eorum, qui in Anglia pro christiana religione, et pro communi libertate, utraque impotente femine dominatu oppressa, arma ceperunt, statumque Anglici regni mihi demonstrarunt litteræ tuæ, quas ad me XV. cal. Martii longissimas dedisti; in quibus ex omnibus partibus cum prudentia tum singularis pietas in patriam tua sese ostendit; quæ profecto me, tanta præsertim amoris erga me significatione adjuncta, vel in medio, dolore, quem ex istarum rerum perturbatione cepi, mirifice delectarit. Sic enim, Sandere, velim existimes, probitatem, religionem, excellentem doctrinam tuam, tanti a me fieri ut ex omnibus amicis, ad quos diligendos ipsorum me virtus adduxit, te uno mihi neque cariorum esse quenquam, neque ullius benevolentiam jucundiorum:



cui certe benevolentiae tantum tribuo, ut tuam de patriae salute sollicitudinem curamque, communem mihi ducam, planeque ea sic afficiar, ut ne nobis quidem ipsis, quibus tanti fuit catholicae fidei professio, ut pro ea extorres patria, iis rebus omnibus careatis, quae sunt hominibus carissimae, studio et voluntate in praestantissimi regni salute, concedam. Quod si par animo mihi facultas suppeteret, ne tu ex rebus ipsis intelligeres, quam amanti tui, quam cupido rei publicae patriam tuam commendasses.

“Sed redeo ad tuam epistolam. Ea mihi reddita est ad xii. cal. Aprilis, quam cum legissem, continuo ad Cardinalem qui, ut scis, singulari est in vestram gentem animo, detuli. Is eodem die quod conveniendi tum Pontificem propter ejus incommodam valetudinem potestas nemini erat, pontificis ipsius intimo conciliorum ministro ostendit; et apud eum reliquit, quo pontificem de omnibus rebus, quae scripsisti, edocere posset. Quod et factum est ab eo diligenter; et plane est quod speremus currentem pontificis animum ad vos complectendos suscipendosque iis litteris incitatum iri. Sed incredibile est, sanctissimus senex quam multis curis occupationibusque destineatur; ut nisi Dei singulari in ecclesiam benignitate, quae tot temporum procellis sic cuncta miscente adversario humani generis haud alio gubernatore eget, conservaretur, fieri non posse videatur, ut illa aetate, illa etiam tenuitate valetudinis, tantis rerum fluctibus tempestatibusque sustinendis sufficeret. Quo minus mirum tibi videri debet, si non ut quaeque provincia fluctuare coepit, continuo ad opem ferendam praesto sumus.”

He proceeds to enumerate the perils and difficulties from every quarter which beset the Church, and perplex the counsels of the pontiff; but assures him, notwithstanding, that,

“In tantarum rerum curis cogitationibusque, quae pontificem maximum maxime tangunt, ne vos quidem expertes opis suae princeps, paterna plane in omnes charitate, quicumque ecclesiae Dei amantes sunt, relinquet. Nam et de iis ipsis remediis, quae tu commemoras, cogitatum ante est, et adhibebuntur cum exploratum erit salutaria fore; adhuc quidem habere videntur deliberationem; de qua re cum clarissimo viro priore Angliae, qui eximia pietate omnem suam industriam, curas, labores, in patriae salute consumit, multumque apud optimum quemque Cardinalium et gratia et opinione virtutis pollet, locuti sumus. Ipse, ut arbitror, omnia Francisco Inglefield tuo a quo mihi longam et prudenter scriptam epistolam nuper ostendit, prescribet. Tu de Francisco ipso cognosces: ego certe agendo, rogando, monendo, ubi opus fuerit, meam vobis et tibi in primis diligentiam ac fidem praestabo.

“Warmiensi Cardinali legendam epistolam tuam dedi, deque ea ipse et Cardinalis meus acturi sunt cum pontifice. Qui quidem Cardinales tibi salutem ut adscriberem, suis verbis uterque mihi mandavit. Ego abs te peto ut crebras ad nos, et ut instituisti facere,

plenas de omnibus rebus litteras mittas. Gratias facere mihi nihil enim causæ est, cur non te utilem patriæ tuæ operam præstiturum confideres, si Romæ esses. Vale. Romæ. IIII. cal Apr. 1570."—*Spicilegium* viii. pp. 456-8.

Besides these letters, Cardinal Mai has inserted in this volume a very curious historical work by the same author, designed as a supplement to his work *De Casibus Adversis Illustrium Virorum sui Ævi*. It is the history of an adventurer named Disputa,—one of those daring pretenders to royalty, who, like Lambert Simnel in England, contrived to personate a real or imaginary character; and though he was a base-born Cretan, and, indeed, a slave, effectually imposed on the credulity of his followers, and, from the humble post of copyist in the Vatican library, managed to establish himself for two years (1560-2) in the possession of the principality of Wallachia. The story, to us at least, is entirely new, and it is written with an unstudied elegance, and an approach to classic purity, which might almost deceive the most practised and fastidious critic.

The latinity of Graziani presents a curious contrast with that of which the reader will find a specimen in the lives of three Neapolitan viceroys (pp. 609-52), written by Giulio Cæsare, who died in 1631. The excellence of the matter induced Cardinal Mai to overlook the carelessness and inelegance of the composition; and as he thought it advisable to rewrite the lives, and to improve the latinity, they may now be read with considerable interest.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to the modern Latin prose writers comprised in the eighth volume. But it contains, besides, several specimens of modern Latin poetry, from the unpublished writings of Cardinals Commendone and Bembo, and of the celebrated Sannazzaro.\* Among these, the most remarkable is a very pretty epic, in five hundred lines, entitled *Sarca*, by Bembo; which, without being, like most modern poems, offensively mythological, has as much of that character as sits gracefully upon the Latin hexameter. Its mythology, indeed, might rather be called allegory; being merely a personification of the rivers, lakes, and mountains in the locality where the scene is laid. The river Sarca asks the Benacus for his daughter Garda in marriage. His suit is

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\* To these we should not omit to add two Italian poems of the fourteenth century, which are inserted in the preface; especially one in *terza rima*, by Simon of Siena, addressed to the blessed Virgin, on occasion of the plague which visited that city in 1383.

accepted, on the condition of his mingling his streams with the Benacus (then a tiny streamlet), so that from the union a lake (to be called Garda) should be formed. All the river gods and goddesses of the neighbourhood assemble to the nuptials; and the prophetess Manto foretells that a son will be born (to be called Mincius), whose waters will encircle Mantua. Upon this prediction turns the main point of the poem, which is intended as a tribute to the poetic eminence of Jovian and Sannazzaro. Of this Mincius, and a nymph named Maia, the prophetess foretells, will be born an illustrious poet, Virgil, whose memory will long outlive him, and will continue, even to the latest times, to produce its fruits in the poets, who after his day will shed lustre on his country. The poem concludes with a panegyric of Jovian and Accius Sannazzarius:—

“ Accius ille suæ ornabit qui tempora cultu  
Ingenii, clarisque viris, tenerisque puellis  
Deliciæ, toto vivens cunctabitur orbe.”

We cannot conclude our notice of the eighth volume, without particularizing a fragment, small though it is, of one of the most extraordinary men of modern times,—the celebrated, but short-lived, Augustinian Onofrio Pauvinio. Thoroughly conversant with all the theological learning of his order—an eminent controversialist—a perfect linguist—and an accomplished historian, he was, above all, the most profound antiquarian the world, perhaps, has ever seen. Unhappily, however, for classical literature, just as he had completed his researches in Roman antiquities, which he proposed to give to the world in a hundred books, he died at the premature age of thirty-nine (1568). Cardinal Mai, in the present volume, gives the preface of this gigantic work, and holds out a hope that we may expect the remainder of his manuscripts which still lie inedited in the Vatican. The preface was in part published in the Venetian edition of the commentaries on the Roman republic: but it is well deserving of publication in its complete form, and will give an idea of the profound and universal reading of this wonderful man.

We must here abruptly close this sketch of the *Spicilegium Romanum*. Brief and imperfect as the notice of a work so extensive must necessarily be, it may serve, notwithstanding, to give some idea of its valuable contents, and to induce our readers to examine for themselves. We cannot conceal our shame at the indifference with which Cardinal Mai's publications,—which are not only read, but, in many cases, re-published,



on the continent,—seem (at least, judging from the public journals \*) to be regarded in this country. There is no class of students for whom they should not possess great interest; and especially there is no catholic (and, we suppose, now-a-days, no Anglican) library complete without them.

For the present, therefore, we take our leave, pledging ourselves to return to the work as soon as the remaining volumes shall be published.

ART. V.—1. *The Edinburgh Review*. No. CLV. February 1843.

2. *The Bible in Spain; or, The Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula*. By George Borrow. Three volumes, 8vo. London, 1843. Second Edition.

“**T**HE form of persecution is altered,—the spirit remains the same. Those who heretofore would have used the dagger, or the knife of the assassin, employ now only the tongue, or the pen of the calumniator; and instead of murdering bodies, exhaust their energies in assassinating reputation. Calumny has been substituted for murder, and the faction which has so long rioted in Irish [Catholic] blood, consoles its virulent and malignant passions by indulging in ever varying, never-dying falsehood, and truculent slander.”†

Never did the illustrious writer of this paragraph utter a more incontestable truth. The war of slander against the Catholic Church has not, it is true, *begun* in latter times: it has existed from the beginning. In the days of our fathers, it was backed by persecution—that is, persecution of the body: in ours, shame and fear, but principally fear, have stayed the arm of persecution; and they in whom the old sanguinary spirit still resides, are unwilling to avow, or unable to gratify, their propensity. The demon of slander having thus lost the protection of her old ally, has strengthened her hands the more, and, being thrown upon her own resources, has become crafty in proportion as she has been left

\* We are bound to make an honourable exception in favour of the “*Dublin Evening Post*,” which has devoted a considerable share of its interesting literary columns to a series of very agreeable and scholarlike notices of the various publications of the learned cardinal.

† O’Connell’s *Ireland*, p. 43.

unaided, and has assumed a garb she was not hitherto accustomed to wear, because she did not require it.

It is time, it is more than time, that something should be done to arouse the attention of the Catholic public to the pestilent state of our literature, in all its departments, especially as regards Catholicity in Ireland. Anti-Catholic views are circulated everywhere around us, not always, as of old, in their own naked, palpable shapes, which men could see with their eyes, and shudder at, and fly from; no longer bearing their proper titles legibly upon them. Their dress is changed, but nothing else. Like the devils that tempted St. Anthony, they assume a thousand different forms, the sublime, the beautiful, the ludicrous, the fairly proportioned, the distorted: their essence unchanged, the evil spirit in all. The press in London, in Dublin, in Edinburgh, everywhere, is teeming with publications of the class we allude to; whose avowed object is to instruct, to amuse, and, not unfrequently, to “conciliate;” but whose real, though disguised, object is to injure the Catholic priesthood and the doctrines and practices of the Catholic religion, by ridicule, by sarcasm, by an affectation of impartiality, by the ‘damning of faint praise,’ by a systematic use of the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi*. No place is too sacred for them to penetrate. Like the gods of paganism, there is no shape they will not assume to win worshippers. They are to be met with in the bookseller’s shop, in the circulating library, in the reading-room, and, alas! too often in the “parlour windows” of respectable Catholic families; in cheap monthly issues of popular works; in the rich engraving, in the neatly executed woodcut; in quarto, in duodecimo; in thick volumes, and in thin pamphlets; in embossed cloth, in purple morocco, in shining gold.

The evil has gone on increasing from year to year; it has progressed with the advancing desire for information, or taste for mere literature, and the consequent increase in the circulation of books. Young students for the legal and medical professions, the sons of shopkeepers, and of respectable farmers, and of country gentlemen, tradesmen, young boys at seminaries and public schools; all these (and how large the number comprised under so many denominations taken together!) all these are now in the habit of reading new productions, popular histories, biographies, tales, travels, magazines, reviews, and the like. Facilities for gratifying, for glutting this general rage are enlarged. The multiplication of circulating libraries; the new system, now so popular, of

publishing in monthly parts, at the price of a shilling each, or less, large and expensive works, which would be sure to deter many a purchaser, if offered only at the price of the entire made up in volumes; the equally popular system of publishing "people's editions;" these and other causes, which it is needless to enumerate, have contributed to make books of every kind, especially worthless and bad books, as easily to be procured as the *Catholic Piety*, or *Think well on't*. Whoever has a shilling to spare may purchase a reprint of Hall's Libel upon Maynooth College,\* or a number of the new edition of Carleton's libels on the Irish priesthood and people, under the softer title of *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, with its beastly slanders, and its pictured caricatures, representing the persons and things most revered by the Irish people, so as to provoke the laughter of the scoffer and the infidel, but to kindle the indignation of any man who has a single spark of Irish feeling—of Catholic Irish (*quis separabit?*) feeling in his bosom. We are quite sure that such books have not *yet* effected any *general* mischief in Ireland,—thanks to the burning and unconquerable devotion of her children to the faith of their fathers, and their own heroic priesthood. But that these books are beginning to be very widely circulated among the classes above mentioned, and that they have wrought some evil, and injured the moral and religious feeling of some, we know for certain, both from our own personal observation, and from the most competent testimony. We *know* young men religiously educated, of religious parents, and themselves, up to the period when these detestable books fell into their hands, devout and practical Catholics; but whose heads have since then been turned; their minds filled with pointed sarcasms, insidious humour, lying incidents and stories of immoral and uncatholic tendency; their religious principles weakened and corrupted. While engaged in writing these lines, we are informed, by a zealous and well-informed clergyman of the diocese of \* \* \*,—one too in nothing bigoted, and in politics of the most liberal views,—that, in the parish in

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\* Reprinted from "Ireland, its Scenery, Character, &c.," by Mr. and Mrs. C. Hall; an interesting and most insidious, and, therefore, most dangerous work, to which we mean soon to direct our readers' attention, perhaps in our next number. As a sample of the *objectionable* parts, we may here mention that, in one of the notes subjoined to the account of Maynooth College, there are no less than *five* gross and calumnious falsehoods, in matters of plain fact, in the short space of *four* lines! In another note, on the same subject, there are *three* still grosser and more calumnious falsehoods, in matters of *notorious* fact, in the space of *three* lines!! Truly this is the age of reckless slander.



which he officiates, he has seen on the table, in respectable farmers' houses, such books as Carleton's *Libels*, where books of the kind were unknown until lately; and has witnessed the effect of reading them in the younger branches of the families,—the withering and the wasting away of high-toned Catholic feeling, and rigid Catholic purity, which follow, as a matter of course, from the circulation among such classes of these moral poisons. We mention this merely as one fact out of a mass of others still more afflicting, and which have come to our knowledge through equally authentic sources. We are no alarmists: but we do think that these are facts worth attending to; and that the system, for it is a *system*, which leads to such results, ought to be exposed publicly, fearlessly, directly.

We call upon the honest and *truly* patriotic portion of the press to assist us. We call upon them in the name—we need not say of Catholicity, but—of the common principles of morality, of truth, of justice, and in the name of the purity of the Irish character. Our words can directly reach but the class which, enjoying literary leisure, are in the habit of reading reviews: but theirs reach all, and penetrate through the masses of society, from the highest to the lowest. This is no topic of (what is called in the phraseology of the day) a *sectarian* nature; it requires no discussion on articles of faith, or texts of Scripture, or written tradition. In truth, a man need not be a Catholic to embrace the substance of our views, any more than he need be a Catholic to join in a public denunciation of the practice of picking pockets, or stabbing in the dark. We are sure that some who are not Catholics would think with us. We of course believe all Protestants to be in error: but our business is not now with the contributors to popular literature, as they are advocates of Protestantism, but as they are false and base calumniators. If, indeed, as we believe, and could easily shew, the great Reformers have been wicked men, and Protestantism has been begotten, and nurtured, and defended, and kept in existence by calumny, and force, and rapine, and blood; this we think a decisive argument against the Reformation. But with this argument we have nothing to do, at present. Our object is, not to brandish theological arguments, but to state and publish plain facts,—rather to show what are the sentiments put forward in certain writings, with a view to warn our own against their pernicious influence, than to confute those sentiments, with a view to confound or convince our opponents.

We are on the defensive more than the offensive side:—indeed, on the latter side not at all, except in so far as is necessary for our direct purpose.

But let us come to particulars, to “Proofs and Illustrations;” other general observations which occur to us, we shall find another opportunity for introducing,—if not in the present, in a subsequent article.

We commence with the *Edinburgh Review*. We place it first on our list, not because we think it the *very* worst of its class; but because its high literary character, its advocacy of certain liberal views, and the general ignorance that prevails of the reckless bigotry which so often marks its language regarding the Catholic *religion*, render it one of the most dangerous.\*

We have no wish to speak lightly of the literary merits of the *Edinburgh Review*, although we think they have been not a little overrated. It is, indeed, to us, anything but grateful to denounce a periodical so long the steady friend of Catholic Emancipation; whose pages have been so often illuminated by the wit and eloquence of some of the wittiest and most eloquent men of the age; to denounce it too for qualities which sink it far lower, as an advocate of truth, or justice, or truly liberal opinions, than the occasional contributions we have referred to, raise it in other respects. This is indeed a labour we would rather avoid, and which we were beginning to flatter ourselves it would not be necessary for us to undertake: for we thought we had perceived of late years, among not a few of the bitterest fruits of by-gone prejudice and ignorance, the growth of better feelings and juster notions in the *Edinburgh Review*. But an article in the February number, on “Borrow’s Bible in Spain,” has dashed our too fond hopes, and has exhibited once more the demon of slander, of mocking and malignant Calvinistic slander, grinning out from the pages of this periodical.

Some of our Catholic readers, who know the *Edinburgh*

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\* We think it right to say, moreover, that it is owing to the dissertation on “Borrow’s Bible,” that this series of papers is commenced in our present number. The writer of this article had indeed resolved a considerable time back to enter on this task. He wished nevertheless to wait a little longer, until the pressure of engrossing and unavoidable occupations should be relaxed, and leisure thus afforded him of doing all the justice to his subject which its importance demands, and his own slender abilities would enable him to accomplish. But, on the one hand, he had no prospect of soon enjoying the wished-for leisure, and, on the other, he thought it better that the good work should be attempted by an inferior artist or with inferior means, than not attempted at all: “Ab alio potiusquam a me, a me potiusquam a nemine.”

*Review* only through its more moderate articles, may be startled at these strong words of ours, and others—*e. g.* the Catholic lawyers, who eat meat on Fridays—may be offended at them. Let such readers, if any such there shall happen to be, suspend their judgment, for the present; and, when they shall have read the extracts we are about to give, say whether the spirit of a work, of which these are but specimens, would not justify language even stronger than we have used.

The reviewer, in the first paragraph of his dissertation, tells us of Mr. Borrow, that he is “if at times serious even unto sadness, never churlish or ascetic—never morose or misanthropic; the milk of human kindness flows in his veins; his disposition is cheerful, such as becomes the bearer of tidings of peace—solemn as becomes their vital import. His every feeling is an inlet of joy; his pages, true exponents of the man, are studded with heartfelt admiration of the beauties of nature, &c.”—(p. 105.)

Truly these are magnificent eulogiums, and scattered with no sparing hand; such as might befit some shadowy being of the poet's dream, some being who wanted but “the adornment of bright wings,” to look like an inhabitant of a higher sphere—an angel of peace, whose feet are beautiful on the mountains, whose glance is sunshine, whose voice is music. Well, we read the extracts from Mr. Borrow's book in the *Edinburgh Review*, and then we sent for the book itself, and read it attentively. Alas! what a change came over the lovely vision of human perfection which the reviewer had conjured up before our too easy imagination. This serious, and sweet, and cheerful creature, with the “inlets of joy,” and the “studded pages,” this new evangelist, this wingless cherub stood revealed before us, in his own reality—a gloomy bigot, and furious fanatic; petulant, frivolous, cynical, vulgar, pedantic; tasteless, arrogant, abusive. We speak of him only as he has pictured himself in his own book, as he exists there: who George Borrow is, or rather what he is, we know not, except as far as his book and his reviewer tell us. His book is a clumsy, ill-written, disgusting libel upon Catholicity; and, but for the virulent anti-Catholic phrenzy that pervades it, we can hardly conceive it possible that it would have found a dozen readers, or a single panegyrist. Frantic antipathy to the Pope, and to every thing Catholic, not only forms the burden of these three (for there are *three*) volumes, but it is the whole, their alpha and omega, their body and spirit: take this away, and you do not leave even a gibbering



skeleton behind. In reading them through, we felt as one in a night-mare, with all the goblins dancing on him; as one in pitchy darkness with a troop of devils yelling in his ears.

We are not going to write a review or a confutation of Mr. Borrow's work. It is an *avowedly* anti-Catholic publication, and therefore beside our present purpose; besides that, our direct business is with another adversary. But we shall cull some extracts from its pages, that our readers may, first of all, see what sort of idol the Edinburgh Reviewer has taken for the object of his last worship.

"The work now offered to the public," writes Mr. Borrow, in his preface, "consists of a narrative of what occurred to me during a residence in that country [Spain] to which I was sent by the Bible Society, as its agent, for the purpose of printing and circulating the Scriptures."—(*Pref.* ix.)

In a dialogue, which he entitles a "Serious Discourse," between himself and a gypsy, named Antonio, the speakers thus express themselves:—

*Borrow.* "Did you not hear me speak in the foros about God and Tebleque? It was to declare his glory to the Cales and the Gentiles, that I came to the land of Spain."

*Antonio.* "And who *sent* you on this errand?"

(A very pertinent and extremely embarrassing query this, by the way: we wonder where a Gypsy could have picked up such a theological poser.)

*Borrow.* "You would scarcely understand me were I to inform you. Know, however, that there are many in foreign lands who lament the darkness that envelopes Spain, and the scenes of cruelty, robbery and murder which deform it."—

*Borrow*, i. 205.)

Mr. Borrow, then, is a missionary—a missionary sent out by a gang of conspirators against Christianity, who denominate themselves the Bible Society; whose head-quarters are, we believe, fixed in London, and who live and carry on their operations at the expense of some thousands of persons, who are dupes, or knaves enough to spend their money in supporting a swarm of vagabonds, trampers, incendiaries, and hypocrites, in every quarter of the globe. Mr. Borrow is a tramper—nay, to borrow the phrase of the Edinburgh Review, (p. 105) a 'jockey tramper, philologist, and missionary:' and this tramping missionary has published three goodly volumes, purporting to detail the history of a Bible campaign, the eventful story of the period of his life, devoted to the single all-absorbing object of distributing the Bible in Spain. Let

us give our readers some general notion of the beauties of these “studded pages.” The volumes are filled with matter of all sorts; with words and phrases from Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Turkish, Arabic, and we cannot say how many other tongues. They give us adventures without end;—how a sailor dreamed that he fell into the sea, and how he did fall into it (i. 2); how Mr. Borrow scared a big, fierce mastiff, by looking him full in the eyes; how he behaved with genuine Protestant impertinence and indecorum to a convent of nuns, and how he afterwards devoured some “sweet and delicious cheesecakes,” the handiwork of the aforesaid nuns;\* how he went to Spain for the purpose, among other things, of tanning his face;† how he met a wild-looking lad who gabbled in a most incoherent manner, who screamed like a hyena, and barked like a terrier, and who was, after all, “light, merry, and anything but malevolent” (i. 25); how fond he is of the flesh of roasted

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\* “He entered a dark stone apartment, at one corner of which was a kind of window, occupied by a turning table, at which articles were received into the convent or delivered out. He [the guide] rang the bell, and, without saying a word, retired, leaving me rather perplexed; but presently I heard, though the speaker was invisible, a soft feminine voice demanding who I was, and what I wanted. I replied, that I was an Englishman travelling into Spain. . . . The voice then said, — ‘I suppose [the supposition was natural] you are a military man, going to fight against the king, like the rest of your countrymen.’ ‘No,’ said I, ‘I am not a military man, but a Christian; and I go not to shed blood, but to endeavour to introduce the Gospel of Christ into a country where it is not known’; whereupon there was a stifled titter. [No wonder, indeed: the nuns should have shewn him to the door forthwith: he deserved to be kicked out for his insolence; but probably they took him to be some monomaniac]. I then inquired if there were any copies of the Holy Scriptures in the convent; but the friendly voice could give me no information on that point, — and I scarcely believe that its possessor understood the purport of my question. [How could she comprehend what this raving intruder would be at?] . . . On my inquiring whether the nuns did not frequently find the time exceedingly heavy on their hands, it stated that, when they had nothing better to do, they employed themselves in making cheesecakes, which they disposed of in the neighbourhood. I thanked the voice for its communications, and walked away. Whilst proceeding under the wall of the house towards the south-west, I heard a fresh and louder tittering above my head [the good sisters evidently took him for a monomaniac], and, looking up, saw three or four windows crowded with dusky faces and black waving hair,—these belonged to the nuns, anxious to obtain a view of the stranger. [Their curiosity was very natural: it is not often they would expect to see such a strange sight.] After kissing my hand repeatedly, I moved on, &c. . . . I returned to the inn, where I refreshed myself with tea and very sweet and delicious cheesecakes, the handiwork of the nuns in the convent above.” (i. 112-116.)

\* “I was about to *tan my northern complexion*, by exposing myself to the hot sun of Spain, in the humble hope of being able to *cleanse some of the foul stains of Popery from the minds of its children*,” &c. (i. 148.)

rabbits and gallant swine, and how he luxuriated upon them;\* how he was pitched into the mud, and flew into a rage;† how he rode a lame, wall-eyed beast, covered with sores, which “cantered along like the wind” (i. 146); how he likes to sleep in a manger, listening to the horses and mules grinding their provender (i. 190); how he was compared, by the Spanish prime-minister, to a certain hunchbacked fanatic;‡ how he was spoken of as a “plaguy pestilent fellow” (i. 284); how he was likely to become a second S. Stephen (ii. 8); how he preferred a mule to a horse, and how a mule once laughed at him;§ how he swallowed nearly a pint of brandy on one occasion, and half-a-gallon of milk on another;|| how he lived among the gypsies, and how fond he was of them (i. chap. 9, *et passim*); how he saw the carcass of a horse half devoured, with an enormous vulture standing on him, which, at his

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\* “Rabbits at Pegoens seem to be a standard article of food. . . We had one fried, the gravy of which was delicious; and afterwards a roasted one, which was brought up on a dish entire: the hostess, having first washed her hands, proceeded to tear the animal to pieces, which having accomplished, she poured over the fragments a sweet sauce. I ate heartily of both dishes, particularly of the last.” (i. 34.)

“Gallant swine they are [those of Alemtejo], with short legs and portly bodies; . . . and for the excellence of their flesh I can vouch, having frequently luxuriated upon it: . . . the loin, when broiled on live embers, is delicious, especially when eaten with olives.” (i. 39.)

“Antonio made his appearance. . . . ‘Come in, brother, and we will eat the heart of that hog.’ I scarcely understood him; but, following him . . . . We both sat down and ate,—Antonio voraciously.” (i. 159.)

“We told him that if he had nothing better to offer, we should be very glad to eat some slices of this bacon, especially if some eggs were added.” (ii. 42.)

† “I was pitched forward into the dirt, and the drunken driver fell upon the murdered mule. *I was in a great rage, and cried, ‘you drunken renegade,’*” &c. (i. 71.)

‡ “As I was going away, he [the prime minister] said, ‘yours is not the first application I have had: *ever since I have held the reins of government, I have been pestered in this manner, by English calling themselves evangelical Christians, who have of late come flocking over into Spain. Only last week, a hunchback fellow found his way into my cabinet, whilst I was engaged in important business, and told me that Christ was coming.*’ . . . .

“Borrow.—‘There will be no end to the troubles of this afflicted country, until the Gospel have free circulation.’

“Prime minister.—‘I have expected that answer, for I have not lived thirteen years in England without forming some acquaintance with the phraseology of you good folks,’” &c. (i. 242.)

§ “... The singular quadruped, who, ever and anon, would lift his head high in the air, curl up his lip, and shew his yellow teeth, as if he were laughing at us, *as perhaps he was.*” (ii. 9, 37.)

|| “I got into the house of an Englishman, where I swallowed nearly a pint of brandy: it affected me no more than warm water.” (i. 369.)

“I was at length fortunate enough to obtain a large jug of milk. . . . . The jug might contain about half a gallon, but I emptied it in a few minutes; for the thirst of fever was still burning within me.” (ii. 103.)



(Borrow's) approach, soared aloft as if in anger at having been disturbed from his feast of carrion (i. 316); how he rode a fiery stallion through Spain, "unbroke, savage, and furious," and into what scrapes the same stallion was constantly getting him—to say nothing of his more indecorous pranks;\* how he travelled about equipped in a leather helmet, a leather jacket, and leather trousers, and driving before him a borrico, with a sack of testaments lying across its back; and how a woman meeting him, asked was it soap which his borrico carried; and how he replied that it was soap—to wash souls clean withal (iii. 150); how he viewed, through a telescope, two friars swimming in the Guadalquivir, whereupon he utters a most unseemly gibe;† how the snoring of a man in a red nightcap prevented him from sleeping, and how the same snoring reminded him that he had not said his prayers (iii. 242); how he met a rock lizard (one born of English parents) at Gibraltar, who grinned several times (iii. 269); how he prayed to God that, if England were ever doomed to fall, she might "*sink amidst blood and flame, with a mighty noise, causing more than one nation to participate in her downfall*" (iii. 273)—a truly charitable prayer, and most becoming in the mouth of one calling himself a Christian missionary!

These and a thousand such like things Mr. Borrow tells us—for we could give but the faintest and poorest idea of the stuff which forms his work. Such may be, for aught we know, the sort of fare most suited to the taste of those who read the ordinary books of travels: but of the Bible in Spain we read very little; and of that little, we believe very little. The history of his direct labours in the circulation of the Scriptures, might be comprised in about one-twentieth the bulk of the entire narrative: and the account of his success might be expressed in a single word—nothing. No, we need not look for a Gypsey or a Turkish phrase, to tell what he has effected, in his efforts to illuminate the gentiles of Spain:

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\* ii. 9, 47, 90, 133, 280, &c. "An old Castilian peasant, whose pony he had maltreated, once said to me, 'Sir cavalier, if you have any love or respect for yourself, get rid, I beseech you, of that beast, who is capable of proving the ruin of a kingdom.' So I left him behind at Coruña, where I subsequently learned that he became glandered and died. Peace to his memory!"

† "Their heads could just be descried with the telescope. I was told they were friars. I wondered at what period of their lives they had acquired their dexterity at natation. I hoped it was not at a time when, according to their vows, they should have lived for prayer, fasting, and mortification alone." (iii. 280.) Can low and malignant buffoonery go farther than this?

a common English term expresses all—nothing, absolutely nothing. He indeed admits thus much in substance, for he candidly declares, this tramping missionary declares, “that he accomplished but very little, and lays claim to no brilliant successes and triumphs.”—(*Pref. xx*). And yet he is, this jockey tramper (so the *Edinburgh Review* calls him) is, according to himself, six feet two, even without shoes (i. 240); and he has an eye that can frighten fierce dogs, as Van Amburgh does tigers, nay, that can subdue the bloody, cruel, plundering, pagan Spaniards, while he abuses their pope, and tells them they are not Christians (i. 50); though he rode a furious stallion through the country; though he has a herculean frame, and can sleep under the falling rain and grizzling frost; though he commanded the friendship of Gypsies, the services of cutthroats and scoundrels of every kind (*passim*);\* though he was the favourite of the peasantry (*Pref. xx. &c.*); though no danger appals him (*passim*); though he had abundance of English gold, and bales of beautiful Bibles;† though he had the support, the warm and zealous support of the English ambassador;‡ though he had an imposing appear-

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\* We shall quote one passage as furnishing an example of the sort of persons who had the honour of being the friends and supporters of Borrow in his “campaigning” labours: other examples occur everywhere through the work. “I rode over to Toledo, for the purpose of circulating the Scriptures, sending beforehand, by a muleteer, a cargo of one hundred Testaments. I instantly addressed myself to the principal bookseller of the place . . . . On entering the shop, I beheld a stout athletic man, dressed in a kind of cavalry uniform, with a helmet on his head, and an immense sabre in his hand: this was the bookseller himself, who, I soon found, was an officer in the national cavalry. Upon learning who I was, he shook me heartily by the hand, and said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than taking charge of the books, which he would endeavour to circulate to the utmost of his ability.

“Will not your doing so bring you into odium with the clergy?”

“Ca!” said he, “who cares? I am rich, and so was my father before me. I do not depend on them; they cannot hate me more than they do already, for I make no secret of my opinions. I have just returned from an expedition,” said he; “my brother nationals and myself have, for the last three days, been occupied in hunting down the factious and thieves of the neighbourhood; we have killed three and brought in several prisoners. Who cares for the cowardly priests? I am a liberal, and a friend of your countryman, Flinter. Many is the Carlist guerilla-curate and robber-friar whom I have assisted him to catch. I am rejoiced to hear that he has just been appointed captain-general of Toledo; there will be fine doings here when he arrives. We will make the clergy shake between us, I assure you.” (ii. 371.)

† *Passim*; especially second volume. “Within three months from this time [the period of his visit to the English ambassador], an edition of the New Testament, consisting of five thousand copies, was published at Madrid.” (ii. 5.)

‡ Mr. Villiers, now Lord Clarendon. The *Edinburgh reviewer* (p. 125) does not approve of the want of due diplomatic caution which Mr. Borrow betrays in acknowledging the assistance he received from Mr. Villiers. We, however,

ance, an engaging manner, a voluble tongue, the knowledge of many languages, much experience, the ready coin of solemn and sanctimonious cant (*passim*); though pursuing his labours at a time when Spain is rent asunder by internal strife, so as to be, if ever, the easy prey of the designing and the powerful; yet with all these appliances, from within and from without, notwithstanding his bulk, his height, his eye, his fortitude, his courage, his excellent stomach, his equestrian prowess, his gold, his Bibles, his popularity, his powerful patronage, his cunning, his cant, his ready talk, his learning, his attractive manners, his great labours; notwithstanding all these, this famous agent of the great Bible Society, this stallion-striding missionary, has effected nothing, and shows in his narrative, that he has effected nothing.

think the disclosure of some importance: it will not be uninteresting to our readers to learn that an English ambassador is, besides his more official duties, actively and ardently engaged in furthering, by every means which he dare use, conspiracies against the faith and morals of the people among whom he resides.

"The British minister performed all I could wish and more than I could expect: he had an interview with the duke of Rivas, with whom he had much discourse upon my affair [the scheme for publishing and circulating the Bible].....He moreover wrote a private letter to the duke.....and, to crown all, he wrote a letter directed to myself, in which he did me the honour to say that he had a regard for me, and that nothing would afford him greater pleasure than to hear that I had obtained the permission I was seeking." (i. 267.)

"I had fervent hope that no future ministry, particularly a liberal one, would venture to interfere with me, more especially as the English ambassador was my friend, and was privy to all the steps I had taken throughout the whole affair. (i. 285.)

"One of my first cares was to wait on Mr. Villiers, who received me with his usual kindness. I asked him whether he considered that I might venture to commence printing the Scriptures without any more applications to government.....His reply was satisfactory: 'You had best commence and complete the work as soon as possible, without any fresh application; and should any one attempt to interrupt you, you have only to come to me, whom you may command at any time.' (ii. 5.)

"Mr. —, of the British embassy, entered my apartment. He informed me that Mr. Villiers had desired him to wait upon me to communicate a resolution he had come to.....he [Mr. Villiers] was bent upon exerting to the utmost his own credit and influence to further my views.....It was his intention to purchase a very considerable number of copies of the New Testament, and to dispatch them forthwith to the various British consuls established in different parts of Spain, with strict and positive orders to employ all the means which their official situation should afford them to circulate the books in question, and to assure their being noticed. They were moreover charged to afford me, whenever I should appear in their respective districts, all the protection, encouragement, and assistance which I should stand in need of.

"I was of course much rejoiced on receiving this information.....I believe that this was the first instance of a British ambassador having made the cause of the Bible Society a national one, or indeed of having favoured it directly or indirectly.....The Holy Ghost had probably illumined his mind on this point. (ii. 22.)

"I cannot find words sufficiently strong to do justice to the zeal and interest which Sir George Villiers displayed in the cause of the Testament. (iii. 6.)



O, Protestantism!—Protestantism! the curse of barrenness is on thee. Thou dwellest in the fortress of the most powerful nation in the world; the swords of invincible armies flame around thee in thy defence; the gold of many conquered tribes, and of many plundered shrines is flung into thy lap; the ways of the earth are made clear before thee, wherever the “white-winged commerce” of England shines; and courage and wisdom and eloquence and learning wait upon thee. For three centuries have thine heralds trumpeted thee forth in the ears of men; and thou hast smitten with thy sceptre of power those who stood against thee, and broken their earthly might into pieces; and those thou couldst not strike, thou hast tried to bribe with thy gold; and those thou couldst not bribe, thou hast tried to debauch with the ‘wine of thy fornications.’ And there thou art, like her,\* who chiefly made thee what thou art, withered and withering, wooing, but never winning, with none, out of thy narrow dwelling-place, who truly love thee, none who yield thee the homage of the heart.†

Thus far we have been engaged rather in exhibiting a general idea of the drift and character of Mr. Borrow’s work: we shall now transcribe a few extracts, shewing more clearly its furious and scurrilous anti-Catholic spirit.

“For nearly two centuries, she was *the she-butcher of malignant Rome*; the chosen instrument for carrying into effect *the atrocious projects of that power*.”—(*Pref. i. xiv.*)

“*Rome has no respect for a nation, save so far as it can minister to her cruelty or avarice.*”—(*Pref. i. xvi.*)

The following is the strain in which he addresses the pope:—“Undeceive yourself, Batuscha (*Daddy*)..... Amongst the peasantry of Spain I found my sturdiest supporters; and yet, the holy father supposes, that the Spanish labourers are friends and lovers of his. Undeceive yourself, Batuscha.”—(*Ib. xvii. xx.*)

“The pope is an arch deceiver, and the head minister of Satan here on earth,” &c.—(*i. 51.*)

The *Edinburgh Review* tells us that “Mr. Borrow never spares the pope; he treats him with defiance and sarcasm.”

\* Elizabeth.

† “We think it a most remarkable fact that no Christian nation, which did not adopt the principles of the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century, should ever have adopted them. Catholic communities have, since that time, become infidel and become Catholic again; but none has become Protestant.”—*Edinburgh Review*, No. cxlv. p. 258.

With regard to the support Mr. Borrow speaks of his having found from the Spanish peasantry—the assertion is false; and his own account of his ‘campaign’ proves it to be false—utterly false. If by support he means patronage of his cause, purchase of his Bibles, abuse of the pope and the clergy, and the Catholic faith, such support he did receive, but from whom? From the British minister, from straggling bandits, thieves, cutthroats; cunning guides, and avaricious booksellers, and poor hotel keepers, who, caring very little for any form of religion, and knowing their man, flattered his ruling passion, for the sake of the money which he scattered among them with no sparing hand, and, seeing that the bait took, regaled his appetite with slanderous and incredible stories about monks and priests. By glosing words he seduced a few simple-minded people, ignorant of his real design, to purchase his book. But of support, such as a Christian missionary would not be ashamed to speak of in a Christian country, he received none whatever, from the peasantry, or from any other class.

He calls the Virgin Mother of our Lord, whom the archangel pronounced “blessed among women,” and who was to be called blessed among all generations—he calls her jibingly—how can we write the words?—“the Goddess of Rome, Maria Santissima.”—(*Ibid.* xix.)

“I, therefore, when they” [some two hundred children at Evora, in Portugal, who, *as Borrow says*, had not seen the Bible] “told me they were Christians, *denied the possibility of their being so, as they were ignorant of Christ and his commandments* [not having seen the Bible!] and placed their hope of salvation on outward forms and observances, which were the *invention of Satan*, who wished to keep them in darkness, that at last they might tumble into the pit which he had dug for them. I said repeatedly that the pope, whom they revered, was *an arch deceiver, and the head minister of Satan here on earth*, and that the monks and friars, whose absence they so deplored, and to whom they had been accustomed to confess themselves, were *his subordinate agents*. When called upon for proofs, I invariably cited the ignorance of my auditors respecting the Scriptures, &c. . . . Since this occurred, I have been frequently surprised, that I experienced no insult and illtreatment from the people, whose superstitions I was thus attacking; but I really experienced none,” &c.—(i. 50.)

Need we tell our readers to mark the forbearance and

meekness of these poor Portuguese Catholics, in hearing the brutal and atrocious language in which the head of the Church, and their beloved and proscribed fathers are assailed. It brings the tears to our eyes to think of these little children—two hundred Portuguese Catholic children—deploring the loss of the spiritual fathers to whom they had been accustomed to confess themselves, and, in the simplicity of their hearts, obliged to listen to the howlings of this ravenous wolf.\*

Mr. Borrow (i. 58) gives a translation of a ridiculous charm which he discovered on some person: whereupon he adds, "*All these charms were the fabrications of the monks, who had sold them to their infatuated confessants.*" He, of course, gives no proof of this abominable charge against the poor monks: he does not even hint that he had any proof: he does not state that he heard the fact from any one—not even from one of his usual authorities, a thief, a liberal, or a gypsy. Now, what if we said that the charm itself, and the whole story about it, were inventions of Mr. Borrow's own? We have just as good a right to assert this, as he has to assert that the monks were the authors of the imposture:—nay, a much better right; for we have every reason to conclude from the tenour of this work, that he is not incapable of such a forgery, and we have no reason to think that the monks in question, are anything worse than ordinary good Christians. However this may be, we do not believe one word of the story from beginning to end.

Akin to this gratuitous assertion is another which he makes, in describing the execution of a criminal at which he was present, in Madrid. He tells us that "Two priests led the animal [on which the culprit sat] by the bridle: two others walked on either side chaunting litanies, amongst which I distinguished the words of heavenly peace and tranquillity, for the culprit had been reconciled to the Church, had confessed and received absolution, and had been promised admission into heaven [of course, on condition of his sincere repentance]. . . . One of the priests then in a loud voice commenced saying the belief [creed,] and the culprit repeated the words after him. . . . As the screw went round, the priest began to shout "*pax et misericordia et tranquillitas,*" and still as he shouted, his voice became louder and louder, until the lofty walls of Madrid rang with it: then stooping down, he placed his mouth close to the culprit's ear, still

\* An epithet which B. applies to one of the civil functionaries at Madrid, who endeavoured to stop his incendiary operations. (ii. 10.)



shouting just as if he would pursue the spirit through its course to eternity, cheering it on its way. The effect was tremendous. I myself was so excited, that I involuntarily shouted *misericordia*, and so did many others." Now, leaving out the light and sneering tone of the narrative, in what regards the priest, we would naturally suppose that such a scene, even as witnessed with Mr. Borrow's eyes, would have suggested peaceful and becalming reflections; and that, if he added anything, it would be to say that, after all, there was something to be admired and loved in Catholicity, which thus strengthens and cheers the departing spirit, and lifts the soul even of the dying malefactor, on the wings of faith and hope and charity. But no—even the virtues which a pagan would admire, are, in this fellow's eyes, vices when they exist in a Catholic priest. Hear his blasphemous revilings!—"God was not *thought* of; Christ was not *thought* of [how under heaven could he know this?]; *only* the priest was thought of, for he seemed at that moment to be the first being in existence, &c. . . . . A striking instance of the successful working of the popish system, *whose grand aim has ever been to keep people's minds as far as possible from God,*" &c.—(i. 249.)

In like manner, in describing (iii. 2) a threat of assassination he received from some ruffian, in a dark street, after night, he quite coolly, and as a matter of course, and without producing or hinting that he had the smallest particle of proof, attributes it to the machinations of the clergy. The *Edinburgh Reviewer* (p. 130) making the slander his own, exclaims, "Such was the hellish rancour and hostility to the word of God, exhibited by the Romanist clergy." If the threat were really made (and it should be recollected that *we have no other authority for the statement than Borrow himself,*) it was evidently made by some prowling nightwalker, such as might be found gratis in every street in London every night in the year.

There is a comical passage at page 253; we shall transcribe it, merely to relieve the sameness of our other extracts:—

"Who can rival the English aristocrat in lofty stature, in dignified bearing, in strength of hand, and valour of heart? who rides a nobler horse? [we could name one;] who has a firmer seat? and who more lovely than his wife, or sister, or daughter? [what will O'Connell say to this?] But with regard to the Spanish aristocracy,—the ladies and gentlemen,—the cavaliers and senoras, I believe the less that is said of

them on the points to which I have just alluded the better. *I confess, however, that I know little about them*"!!! (i. 253).

The following gem is worth preserving :—

"..... Popery, a delusion which, more than any other, has tended to *debase and brutalize the human mind*."—(ii. 89.)

The value of Mr. Borrow's authority as to the character of the Spanish people and priests, will be admirably illustrated from the account he gives (vol. ii. chap. 5) of his brief "campaign" at Astorga, the capital of a tract of land called the country of the Maragatos. He tells us that he received some uncivil treatment at a posada in the suburbs of this town; which we have no doubt he richly deserved, and, indeed, we might gather so much from his own account of the affair; for he says, "on our complaining of this treatment, we were told that we were two vagabonds [himself and servant], whom nobody knew; who had come without an *arriero*, and had already set the whole house in confusion." (ii. 93.) Mr. B. pours out the most unmeasured invectives against the poor Maragatos; but the true motives of this special outbreak of his wrath will be very easily gathered from the following extract:—"I once or twice contrived to make my way into the town, but found no bookseller, nor any person willing to undertake the charge of disposing of my testaments. The people were brutal, stupid, and uncivil, and I returned to my tester bed fatigued and dispirited." The good citizens would not purchase testaments from a "vagabond whom nobody knew," *ergo*, they were brutal, stupid, and uncivil.

But the Maragatos not only did not allow their pockets to be picked by the tramp, but, "like true men of the north, they delight in swilling liquors, and fattening upon gross and luscious meats [we suspect they were not over liberal in sharing these meats with B.], which help to swell out their tall and goodly figures. Many of them have died possessed of considerable riches, part of which they have not unfrequently bequeathed to the erection or embellishment of religious houses.....I spoke to several of these men respecting the all important subject of religion.....There was one in particular, to whom I showed the New Testament, and whom I addressed for a considerable time.....After I had concluded, he said.....As for what you have told me, I understand little of it, and believe not a word of it [O, the stupid unbeliever!]. So much for the Maragatos." (p. 98, &c.) Most brutal, stupid, and uncivil Maragatos, who refused to swallow Borrow's preachings, although they fattened on luscious meats; who

were not ashamed to present their tall and goodly figures, as if in rivalry, before a vagabond whom nobody knew, and who was six feet two in his stocking soles! but, oh more brutal still, to bequeath at their dying moments part of their riches for religious purposes! We hope Mr. Borrow will try, with the help of Lord Clarendon, to persuade the infidel party in Spain to adopt some measures to stunt the growth of these Maragatos down to the ordinary stature of fallen humanity, and to extinguish their passion for making pious bequests. For attaining the first object, we would humbly suggest, as a good means, a law compelling them to adopt the Irish luxury of "potatoes and point" once every day: and, for the second, the distribution of the bible without note or comment, with a full license to each to form his religious creed out of it, as best he can,—not forgetting, of course, a hint that the Pope is the head minister of Satan, and that the two fundamental doctrines of Christianity are, that it is a theological virtue to hate the Pope, and a cardinal virtue to abuse him.

Of the countenance which he received from the Spanish clergy, he says:—"Throughout my residence in Spain, the clergy were the party from whom I experienced the strongest opposition. [Honour to them, the clergy of Spain.]. . . . Rome is *fully aware* that she is not a Christian Church, and *having no desire to become so*, she acts prudently in keeping from the eyes of her followers the page that would reveal to them the truths of Christianity. . . . There was, however, one section of the clergy, a small one it is true [thank God], rather favourably disposed towards the circulation of the Gospel [*i.e.* the jockey-tramper's *perversion* of it]. . . . It is, however, worthy [indeed, most worthy] of remark that, of all these, *not one but owed his office, not to the pope, who disowns them one and all, but to the Queen Regent, the professed head of liberalism throughout Spain.*" (iii. 79, &c.) Of one of these Queen Regent's ecclesiastics, he conjectures (p. 86) that he was made choice of to fill the office which he occupies, "as they sometimes do primates in his own country [England], for his incapacity." We were not aware before of the fact stated here in regard to the selection of English primates.

We suppose that our readers are by this time perfectly satisfied as to the real nature of Mr. Borrow's work, and that further extracts would be quite needless. We might quote on in the same strain: but that Mr. B. is a fanatic, a cordial hater and reviler of the Pope and of the Catholic Church, an official enemy of both, is, we may take for granted, manifest



even from the brief extracts we have given. Yet such is the man whom the Edinburgh Reviewer holds forth, as the object of his special predilection,—on whose head he pours out such torrents of flattery and praise. We doubt not that the Reviewer is sincere in his professions of love and admiration: we doubt not that his judgment on this occasion is in accordance with his fixed principles. His sincerity and his consistency are nothing to us. But that Mr. Borrow is one of the special favourites of the *Edinburgh Review*, and that he is such a favourite principally on account of his anti-catholic sentiments, and his proselytizing adventures, is a fact which it behoves Catholics to know, and which it is not our fault if they do not know,

But the Reviewer is not only an admirer and panegyrist of Mr. Borrow: he is even more than his own idol, himself, in his proper person, a reckless slanderer of Catholicity. No preacher at St. Paul's cross, no writer for the Orange press of Ireland, no rabid declaimer at Exeter hall, not even John Knox himself, ever spoke in language more shocking to Catholic ears than this reviewer. We shall give some specimens; and let the reader mark, they are not taken from Borrow's book; they are the words and sentiments of the reviewer's own, or which he makes his own, and for which he alone is responsible:—

“In sad truth, Christianity—a belief in the Redeemer founded on the gospels—scarcely glimmers through the *practical Marianism* [devotion to the blessed Virgin Mary] and *revived paganism*—the female and image worship, the forms and superstitions which have there long prevailed. There, Rome, in full possession of unquestioned power, guarded by the sword of the state, and the fire of the inquisition, has expanded into fullest growth; *every thing beneath its influence has withered, save superstition, or its twin sister infidelity.* Whatever may be the esoteric doctrines of the priesthood,—whatever, like Leo X, they in secret may disbelieve, they have virtually reared for the people's temple a fabric of legends and abominations, at which the scholar smiles and the Christian [the Edinburgh-Review Christian] weeps.”—(*Edinburgh Review*, 106.)

“*Teresa, a lovesick, crack-brained nun of Avila, whom Gregory XV, bribed by the gold of Philip IV, had placed in the calender of she-saints instead of in Bedlam.*” (*ibid.*)

“The existence of the bible is utterly unknown to three fourths of the Peninsula; and even when alluded to in ser-

mons, the apocryphal portions, says Mr. Borrow [irrefragable testimony], are selected. The religious books for the people are idle legends of monks, and lying lives of saints." (p. 107.)

"When printing, by giving wings to the bible, broke the chains forged at St. Peter's, for the liberties of the world, the old man of the seven hills, wise in his generation, pruned away the grosser fallacies which he had palmed on an age of ignorance." (*Ibid.*)

He [Borrow] was no sectarian, no bigot of an exclusive creed... ....He could admire the sublime portions of the creed of Islam,—the giving all glory to God, the abhorrence of idol worship,—and JUSTLY *thought that there was more practical religion in the creed of Mahomet, than in the superstitions of the mystery of iniquity*" [*the Catholic Church*]!!! (*Edinburgh Review*, 111.)

The following are some of the passages in which Mr. Borrow expresses the sentiments here attributed to him:—

"As we passed the mosque, I stopped for a moment before the door, and looked in upon the interior . . . . . I looked around for the abominable thing, and found it not; *no scarlet strumpet with a crown of false gold sat nursing an ugly changeling in a niche.* [He evidently alludes to the statue of the Virgin Mother and the child Jesus: merciful God, such blasphemy!] 'Come here,' said I, 'papist, and take a lesson; here is a house of God, in externals at least such as a house of God should be: four walls, a fountain, and the eternal firmament above, which mirrors His glory. Dost thou build such houses to the God who has said, "Thou shalt make to thyself no graven image"? *Fool, thy walls are stuck with idols; thou callest a stone thy father, and a piece of rotting wood the Queen of heaven.* [This is a horrid and blasphemous slander, and Borrow cannot but *know* it to be a slander.] Fool, thou knowest not even the Ancient of Days, and *the very Moor can instruct thee*; he at least can instruct thee: he at least knows the Ancient of Days.'... We now turned to the left ....I heard a prodigious hubbub of infantine voices: I listened for a moment, and distinguished verses of the koran; it was a school. Another lesson for thee, papist. Thou callest thyself Christian, yet the book of Christ thou persecutest..... *Idolmonger*, learn consistency from the Moor, &c." (iii. 343-4.)

"What do you mean, said I, [to an old man with whom he was conversing] by asserting that the Moors know not God? There is no people in the world who entertain sub-

limer notions of the uncreated eternal God than the Moors, and *no people have ever shewn themselves more zealous for His honour and glory*; their very zeal for the glory of God has been and is the chief obstacle to their becoming Christians, &c.....And with respect to Christ, their ideas even of him are *much more just than those of the papists*.”—We cannot bring ourselves to transcribe more: nor are we sure that we have not done wrong in polluting our pages with what we have already written out.

Let us hear no more of the monopoly of anti-catholic slander on the part of the *professedly* anti-catholic press,—the Times, the Evening Mail, the Packet, and the rest. The title of “surpliced ruffians,” applied to the Irish clergy, is a mere personal insult, compared with the horrid blasphemies—the intense and tiger-like hatred of every thing Catholic—manifested in these passages. The impurities and other abominations of Mahomet are sanctified in the eyes of this—what shall we call him?—when compared with the practical religion of the Catholic Church.

When Mr. Borrow, in a fit of liberality, which sometimes seizes even the most bigoted, asserts that “Spain is not a fanatic country,” the Reviewer, displeased that even one random word of kindness should have been breathed of Catholic Spain, proceeds to explain away his author’s meaning, and concludes a very false paragraph by interpreting the words “Spain is not a fanatic country” to signify, “Spain is, and ever was, ultra-fanatic.”—(*Edinburgh Review*, 109.)

Mr. Borrow paid a visit to one of the Catholic Seminaries. The Reviewer would not call it Catholic or Roman Catholic; this would be too courteous towards the “Mystery of iniquity;” it is in his phraseology, a “Papist College.”

“He [Mr. B.] believes the subserviency of Spain to Rome to be founded on pride, not on religion. The crafty pope flattered this besetting sin; he gave to Spain the post of honour, and entitled her king ‘the Catholic.’ *Thus he made her the executioner of his intolerance.* When the iron of Spain was deprived of power, *the pope stole her purse*; and, by flattering her second pride of wealth, cajoled her out of the New World’s gold, and *converted his hangman into his banker.* Spain in her present decrepitude and poverty, is no longer an object of solicitude.”—(*E. R.* 109.)

Spain no longer an object of the pope’s solicitude! Can barefaced effrontery in denying the notorious truth go farther than this? How could a father’s love be more strongly mani-



fested for the child which he sees snatched by murderers from his own bosom, than are the affectionate anxiety, the untiring labours of the present pope exhibited towards his spiritual children in Spain? Who has not heard of his entreaties, his remonstrances, his multiplied efforts to rescue them from the grasp of the infidel spoiler? Who, even of “those that are without,” has not heard the voice of Christ’s vicar, but one short year ago, calling upon the faithful in every quarter of the globe to join with him in one universal and fervent supplication to the throne of grace on behalf of Spain? Spain no longer an object of the pope’s solicitude! Nay, she is an object of his special solicitude and love. But what can this cold-hearted Calvinist understand of the solicitude of a true Christian pastor for his flock? The gross ribaldry of the rest of the paragraph is only equalled by its gross historical inaccuracies: we need make no commentary on either: we leave them to the judgment and the feelings of our readers—candid and well-informed Protestants as well as Catholics.

The reviewer thus moralises upon Mr. Borrow’s interview with the children at Evora.—(See ante p. 456.)

“He [B.] spoke to at least two hundred persons, none of whom had ever seen a bible. They were ‘bigoted Papists.’ That was enough to rouse our preacher, who well knew that in the pope was centered the whole question at issue—whether man was to think for himself, or as another thought for him. Mr. Borrow never spares the pope; he treats him with defiance and sarcasm; his strain is that of Bunyan’s Christian, who derides the ‘infirm giant, alive, yet by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd knocks that he had met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave’s mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by him, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.’”—(*Edinburgh Review*, p. 116.)

We can assure our contemporary that, notwithstanding Bunyan’s strain and Borrow’s derision, it is an historical fact, which even the *Edinburgh Review* elsewhere admits, that the Papacy is neither infirm, nor crazy, nor stiff; that it remains, “not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour.”\*

As to the question whether man is to think for himself, or another to think for him, the reviewer presents us with a

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\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxlv. p. 228. See also Wiseman’s *Lectures on the Doctrine and Discipline*, &c., vol. i. p. 286, &c.

rather remarkable specimen of the manner in which the right of free and independent judgment is exercised under Mr. Borrow's tutelage.

"No wonder these peasants at Evora did not molest him, although he attacked their pope, and told them that they were not Christians.....This, Mr. Borrow, with some *naïveté* attributes to his *eye*, which he fixed upon them, as Van Amburg does on tigers. His 'calm reproving glance' scares dogs as well as Portuguese.....Fear, base as is the motive, operates with bipeds and quadrupeds in the Peninsula; convince them that you can and will be master, and they submit. Mr. Borrow, in his sermons, knew the effect of a dash of brimstone in the perspective; conscience makes cowards of congregations, who respect a pastor who positively declines to insure them. The fear of the birch, *pedentis habencæ*, is the fundamental element of authority."—*Edinburgh Review*, pp. 118, 119.)

We need not extract farther from this precious article. It may be said; some 'molified Pagan,' or perhaps some indifferent or cautious Catholic may say, that the passages we have selected are carefully culled, and garbled, and dovetailed together, so as not to represent the writer's mind fairly. We wish this were the case; but it is not. We have given the very words of the reviewer: they speak plainly and unequivocally; and we can assure our readers that the spirit of the entire paper, from which they are taken, is such as might be expected from the parts we have quoted.

Nor let it be added that this is a solitary article of its kind smuggled into the *Review* in the hurry with which this number appears to have been got up. In truth, this essay on "Borrow's Bible in Spain," does nothing more than exhibit, in a more continuous form, the sort of sentiments that are found in almost every number into which the mention of Catholic doctrines, or practices, of the popes, or saints, or bishops, or doctors of the Catholic Church, is introduced. Let us take a few instances from some of the latest numbers. In that for January of the present year, there is an article on the right of private judgment, professedly theological and argumentative; an article in which the writer discusses, with considerable fulness, and especially in reference to the high Church principles of the Oxford doctors, one of the most momentous questions in controversial divinity, viz., whether men are to be led by the authority of the Church, or by the light of their own private judgment in matters of faith; an article, therefore, in which we would expect great caution, in stating

facts, or in ascribing doctrines to the religious body or bodies impugned, and the absence of all attempts at substituting ridicule for argument, or solving a difficulty by a sneer. But what is the fact? The reviewer's arguments are immediately directed against the Oxford system: the Catholic doctrines are therefore mentioned only incidentally, but when spoken of, are introduced as if only to be falsified and distorted, to be made the butt of paltry jibes. For example, to revive the doctrine of persecution is to "breathe life into the bones of a Gardiner or a Bonner" (p. 383), and certain doctrines of persecution ascribed to a writer in the *British Critic*, are said to be such as "might have fallen from the lips of a Gardiner or a Bonner,—nay, from those of a Nero or a Diocletian." Could, then, no fitter types of persecutors—no worthier associates of Nero and Diocletian—be found than Gardiner and Bonner? It is notorious to every reader of English history,—unless Hume and Foxe may be called historians,—that Gardiner was a man of merciful and benevolent temper; that he exerted himself, and with success, to save the life of Elizabeth,\* when she was charged (and, as appears plainly to us, *justly* charged) with a participation in Wyatt's rebellion; that he had no part in instigating to the persecutions of the reformers in Mary's reign; that more than one of the Protestant writers of those times speak of his moderation in terms of praise. As to Bonner, Dr. Lingard maintains, and we think upon very strong grounds, that the task which devolved upon him, as bishop of London, of presiding at the trials of those charged with heresy, was one which he bore with reluctance. It is certain, at least, that neither he nor Gardiner sought the office; it is certain that they did not originate the persecutions, or encourage them. Whatever odium they may deserve for participating, whether willingly or reluctantly, in such proceedings, let them share: but let not their names appear alone—or first—or even near the first, on the list of persecutors, while the history of England con-

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\* The style of Elizabeth's letter to the queen upon this occasion (see quotation in Lingard) is remarkable; "As for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter," &c. (Ling. vii. 166, fourth ed.) The princess, however, was not the first of the great Reformers who rose to such flights of eloquence: Thomas Cromwell (the true father of the Reformation) in his letters to Henry VIII, maintains his innocence in a similar strain: "May God confound him, may the vengeance of God light upon him, may all the devils in hell confound him," &c. (Ling. vi. 308.)



tains such names as Cranmer, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, James I, &c., and while the history of Scotland contains even one Knox.

In another place of the same article (p. 408, *note*) the writer thus delivers himself:—"Are we to believe that if these new evangelists were to attempt the conversion of the heathen, they would not act on the above maxims, and facilitate the work, *as did the Romish Missionaries among the Japanese, by teaching their converts to transfer their whole idolatrous stock-in-trade to Christianity—to make over to the saints the homage they once paid to idols, and baptise their wooden gods by evangelical names.*" What say ye to this, gentlemen of the Witness? We doubt whether even you could surpass your *liberal* countryman in the excess of your anticatholic slander and scurrility.

In the number for last July (we have not read or seen the intervening one for October) the leading article is entitled, "Ignatius Loyola and his associates." It is a rapid, eloquent, vivid description of the chief founders, and of the origin of the society of Jesus, or rather, of the writer's views thereof. The topic is one on which we did not expect, from a person of the Reviewer's obviously rationalist principles, a just perception of the nature of the events he tries to describe, or of their connexion and tendency. As far were we from expecting that such a writer *could* rightly appreciate or pourtray the real character of him who wrote the "Exercitia," or of the apostle of the Indies, as we should be from imagining that Sallust or Livy could delineate the mind and heart of him who heard the voice on his way to Damascus, or of him who leaned on the breast of Jesus at the last supper. Some doubts of his fitness for the task he undertook, seem to have crossed the Reviewer's own mind: for he says (p. 342), "Of his [S. Ignatius's] theopathy, as exhibited in his letters, in his recorded discourse, and in his Spiritual Exercises, it is, perhaps, difficult for the colder imaginations, and the Protestant reserve of the north, to form a correct estimate." We are not now going to quarrel with the writer's principles, and therefore, we do not attempt any refutation of his speculations, in the dissertation before us, which are nothing more than an application of those principles to the subject in hand. Our object—as our readers must be aware, from what we have already more than once stated—is merely to show to our Catholic readers what these principles and speculations are—uncatholic; however strewn over with the fairest flowers of

rhetoric,—however blended with much that is true in fact, and correct in feeling—still uncatholic.

Of S. Ignatius, the Reviewer says; “At one time he conversed with voices audible to no ear but his; at another, he sought to propitiate Him before whom he trembled, *by expiations which would have been more fitly offered to Moloch.*”

The extraordinary mortifications which the blessed Ignatius practised are, no doubt, the “expiations” here alluded to; and these fitting to be offered only to Moloch! What would the Reviewer say of the “expiations” of so many among the saints of the old law, as recorded in the Scriptures? What of those of the Baptist in the desert, his austerities, his retirement from the world, his rugged clothing, his meagre food? What of St. Paul’s voluntary sufferings, his chastising of his body, his hunger, his thirsting, his love of humiliation, his taking up and glorying in the ignominy and the sufferings of the cross of Christ? What of the “strong voice” which speaks everywhere in the New Testament, through the lips of the Redeemer and the inspired writers, proclaiming that the perfection of the Christian life consists in being like to Christ, especially Christ crucified—crucified in the flesh as well as in the spirit? Is Moloch the God of the everlasting gospel, or is the imitation of the life of Christ and of his saints, an offering fit only for the idol of a pagan worship? \* We suppose the austerity of the worldly-minded gentlemen, who privately sneer at their clergy, and sometimes attend charity dinners, would come much nearer to our Reviewer’s ideas of Christian mortification. But that a “master mind,” like that of Ignatius, a “commanding genius,” a “noble intellect,” should exhibit itself in the public streets in the rags of a beggar, with a shaggy beard and unpaired nails, soliciting alms, and courting the ridicule of schoolboys and the buffets of menials—this is degrading the dignity of human nature, and approaching the “very verge of madness”!

“Such prodigies [the self-mortifications of S. Francis Xavier,] *whether enacted by the saints of Rome or by those of Benares*, exhibit a sovereignty of the spiritual over the animal nature, which can hardly be contemplated without some feeling akin to reverence. But, [wicked monosyllable] on the whole, *the hooked Faqueer spinning round his gibbet, is the more*

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\* See some pertinent remarks in the article on “Satisfaction,” from the pen of the writer of the present article, in our number for November, p. 301, *et seqq.*—*Ed. Dub. Rev.*

*respectable suicide of the two; for his homage is at least meet for the Deity he worships.*"—(p. 304.)

Borrow preferred the religion of Mahomet to the Catholic, and his reviewer agreed with him: in the passage we have just quoted, the horrid abominations of idolatry itself, are made more "respectable" than the penitential austerities of the great Saint Francis Xavier—austerities practised by him to subdue and crucify whatever yet remained in his heart of "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," thus fitting him to become a vessel of election, to carry the name of Christ to the gentiles; thus fitting him for the great work that was before him of converting, himself alone, in the space of a few years, more souls to the knowledge of Christ, and the practice of his holy law, than all the missionaries of all the sects of Protestantism, with all their united efforts have been able to convert from the beginning of their existence to this day, or are likely to convert, if they exist, to the day of judgment. How true it is, what the Reviewer himself half admits, that the cold Protestantism of the north cannot even see the surface, still less penetrate into the depths, of a character like that of Xavier—so sublime, so Apostolic, so Catholic—so far elevated above the sphere in which alone the thoughts of earthly, animal philosophy soar or crawl.

After a rapid sketch of the labours of the great Apostle, the Reviewer thus commences the summing up: "Why consume many words in delineating a character which can be disposed of in three? *Xavier was a fanatic, a Papist, and a Jesuit.* Comprehensive and incontrovertible as the climax is, *it yet does not exhaust the censures to which his name is obnoxious.* His understanding,—that is, the mere cogitative faculty—was deficient in originality, in clearness, and in force." (p. 331.) And so on, to the end of the paragraph, which is all in the same strain,—an intolerable farrago of blasphemy, absurdity, and contradiction. One thing we gather from this passage, as well as from others, that, according to the Reviewer's ideas, moral perfection consists in being a right gay, good fellow; and mental, in the power of dogmatizing or doubting, in well poised antitheses, and pouring out, as occasion requires, a turbid stream of Scotch metaphysics. A pity it was that S. Francis had not had an opportunity of listening to the oracles of Jeremy Bentham or Dugald Stewart: the defects in his "cogitative faculty," might have been thus mended.



Of S. Ignatius of Loyola, the Reviewer says:—"Some unconscious love of power, a mind bewildered by many *gross superstitions* and theoretical errors, may be ascribed to Ignatius Loyola," &c.—(p. 338.) "Amidst his *ascetic follies*, and his *half crazy visions*, and despite all the coarse daubing with which the miracle-mongers of his Church have defaced it, his character is destitute neither of sublimity nor of grace."—(p. 341.)

But the parallel between Ignatius and Martin Luther exhibits, perhaps better than any other *single* passage of the entire article, the influence of the true Protestant and rationalizing principle. We would quote the paragraph entire, but that we should hardly feel ourselves justified in putting before the eyes of our less learned readers, such a quantity of subtle and pernicious perversion of truth, without the antidote of a refutation; and to attempt *this*, in a satisfactory manner, would occupy too much space, and lead us too far from the business immediately before us.

Our extracts have been selected mainly with reference to their anti-Catholic spirit. To a spirit of another kind—that of infidelity, or, as it is more politely termed, rationalism, we have but alluded. Nevertheless, this spirit pervades the general texture of many (we do not wish to say *most*, not having made an exact calculation) of the articles of the *Edinburgh Review*, as well in former times as at the present day. Even the celebrated article on Ranke's History of the Popes—evidently the work of the same hand which traced the character of S. Ignatius and his brethren—glowing as it is with sentiments of surpassing beauty and grandeur, elevating the imagination, and bearing it onward upon a continuous and majestic stream of eloquence, presenting an image of the Catholic Church, as it really is, mighty, glorious, indestructible; even this splendid fabric of genius, is built upon the same principles which the historian of the "Decline and Fall," has made memorable in his attacks upon Christianity itself. We strongly dislike to raise a cry of infidelity against any writer, without sufficient evidence. But evidence in abundance is not wanting, and may be easily seen in some of the passages we have already referred to or extracted. That we are not the first who have thus spoken of the *Edinburgh Review*, will appear from the following words of no less a personage than Dr. Whately. "The following passage from a discussion in a well known periodical work (professedly respecting the religion of the Hindoos, but whose author is

evidently, and with scarcely even a pretence of concealment, directing his attack against every religion except Deism) may serve as a specimen of the ingenious misrepresentation which has been employed on this topic. The writer evidently possesses no common talents:—his whole dissertation is elaborately and skilfully composed,” &c.\* The Doctor does not mention the article, nor even the name of the “well-known periodical” to which he alludes: but the extracts he gives in the course of the paragraph from which we have quoted, will be found in page 395, &c. of the forty-ninth volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. In another of his works—the clever and amusing pamphlet entitled, “Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte,” Dr. Whately refers expressly to another article, in another volume of the *Edinburgh Review*, and quotes from it as a fit companion, as indeed it is, for the notorious essay of the infidel Hume, “On Miracles.”

We may be told—nay, even some Catholic may tell us—why thus expose the weaker and grosser parts of a composition which, according to your own admission, contains so much that is admirable? Why not rather accept the good, and throw a veil over the evil—if but in pity for one who, born and brought up in darkness, has nevertheless had the happiness of seeing so much of the light of truth, and the honesty to avow his convictions? To such questions we would reply, in the first place, that we deem it the more incumbent on us, and the more useful to those for whom we chiefly write, to expose the evil just *because* it is blended with so much that is good, or at least indifferent. Surely it cannot be necessary for us to repeat the hackneyed observation, that error becomes the more dangerous in proportion as it is more mixed with truth, especially popular and attractive truth. We say, in the second place, that we do from our hearts pity the wanderings and admire the courage of those who, stumbling in the shades of error, shut not their hands on the few stray truths that fall into them; but among such we are far from thinking that the *Edinburgh reviewers* are to be numbered. If they sometimes condescend fairly to state our doctrines, or kindly to speak of our Church, it is but for the purpose of filling up the outlines of some new theory, or to give a certain air of sincerity and impartiality to their strictures upon the supposed corruptions of Catholicity. For example, the writer, just referred to, of the article

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\* Bampton Lectures, p. 433, third edit.



on Ranke's *Popes*, says, as we have already stated, a great many fine things about the Catholic Church. To do this, answered his purpose: he had an *hypothesis* to establish, namely, that "the polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of *human* wisdom."\* It would not have suited his hypothesis to represent her in any other light than he has done, to represent her with less of splendour, with less of durability, with less of power to win and subdue the hearts of men. The tone and drift of the article reminded us strongly of the old Arian trick of dilating, in grandiloquent and even impassioned strain, upon the character of the Redeemer more than man, more than angel; thus extolling him as a creature, that they might the more securely deny him to be God; thus picturing a being, to whom the strong words of Scripture might be applied, even though he were a person less than divine.

Again, we may be told that we are but combating a phantom: we undertake to warn Catholics against dangers to which they are not exposed; for what Catholic would read the articles we have been commenting on, or others of the same stamp? Would to God that what we here imagine as an objection (and we have reason to suppose that such an objection would be raised) were true in fact. But, without going much out of our way to make inquiries, we *know* that such articles are read, and read without a suspicion of their pernicious tendency, and that the poison of them has been imbibed, and imbibed by those who *were not* lukewarm Catholics. One or two startling and painful facts we could mention, among others, which came under our own observation, which we saw with our own eyes, and heard with our own ears. An apprehension, lest a more specific allusion might make us too well understood, prevents us from speaking more plainly.

We do not give any further extracts, for the purpose of more fully substantiating this charge of rationalism; chiefly because, for this purpose, we should quote, not, as we have done, isolated sentences, but whole and continuous paragraphs. The Edinburgh reviewers care little for the religious feelings of their Catholic readers, who are compara-

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\* "It is impossible to deny that the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. In truth, nothing but such a polity could, against such assaults, have borne up such doctrines. . . . The stronger our conviction that reason and Scripture were decidedly on the side of Protestantism, the greater is the reluctant admiration with which we regard that system of tactics against which reason and Scripture were arrayed in vain."—*Edin. Review*, cxlv. p. 247.



tively few; and, therefore, they have no concern to soften down or half-conceal their anti-Catholic prejudices. But rationalist principles could not be so safely advanced in round terms. Whoever, possessed of ordinary sagacity, has read much of the writings of the Scotch philosophers, must plainly see that the great mass of them (including such men as Sir J. Mackintosh) are utterly destitute of anything that, among Catholics or even High Church Protestants, could deserve the name of *faith*. The Redeemer, the apostles, the great doctrines of Christianity, its progress and perpetuity, and influence upon the minds and condition of men, are all as so many topics for theorizing about, so many facts to be studied, for clearing up difficulties in the history of the human race, like the invention of gunpowder and the discovery of America—and nothing more. Christianity is to them but the finest of the fine arts, and sometimes even not so much. These are, in truth, but the natural results of the principles of Calvinism worked out into shape. Nevertheless the multitude, even those who have imbibed the spirit, without having learned the language of this philosophy or forgotten the symbols of their old heresy, with its ferocious league and covenant, are not yet altogether ripe for the reception of naked and unmitigated Deism. And hence the principles of infidelity must be, if put forward at all, mingled only as grains with the mass, concealed under a heap of phrases, popular and orthodox, or, as the most certain means of gaining currency, joined with a hearty invective against the Catholic Church. This has been, as every scholar knows, the practice of heretics, and especially of infidels, in all ages: as long as they formed the weaker party, they neither preached their doctrines openly, nor avowed their intentions; and hence the difficulty of exposing the principles that lie, not on the surface, but at the bottom of their writings.

Here we close, for the present, with the *Edinburgh Review*. Only let us again repeat, that our object has not been to *refute*—although we have sometimes turned aside to make a brief remark—but to *show* that a strong and dangerous anti-Catholic tone pervades this periodical.

As we have introduced Mr. Borrow's work rather prominently into this article—although we should not think it necessary, for Catholic readers, after what we have already said, to enter into a formal review of its countless blunders, blasphemies, and calumnies—it may be worth while to add a few general remarks upon the work itself and the unhallowed "campaign" which it records.

I. In reading over Mr. Borrow's volumes, we were very forcibly struck, and we will add consoled, by one reflection, which, no doubt, has occurred to some of our readers even in perusing the few extracts we have given. The reflection that forced itself upon us was this—how little of the apostolic, how much of a gross, carnal, earthly spirit is betrayed, both in the language of the work, and in the views it presents to us of the writer's heart. We have read not a little of the lives and correspondence of the great and good—admitted to have been so even by their enemies—who have laboured in the olden time, as well as in our own days, in extending the kingdom of Christ among infidels and heretics. In passing from their lives and writings to the volumes before us, how painful the contrast! It is, as if one left the upper air, the region of life, and descended into the burial vault; it is, as if one passed from silent contemplation, or from the harmony of upited prayer in some old cathedral, into the babel of a fishmarket or a cockpit. In the lives of the Catholic missionaries, we see the cross first, self last; no hungering after applause; no vain swaggering; no tricked-up, boasting stories; no gloating satisfaction at the prospect of a good dinner; no outbreaks of violent temper; no outpourings of low scurrility; no dogged pride;—none of these things, but, instead, meekness, self-denial, and whatever else might be expected from true imitators and successors of apostolic men. The man who wrote the *Bible in Spain* has grievously mistaken his vocation, if he thinks himself called to announce the gospel to those who are ignorant of it:—we do not, of course, imply that he is not the best possible instrument the Bible Society could have selected for *its* purposes.

II. Mr. Borrow, although he sometimes praises the Spanish people, or rather such of them as he was able unmolested to distribute his bible among, nevertheless *represents* them as most degraded, and wicked, and ignorant. Now of course we cannot here enter into an exposure, in detail, of his many misstatements and absurd inferences: we have already (antè, p. 459) given a specimen, on a small scale, of the grounds on which he forms his judgment of a people. But we may remark briefly, in the *first* place, that it were no wonder (even if it were true,) that a general depravity of manners should exist among a people whose country has been so long the scene of civil wars; amongst whom the wolves of infidelity have been prowling for the last forty years, seeking out their victims in the lonely hamlet, as well as in the crowded city; whose faithful pastors have been robbed, imprisoned, banished,



butchered in cold blood, and their places filled by an infidel government, with false prophets; whose seats of learning and piety—schools and monasteries—have been plundered and profaned, and their inmates slaughtered at the foot of the altar, or sent adrift, helpless and penniless, upon the wide world; whose ears have been so long accustomed to words of blasphemy, whose eyes have so long ceased to behold the visions of purity and piety that kept them fixed on heavenly objects before, whose souls have so long fainted away for want of the heavenly food which God provided for them in the Sacraments. In the *second* place, it is evident from Borrow's own narrative, that his attempts to corrupt the people met with little or no success. Now this we take to be a good argument in favour of their virtuous and Christian dispositions. Had his "campaign" been crowned with anything deserving the name of a triumph, what could we have to say for a people, who had abandoned their religious principles, to enlist under the banner of a fanatical stranger "whom nobody knew?" But, as all his efforts, and they were, as we have already shewn, great and persevering, left every individual in Spain in much the same condition as which he found them, we are justified in concluding, that the old Catholic chivalry, and purity, and lofty mind, still burn in the hearts of the people,—if not as brightly as of old, at least with a fervour as yet but little diminished. In the *third* place, Mr. Borrow talks of robberies and murders committed on the highway, and of the danger of travelling in Spain. Spain has been convulsed by a protracted civil war: would it not be a miracle, of which no history has given an example, since the beginning of the world, if robberies and murders did not occur frequently, especially as the country swarms with foreign incendiaries, the dregs of other countries, "vagabonds whom nobody knows?" Taking Borrow's account as it stands, we see nothing in it which should have startled *him*: for his mind must have been familiarized with the account of similar insecurity of life and property, from time to time, in England, and especially in Ireland. We will venture to assert that the number of atrocities committed, during one winter, in the single province of Ulster, during the reign of Orangeism, would be found equal to those committed, in the same space of time, out of battle, in any equal extent of territory in Spain. We recollect the time ourselves,—we were living on the spot,—when even the most unoffending Catholics, in populous towns in Ulster, dare not appear out of doors after night, without the imminent risk of being assassinated or severely beaten. Now that this same Borrow



traversed Spain from one end to the other, insulting the most cherished feelings, and inflaming the passions of the people, and that he brought his life safe out of the country; nay, that he, “a vagabond whom nobody knew,” was allowed to carry on his “campaign” for six weeks, without being shot through the body, we take to be an unanswerable argument in favour of the character of the people. In the *fourth* place, the extraordinary fervour which the great mass of the people exhibited during the jubilee last summer, is the best refutation of Borrow’s calumny, that there is a disposition among them to throw off the yoke of religion.\* That there are infidels and blasphemers in Spain, and a considerable number of bacon-on-Friday Catholics, no one doubts:—for it is to such that her present miserable condition is to be mainly attributed—but they consist altogether of the “vagabonds whom nobody knows,” or of persons corrupted by the same vagabonds.

III. Mr. Borrow thinks that the great remedy for the evils of Spain is to distribute the Bible, without note or comment: that Spaniards are not Christians, and the distribution of the Bible is the only means of making them such. He sometimes refers to England (“holy England,” as Gregg, with infinite humour, used to call it, during his discussion with Father Maguire) as a proof of the happy effects of indiscriminate Bible-reading.

“I now told him [an indifferent Catholic with whom he was conversing] that I did not come to Portugal with a view of propagating the dogmas of any particular sect, but with the hope of introducing the Bible, which is the well-head of all that is useful and conducive to the happiness of society,—that I cared not what people called themselves, provided they followed the Bible as a guide; for that where the Scriptures were read, neither priestcraft nor tyranny could long exist, and instanced the case of my own country, the cause of whose freedom and prosperity was the Bible, and that only, &c.” (i. 55.)

Now we shall keep as clear as possible of the theological question, as to whether it can be shewn from the Bible itself, or from any other source, that it was intended to be a rule of faith for the people; whether the reading of it (without the voice of the living and infallible interpreter, the Church) is or *can be* the means, or even *a* means, in any ordinary case, of

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\* While the proof sheets are passing through our hands, we learn that, during a sacred festival lately held in Madrid, more than 22,000 persons approached the holy table during the solemnities.

learning the doctrines of Christianity. Into this question we shall not enter, because, although the only true and inevitable solution of it, shews at once the absurdity of Borrow's theory and the folly of his labours, the question has been ably and satisfactorily settled by books that are in every one's hands, and even in the writings of some of the Oxford doctors. Besides, we conclude from Mr. Borrow's book, that he is incapable (as indeed all or nearly all fanatics like him are) of understanding a theological argument. So we shall merely submit to his consideration a few plain questions and facts, which, we rather think, he will not find so easy of digestion as the fried rabbits which he ate at Pegoens.

Mr. Borrow boasts of the extensive reading and knowledge of the Bible, and the fruits thereof in England: nor is he the first who has so boasted. Indeed so often and so confidently has this assertion been made, and so commonly admitted, that one is disposed to think it must be true, *because* it is so common. But what is the fact? that Bibles without number are printed, that the Bible is very much talked about, that countless copies of it are distributed, and that it is read from different motives, and for various objects, by very many—all this we willingly admit. But that the people of England are in the smallest degree more remarkable for their *knowledge* of the Bible than any other nation in Europe, this we utterly deny. For, in the *first* place, it is a fact admitted by those who are most interested in denying it, that England is *far* behind the continental nations in the knowledge of Biblical literature; and that even the small knowledge existing in England is taken second-hand, and badly taken, from the works of the scholars of Italy, Germany, &c. We have not space to go into much detail, but let us take a few instances. *Horne's Introduction* is admitted to be, or at least to have been until very recently, the most learned work of its kind in English. Truly the recommendations of it given by most respectable authorities, would, if printed together, line half the trunks of Fishamble street. Now, Horne's work is about one of the most stupid, inaccurate, ill-written, ill-digested books we have ever read upon any subject. The writer shews throughout an ignorance of history, languages, theology, Scripture; his style is as good as that of Lord Castlereagh's speeches, his reasonings as just as Tom Paine's, his opinions as sound as Lord Brougham's, his facts as true as Borrow's, his decorum of language equal to that of an Orange newspaper. Even



Davidson, who evidently loves the *man*, admits this much of the *work*: "He [Horne] cannot be said to have written a well-digested, well-reasoned, ably written book—In fact the more I read of this work, the greater dissatisfaction I felt, and the more inaccuracies, as they appeared to me, did I meet with. However much, therefore, this Introduction has been held up to the public as 'a complete,' 'invaluable,' 'unrivalled,' &c. &c., it will be unsatisfactory to the patient inquirer."\* Credner (quoted *ibid.*) says "that *Horne's Introduction* is the most approved work of this kind in England; but to German theologians it is of no consequence." The inferiority of Marsh, Bloomfield, and the rest of the English Biblical scholars, to those of the continent, is equally undeniable. Even such compendiums as those of Glaire (*Paris*, 1839-41), or Moralia (*Rome*, 1828-9), or Jahn (*Vienna*, v. y.), though the last named is rash and heterodox on several points, shew more real scholarship, and yield more solid information, than a whole ship-load of such English Protestant writers as we have been speaking of. As to the commentators, expounders of the sacred text itself, how dwarfish and feeble even the mightiest of English writers appear beside such men as Cornelius à Lapide, Estius, Calmet, N. Alexander, Maldonatus, and a host of others. Bloomfield's annotations, when compared even with the very condensed comments of Menochius, or Pequigny, remind us of nothing so much as the croakings of old \*\*\*\*, or the eternal pal-lal of the "idiot boy" in *Blackwood's Magazine*.

In the *second* place, with regard to the general knowledge of the Scriptures in England, and still more the fruits of Bible-reading in that country, we cannot conceive folly more reckless than in appealing to such a test. We have seen in our own days—not to go further back—fruits indeed of Bible reading, but not such as Mr. Borrow would be likely to boast of. We have seen swarm after swarm of the most hideous monsters of superstition and infidelity, springing up from the very bosom of Protestant England, and spreading far and wide, and drawing away thousands and tens of thousands of willing worshippers. Hardly a year passes away, without giving birth to some new sect, each surpassing its predecessor in blasphemy; until at last atheism, open and avowed atheism,

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\* Davidson, "Lectures on Biblical Criticism," p. 382. See also Wright's translation of "Seiler's Biblical Hermeneutics," where the gross ignorance manifested in some of Horne's remarks on the Latin Vulgate is exposed, note, p. 404.



is professed, preached, published, circulated by Socialists and other such denominations, whose very names make our ears tingle to hear. Who has not heard of Johanna Southcott, with her long train of followers and favourers,—among whom were numbered at least one of the English Protestant Bishops, several ministers, and many wealthy and highly respectable persons (one of whom left her an estate of £250 per annum), and for the revival and extension of whose sect, all that was required, according to the *Edinburgh Review* itself, was that some active and eloquent preacher, like Whitfield or Wesley, should arise to trumpet it forth. Yet Johanna was a diligent reader of the Scriptures, from her earliest years, so were her followers; so were the followers of others like her, before and after her time,—Thom and the rest,—the mere catalogue of whose names would fill several pages of our journal.

But facts have, within the last year, come to light upon the clearest testimony, which show how foolish it is in Mr. Borrow to hold forth England as an example of the influence of Protestantism and Bible reading, in forming the religious principles, and strengthening the virtuous dispositions of the people. We need but refer to the extracts given in our last number from the evidence on the condition of the working classes. The very fundamental articles of the Christian faith,—the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, nay, the very existence of the Redeemer, utterly unknown among large masses of the lower orders in England! the most degrading vices raging among them, as a pestilence; covering them as with the deep sea of iniquity! How our souls burned within us, as we read the heart-rending details of the havoc which impiety has made among so many thousands of those who boast to be the most enlightened,—who boast to be, and who are, the most powerful people in the world! If, in the bitterness of our hearts, we invoked some scourge upon the children of that nation, which inflicted so many ages of wrong upon our native land, what greater calamity could we desire than this? But God forbid—O! God forbid, that, in feeling as Irishmen, we should cease to feel as Christians—as Catholics. God forbid that the first and ruling sentiments of our hearts should be any other than those of pity and compassion for the appalling condition of these wretched people, upon whose heads the pride, and the lust, and the rapacity of the powerful and wicked men, who severed England from the centre of Catholic unity, has brought down this most terrible of maledictions,—to be delivered up to darkness of mind, and hardness of heart.

God forbid that we should not mourn over the misery of the poor children, sixteen and eighteen years old, who said, in their examination, that they had never heard of Jesus Christ,—that they never prayed,—that they knew no prayer,—that they were never taught to pray.\* But what shall we say of those who, born in this wilderness of living death, dwelling in the seat of these abominations, go out thence into foreign climes to sow there the seeds of the same pestilence, which has desolated their native land; who point, for a proof of the knowledge and fruits of indiscriminate Bible reading, to the very country where by such multitudes God is unworshipped, and the name of Jesus hardly known, and where the very existence of the Deity is practically denied by thousands. Out upon this audacious hypocrisy! Stay at home, ye vagabond slanderers, and try to convert your own brethren to a simple knowledge of the existence of God, before you venture abroad to teach Christ crucified to nations that know him with a knowledge, and love him with a love, infinitely beyond what you possess, or can understand. Stay at home, and ere you venture to pull down the altars of God's own temple, first demolish the hideous idol that is worshipped among yourselves, and by yourselves; first teach the daughters of your land,—who become mothers by the thousand, ere they have well ceased to be little children,—teach them that the fornicator and the adulterer shall not see the glory of God. O, there *was* a time—before the period of Henry's murders and Cranmer's perjuries—when such a lesson would not so need to be taught. “*Qui ergo alium doces, teipsum non doces: qui prædicas non furandum, furaris: qui dicis non mœchandum, mecharis: qui abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis.*” Take the beam out of your own eyes, ere you examine the mote in your neighbours': shew that the indiscriminate reading of the Bible has improved yourselves, before you force it as a boon upon others: break your own chains, ere you go forth as apostles of freedom to break the chains of those who are already free.

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\* See our last number, p. 154, &c.

ART. VI.—1. *A Plea for National Holy-days.* By Lord John Manners, M.P.

2. *Tableau des Fêtes Chrétiennes.* Par M. le Vicomte Walsh. Paris, 1837.

WE think it must be considered a bad symptom in any body, whether natural or politic, when that which ordinarily and by others is taken as sustenance, has to be prescribed as medicine. There must be something sadly out of order in a poor peasant's health, when the physician orders him wine, and not a bitter potion; his stamina must be gone, his constitution undermined, his frame worn out, when what his richer neighbour considers but a common drink, he has to sip by measure, as a cordial and restorative. Nay, even a peasant from Italy or Spain would wonder at such a nostrum ever being proposed; for he has all his life been accustomed to drink it at every meal. In other words, his vineyard produces it for him each year in abundance; and he has no idea of it as a rarity or a prescription. Now just as much would he wonder at the idea, that Church festivals or holydays are in any Christian country, prescribed as a cure for moral evils, and require to be made subjects of legislative enactment. Not more naturally does the vine yield its glowing and refreshing clusters, to cheer his bodily sense, than does religion, as he conceives it, inspire the feelings which suggest, and determine the occasions which provide, recurring days of sacred festivity, of wholesome relaxation, and of innocent cheerfulness. A religion without festivals is, in fact, an anomaly in the annals of the world. Jew or heathen, Christian or Mohammedan, Scandinavian or Hindoo,—no one that ever professed a religion (till Protestantism arose) ever heard or thought of a system of religious belief or practice, wherein days more hallowed than the rest, did not, from time to time, break upon the monotony of the year, arouse some peculiar feelings, and bring to mind, either in joy or mourning, some sacred event, or some memorable person, by peculiar rites, and by special commemoration.

Christmas-day and Good-Friday, the alpha and omega, it is true, of all that is written in the Book of Love, the *Ecce venio* and the *Consummatus est* of the divine Advent, form the entire sum of festivals in the Anglican Church; the abhorrence and abolition of *two* holydays were and are the only step to be descended from her, to reach the low level of Puritanism, on this



point. But between these two, and even beyond them, how many mysteries that deserve contemplation, how many acts of mercy and love that call for affectionate remembrance! For, beyond the two boundaries lie, the solemn Annunciation of the Son's Incarnation, and its accomplishment, on the one side, and, on the other, the Ascension, which crowned the work of redemption, and reopened the gates of heaven. Fortunately for the credit of modern religion, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit occurred upon the Sunday: or we may almost venture to say, they would have been passed over with little love. How many opportunities are thus lost for cultivating the religious affections, and drawing the heart, from time to time, towards higher aims, and holier desires, than the every-day occupations of life inspire! How great a power has been surrendered of refreshing languid faith, and stirring up the expiring embers of divine love in the souls of men, by this abandonment of so natural and so beautiful an institution! But to look at the matter more religiously, how many means of grace have thus been forfeited. For who can doubt, that as in the Old Law, so likewise in the New, God has His seasons of peculiar mercies; whether such as sack-cloth and ashes, fasting and mourning, bring down, or such as the festive song and spiritual joy of His spouse invite Him to pour out? This feeling, too, is as natural to every religious system (with the exception already made) as that man should exhibit *his* varied feelings at such stated occasions. In fact, the two ideas united, form the basis of the Christian cycle of festivals. This rests, on the one hand, upon the natural and religious conviction that it is man's duty to show his sympathies with the manifestations of God's kindness, whether directly or indirectly bestowed; and on the other, upon the assurance received, that such expression of such feelings is pleasing to God, and draws down new blessings.\*

The Catholic calendar is, in fact, but the almanack of the "new heavens and the new earth," which the Lord of Mercy hath created for Himself and us. It faithfully represents to the Christian soul, the annual course of the "Sun of Right-

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\* "Quamvis enim nulla sint tempora, quæ divinis non sint plena muneribus, et semper nobis ad misericordiam Dei, per ipsius gratiam præstetur accessus; nunc tamen omnium mentes majori studio ad spirituales profectus moveri, et ampliori fiducia oportet animari, quando ad universa pietatis officia, illius nos dei, in quo redempti sumus, recursus invitat."—St. Leo, serm. iv. de Quadrag.

eousness,"\* passing through His cycle of love, to warm and to cheer, to nourish and give growth to "the planting of His right hand," in the vineyard of His Church. Little for our sakes, and weakly, does He appear, and as though scarcely showing Himself above the horizon, in the bleak winter wherein He begins his giant course,† revealing Himself more in infant promise, than in Godlike might. Then soon He acquires brightness and strength,‡ to attract the eyes of nations from afar, and bring them to his glorious Epiphany. Still lasts the winter, and runs into the promising but yet dreary spring, bringing down penitential clouds and tearful dews upon the dry and stubborn land, which stronger influences of fertilizing grace alone render salutary;|| and the more cheerful season that will follow begins already to have its harbingers, giving promise of joy, in the very sorrow which prepares it.§ A sorrowful eclipse and dark overshadowing of the heavenly luminary will first come, and then the paschal Sun shall shine forth in the fulness of His gladdening radiance, drying up the tears that have flowed,¶ and ripening the seed that hath been scattered as they streamed. And now his beauty and power, far from declining, seem rather to grow, as festival after festival unfolds the increasing glories of Him whom we have thus figuratively described, till He attains His

\* "Consorts paterni luminis,  
Lux ipse lucis et dies."—*Fer. iij. ad Mat.*

"Splendor paternæ gloriæ,  
De luce lucem proferens,  
Lux lucis, et fors luminis  
Diem dies illuminans."—*Fer. ij. ad Laudes.*

† "En clara vox redarguit  
Obscura quæque personans  
Procul fugentur somnia,  
Ab alto Jesus promicat  
\* \* \*

Sidus refulget jam novum  
Ut tollat omne noxium."—*Hymn for Advent.*

‡ "Tu lumen et splendor Patris."—*Hymn for Christmas.*

§ "O Sol salutis, intimis  
Jesu refulga mentibus  
Pum nocte pulsa gratior  
Orbi dies renascitur."—*Hymn for Lent.*

|| "Dies venit, dies Tua,  
In qua reflorent omnia."—*Ibid.*

¶ "Paschale mundo gaudium  
Sol nuntiat formosior,  
Cum luce fulgentem nova  
Jesum vident apostoli."—*Easter Hymn.*

zenith, by ascending to the right hand of His Father, there culminating above things heavenly as earthly,\* and shedding down holy and sublime energies upon man, through His descending Spirit, at Whitsuntide, and through the mystery of love on the feast of His body.† From this highest point the outward manifestation of His splendour seems to decline, yet so that His course is marked out to us by representation, at given intervals, of His more terrene glories, in the commemoration of His Transfiguration,‡ in the Exaltation of His Cross,|| and in the celebration of His title as Redeemer,§ till we are brought to the close of the sacred year, and begin again the mystical expectation of His Advent.

The extracts which we have thrown into the margin will sufficiently illustrate this idea of our blessed Lord's being the unsetting sun and lamp of the city of God, whether earthly or heavenly. Like the visible luminary,¶ His course, though unceasing and unvarying, is thus marked for our observation by certain periods of seeming change, which constitute both as set on

\* "Ascendis orbes siderum,

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Mundi regis qui fabricam  
Mundana vincens gaudia."—*Hymn for Ascension-day.*

† "Jam Christus astra ascenderat,  
Reversus unde venerat

\* \* \*

Sanctum daturus Spiritum.

\* \* \*

De Patris ergo lumine  
Decorus ignis almus est."—*Hymn for Whit-Sunday.*

‡ "Verusque Sol illabere  
Micans nitore perpeti;  
Jubarque Sancti Spiritus  
Infunde nostris sensibus."—*Fer. ij. ad Laudes.*

‡ Corpus Christi Day.

§ "Lux alma, Jesu, mentium,  
Dum corda nostra recreas,  
Culpæ fugas caliginem;

\* \* \*

Tu dulce lumen patriæ  
Carnis negatum sensibus,  
Splendor paternæ gloriæ."—*Hymn for Transfig. (Aug. 6.)*

|| "O Crux splendidior cunctis astris!"—*Antiph. for Exalt. of the Cross. (Sept. 14.)*

¶ "Jesu voluptas cordium  
Et casta lux amantium."

*Hymn in festo SS. Redemptoris. (Oct. 22.)*

\*\* The Manichees, as St. Augustine tells us, foolishly as wickedly, took the visible sun to be our Lord.



high, "for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years."\* The one gives to the earth its seed-time and its harvest, its pruning-season and its vintage, its balanced equinoxes and its contrasted solstices, each calling up its emotions of hope or gratefulness, of anxiety or resignation, of public merriment or domestic mirthfulness. The other, too, gives its seasons and its days, it Lents, its Easters, and its Whitsuntides, its Octaves and its Advents, and its special days, that mark the passage of one holy season into another—transitions of feeling, but wherein all is hallowed, all is consecrated. Bright and glorious break forth over all the earth, those days of marked solemnity, steeping in a flood of brightness, spire and cupola, palace and cottage, city and hamlet. Gloriously streams their radiance through the storied windows of cathedral and abbey church, chapel and chantry; cheerily steals its mildened ray through the narrow casement of the recluse's cell, and plays joyfully on his crucifix and Madonna, and makes the very skull upon his table seem to smile. Clouds may on that day cover the face of heaven, and thick mists may hide the visible sun; but the joy of a thousand hearts, and the song of a thousand tongues will prove, that there is a source of light and warmth, placed far beyond the reach of such obstructions.

Yet must this glorious sun dwell in a firmament worthy of His career. He must have His well-divided zodiac, through which to move—that golden zone which girds Him—of saints† who "shine like the stars unto all eternity."‡ Nor would it be difficult to allot to each of its twelve divisions the name or sign, whereby it should be known and ruled; seeing that every month of the Christian calender (save one sorrowful month, which yet has in it the solemn commemoration of Gabriel's announcement of salvation) has presiding in it one or more of those chief saints of the new law, who preached it with the witnessing of their blood—the apostles of the Lamb. For to them St. Paul, and afterwards the Church, applies what is said of those visible heavens, through which the created sun walks his stately course, and which tells the glory of God to all the earth.§ And each of these bright lumin-

\* Gen. i. 14.

† "Beatus quoque Joannes in Apocalypsi vidit Filium hominis præinctum zona aurea, id est, Sanctorum caterva."—*Pontif. Rom. In ordin. Subdiac.*

‡ Dan. xii. 3.

§ "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum." Ps. xviii. 1; Rom. x. 18.

aries is surrounded by others of lesser brightness ("for star differeth from star in glory"\*); here shining in single brilliancy, like Stephen or Lawrence, there grouped in varied constellations,—mothers martyred with their seven children, captains slaughtered for Christ with their legions, and holy abbots massacred with their communities.† Mingled with them are bright and shining lights of holy doctrine and saintly example,‡ that took their place after them, but are scarce less brilliant, filling up the glories of that firmament towards which we are to raise our eyes, and completing its adornment; while myriads of nameless stars—clouds, as they seem, of witnesses—pour themselves out like a milky stream, across the heavenly expanse, leaving no blank or crevice in its golden vault.

Through this glorious and splendid field, He, who "hath set His tabernacle in the sun," goeth forth "as a bridegroom from his bridal chamber," to run. "His going out is from the end of this heaven, and his circuit even to the end thereof."§ And ever as He moves will be seen at His side, when His rays are not so bright, as to quench every other splendour, one other star, brilliant as a gem, the morning-star of hope, the evening-star of peace and calm, the load-star of the pilgrim and the mariner, the cynosure of hearts inflamed with the love of the holy and the pure.|| Throughout His course He imparts, as He passes, celestial influences to these glorious beings, which they benignly shed upon their subject dominions,¶ each on the land, or city, or individual that owns his ruling sway, when in that happy conjunction. Sometimes the day awakens joy through kingdoms and provinces; gives simultaneous impulse to the swell of every organ; and makes every grey tower through the land to shake with its joyous peal, and lights up every countenance under the same beam of gladness. Or the ray only tips with light the modest spire of some hamlet church, and wakens to secluded festivity

\* 1 Cor. xv. 41.

† "Quid igitur per Orionas, nisi Martyres designantur?.....qui ad faciem cœli quasi in hieme venerunt.....Orionas ergo cœlum edidit, cum S. Ecclesia martyres misit."—*S. Greg. Mor.* lib. ix. c. xi.

‡ "Isti itaque sunt astrorum spiritualium ordines, qui dum summis virtutibus eminent, semper ex supernis lucent."—*Ib.*

§ "Quot sunt ergo bona prædicantium, tot sunt ornamenta cœlorum."—*Id.* Hom. xxx. in Ev.

|| Ps. xviii.

¶ "Ave Maris Stella!" See St. Bernard, Hom. ii. super *Missus est*.

\*\* "Thou hast made us to our God a kingdom, and priests, and we shall reign on the earth."—Rev. v. 10.

the sturdy inhabitants of a sheltered dell, to honour the saint scarce known beyond its precincts,—the recluse whose cell gave name to the humble village and its church, or the martyr who there shed his blood, and left his bones to consecrate its altar. Such we believe to be the true idea of the ecclesiastical calender: it commemorates the mercies of God;—sometimes more splendidly manifested in the mysteries of salvation, sometimes more condescendingly in the wonderful virtues of the saints. The same principle sanctions either class of festivals; God alone is worshipped, God alone is supplicated; but we love that the honour and the prayer should ascend conjointly with the smoke of angelic censors, and with the fragrance of saintly phials.\* All this feeling is natural to a Catholic, and so to speak, indigenous to Catholic countries; it is only the spontaneous expression of belief in the communion of saints. It leads to the great division of festivals or holy-days, a division which, being overlooked by the amiable nobleman who has called public attention to the subject, we deem it necessary now to notice.

The Christian religion confirmed, ennobled, and sanctified every good natural feeling, and consequently, love in all its branches, beginning with the domestic affections, and gradually widening through social and national attachments, to universal philanthropy, or love of kind. But more than this, the Church, in and through which this religion was established, was ordered in perfect charity,† in that principle of unity and communion which distinguishes her from every other body, that makes pretensions to her privileges. While this *communion* is Catholic or universal, the *intercommunion* whereby it is outwardly manifested, has its degrees or circles, narrower and wider, but each connected with those within, and spreading, as it were, from them by a natural expansion. There must be expression given to these various degrees of love by the religion which hallows them; there must be evidences put forth of this living communion, according to its fitting scale of intensity, by the Church which maintains it. In domestic life, nothing so evinces communion between the members of one family, as their participation in the same feelings, whether of joy, or of sorrow, as their feasting and their mourning together. The scattered individuals belonging to it will flock from distant parts to a family banquet, at some birth-day commemoration, or some domestic festivity; and

\* Rev. viii. 3, v. 8.

† “Ordinavit in me charitatem.”—Cant. ii. iv.



they will hasten also to pay the last tribute of sorrowful regard to a departed relative.

And in like manner, the Church will have her various degrees of religious intercommunion exhibited by festivals, in which more or fewer join, according to their various rights.

1. She is the Church Catholic; she unites together all her children throughout the world upon certain great and solemn occasions, commemorative of universal benefits, or universal benefactors. Her great feasts are among her most certain and pleasing evidences of the universality of her communion. They prove how the hearts of millions dispersed can beat in unison, and how magnificent must be the sway that can give them a common impulse. One cannot be surprised that the early pontiffs were so intolerant of the Quartodeciman error, which led to variation in the day of observing Easter. It may seem to those who understand not the value of unity, to have been a harsh severity to repress this difference of discipline, coming apparently from so high a source. The admirers of national peculiarities and privileges, in ecclesiastical observances, may even regret such interferences. But the Church knew her real privileges better. She felt that it would never do to allow the most jarring feelings to be dividing her children on such a day,—to have some singing *Alleluja*, while others were crying *Miserere*,—some triumphing with the newly-risen, and others weeping with the expiring, Saviour. Such discordant sounds could not blend as they rose to heaven; and *there* there could be no mixed festivity: *both* could not have an echo: the twenty-four elders could not divide, and one half attune their harps to a joyful, and the other to a more plaintive strain. Hence on this point the Church was ever inexorable; she hath no regard to minor proprieties, but looks to unity. By us in one hemisphere, Easter may justly be considered as rightly placed in the opening of the cheerful spring; its joys come with those of nature, its songs with the renewed carroling of birds, and its rich hangings and bright vestments with the new clothing of the trees and fields, beyond the splendour of Solomon in his glory; but to the new churches of the South it falls sorrowfully upon an uncongenial autumn, with searing leaves, and darkening skies, and decay and loss of all natural loveliness. And so likewise, how many thoughts moving to love do we find in the winter celebration of Christmas,—the long dreary night, the pinching cold, the sighing wind in Bethlehem's stable,—which must be lost to the Christian beyond the equator, obliged as he is

on that day to seek shelter beneath his banana or cocoa-tree from the scorching of a vertical sun. But all this matters not; unity is a consideration far beyond all such secondary proprieties: and they who have not the privilege of looking on those stars, which crowned angels when they announced, "Glory to God and peace to man," must be content to forego such pleasing associations, for the sake of a sublimer and more important end. These great and universal festivals, then, are declarations of religious unity, they are even among the visible bonds and ties which hold together the vast community of the Church. They are not, it is true, its essential elements,—they form not the stones whereof the goodly pile is built up, nor yet the cement nor the brazen cramps by which they are held fast together; but they are as finely moulded and richly carved string-courses, that run round the entire edifice, and show unity of design, and while they add grace and beauty, in truth as to the eye, bind compactly together the more solid parts.

And in fact, the belief of the universal Church in the incarnation and divinity of the eternal Word, in His death and resurrection, in the divinity of the Holy Ghost, in the real presence, in the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, in the intercession of saints, in the glory of the blessed Virgin, and in the efficacy of prayer for the departed faithful, are not more strongly proclaimed to the world by her formularies of faith, than they are by the festivals, which her children everywhere observe in commemoration of these persons or doctrines. They stir up faith, which otherwise might become forgetful, to the consideration, one by one, and more markedly, of each point; making the whole year a practical symbol of faith, in which consentient profession of particular doctrines is made, by august acts of worship and magnificent offices, throughout the world.

2. While unity of the more Catholic character is thus expressed through the festivals of the universal Church, there is a narrower sphere in which a closer communion exists, between the hierarchical components of what is called a national Church. By this, of course we do not mean independent Churches erected by states, but such portions of the universal Church as have a separate metropolitan government, whereof several may, on national or even geographical grounds, be united together. Thus the two archbishops of England, and their suffragans, used to form a division recognized by the rest of the Church, like to the Gallican or the Spanish

Churches. It is manifest that many links would bind together the bishops of such a portion of the Church, distinct from the bonds of Catholic communion—a common origin, one language, national manners and usages, peculiar rites, local traditions; not to mention many other just and reasonable motives of association, arising from political or social events. The sphere of influence of such considerations would be commensurate with that occupied by merely national feelings. It was natural that such religious alliances as were thus formed should lead to corresponding expressions of feeling, in the language of the Church. If the war-cry of “St. George for England,” ringing inspiringly through the English ranks, cheered on our mailed barons to the charge, and nerved the arms of our cross-bowmen to speed their shafts, the same watchword excited the pious devotion of peaceful citizens at home, filled all the churches with ardent votaries, thronged the village greens throughout the land with candidates for rustic honours, and united king and people in one prayer for the welfare of their country. And so did the feast of the good king Edward, or of the wonder-working Dunstan, or of the glorious St. Thomas, call forth national emotions of gratitude, or admiration, or enthusiastic love, from the people in whose memory their virtues were embalmed. Then, if their feelings found but a faint response, in the less solemn observance of the day across the channel, or the border, there came in its turn, over either, the song of public jubilee and of national joy, for St. Dennis of France, or St. Andrew of Scotland. Nay even to such merely national commemorations other countries would pay homage, by sending their pilgrims in crowds to worship at the favoured shrine.

3. A still closer bond of unity holds fast together a bishop and his diocese. The Cathedral, “the Mother-Church” is the centre of a more intimate communion; from it issues parochial jurisdiction, pastoral admonitions, episcopal visitation; there is the throne set of him who holds the apostolic commission to impose hands, and use the weightier keys of God’s kingdom, in unlocking its more hidden treasures. Towards it turn all eyes and hearts for direction in trying moments, in critical circumstances. But in it too are sure to be laid the holy remains of some early bishop or venerable martyr, the special patron of the noble cathedral, and its tributary diocese. Durham had its Cuthbert and its Bede, Lincoln its Hugh, Hereford its Thomas, Beverley its John, even as now Milan possesses its Ambrose and Charles; Naples



its Januarius, Liege its Lambert, and Rome its Peter and Paul. The glories of such men belonged to the See which they had honoured, or to the city which possessed their sacred relics; and their festival was a public holy-day to the entire diocese. When it arrived, crowds might be seen streaming from the country round, through the city gateway, and directing their steps towards the noble cathedral, the proportions of which were calculated for such occurrences, and the joyous peal from whose massive tower floated over the highest pinnacle of every secular building. There the shrine of the patron saint, covered with its golden palls and decked with its jewelled emblems, surrounded with blazing tapers and fragrant flowers, received the affectionate devotion of thousands of votaries, whose knees hollowed the pavement, and whose lips wore smooth the marble of the tomb, through ages of enduring love. And when the venerable Bishop, raising his hand at the close of the solemn office, blessed the silent prostrate crowd, how truly did he feel himself as the father amidst his children, secure of their reverential attachment, the more because of the common devotion which thus collected them in joyful festival.

4. Finally, the parish church too had its own peculiar feast-days, its patron saints'-days, the anniversary of its dedication, and perhaps some others of a local interest. It was the expression of that family unity which more intimately existed, as it does in all Catholic countries, between the priest and his people. Those offices of love which none but he can discharge for them, must lead to feelings of a more familiar character. He has baptized them *all*, or at least their children, has instructed their childhood, has listened to their tale of sorrow, and has absolved them in Christ's name; has administered to them the sacred gift; has attended, with kindness and comforting offices, the sick-bed of their friends; and has laid their departed ones, in peace and hope, in the grave. These and a thousand other duties which a Catholic priest discharges for his flock, must knit together their hearts, by love tempered with respect, a love shared by that sacred edifice in which the blessings of his ministry have been ever received, and to which he imparts life and vigour. The parish festival calls forth these feelings to open display; it is the people's own day, it is to *their* Church that the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who can spare a few hours (and in a Catholic country these are many) flock on that day to pray; it is *their* pastor, who takes the lead in the more than usually solemn offices of the

Church; it is *their* generosity or industry that has provided the means of giving peculiar splendour to the festival.

Now, if what we have thus far written be correct, we may pretty safely look for the causes which have destroyed holy-days in England, among those which have blighted the feelings that anciently produced, or secured them. Schism broke in two the union of this country with the rest of Christendom; a secular policy has separated all national from religious feelings; the decay of discipline, and the rise of commercial and manufacturing cities, have deprived the episcopacy and its seats of influence or interest, and dissent has utterly destroyed all parochial unanimity. And error has overspread the whole; heretical doctrine has poisoned the sources of all spiritual gladness; that belief from which Christian festivals must spring, those hopes towards which they lead, and that charity by which alone they can be nourished. These things would *we* have restored, and the lost holy-days would soon revive.

Lord John Manners seems to us to err in reversing this order: he would have the holy-days be the means of bringing back extinct good feelings: we would fain consider those days as their expression and their result. It seems, in fact, almost as unreasonable to expect that we should make our soldiers brave, and our generals skilful, and our entire nation warlike, and so gain great victories, by ordering a series of illuminations in cities, and bonfires all over the country. People will not rejoice and make merry over nothing, especially when some apparent and present sacrifice is to be made for the purpose; and we have made *our* people in particular so very rational that they will ask, why they are to give up a day's work, and keep holy-day? Now we believe it would be just as sensible in their eyes to reply to them, that those supposed profane public rejoicings are on account of Blenheim or Agincourt, as to say that the Church festivals, which they are ordered to keep, are in honour of St. George, or St. Edward. We believe that thousands of voices would cry out; "Why should I lose a day's good work and wages, in honour of those persons, whom I know" (may we add, "and care?") so little about?" The great work to be achieved is the restoration to the people of those ideas and sentiments, which will make such commemorations natural to them, the giving back the soul and spirit, and not mere visible, but inanimate, forms. To go a little more into particulars, let us begin with the narrowest scale on which the attempt might be made to restore the

joyful festivity of olden days. It will be easier to induce the inhabitants of one parish to keep festival, than those of a diocese of such dimensions as the English ones now are. The parish church bears the name of some good old Saxon saint,—say St. Oswald or St. Frieswida, or of a more ancient one, as St. Clement or St. George. To learn what must be done in order to establish, not only in outward observance, but in the hearts of the parishioners, the cheerful holiness of their saint's day, we may do as business-like people do in this country, in worldly matters. When a man of this character wishes to *set up* a new apparatus, whether for warming his church or house, or washing, or prison-discipline, he goes to a place, given in reference, where he finds the machinery at work, and sees how it is managed, and how it answers. So we may learn how the restoration of holy-days may be made, by seeing how they are kept up, where they actually exist, as once they did among our forefathers.

If you go into a village or town in a Catholic country, you may easily ascertain who is the patron saint that gives a name and festival to the parish church, by simply asking the first dozen children whom you meet in the streets, boys or girls, their Christian names. Among them you will be sure to find one prevailing, which perhaps is new to you, at any rate unusual; and if so, you may conclude, that it belongs to some saint held in especial veneration, either from the church's being dedicated to him, or possessing his relics, or from his being in some way a patron-saint. In other words, you find that name become there "familiar as household words," a part of the family vocabulary in every generation. "*Corpora eorum in pace sepulta sunt, et nomina eorum vivent in æternum.*" The very name is dear to the people, is associated with domestic feelings, is interwoven with many tender thoughts. When the festival returns, it recalls to mind the little one that received that name at baptism, and is sleeping in innocence in an early grave, or it is the feast day of the grey-headed old man, who can no longer go to church, but must have his festival at home, when the rest return from mass; in other words, the parish festival is a family commemoration as well, and has an echo of joy in every household. But then with the name comes the history. The inhabitants of that village or town, may know very little of profane history: but if they know anything, they know all about their own saint, that is or can be known. Every year they hear his panegyric, in every house they have his image or picture, however rude; his palm-



branch, or his lily, or his vestment declares what he was, if he have no personal symbol; every child reads in school some account of him suited to a child's capacity, and is taught to look to him as a model and a patron. And if little is known, the very mystery lends a new charm, and allows room for speculation why he has been chosen as the patron; and it is found to have been either because he lived there, or had some way made himself there known, or there had been an immemorial devotion to him; or if every thing else fail, it is at least certain that he is a great saint in heaven, a glorious martyr, or a most holy confessor. (Would an English peasant know what these words mean?)

Now, if you go into an English town or village, and probe for your ground to build on, through the superincumbent layer of ignorance and bigotry, by these simple means, we suspect you will find it totally wanting. You will find multitudes bearing the common every-day names; but if you conjecture a holier reason for them than that an uncle or an aunt, or the parents have first borne them, you will be soon undeceived. And even here you may perhaps detect lurking the baneful symptoms of dissent, in the very names of the young Ebenezers and Ichabods, whose biblical fathers would prefer the twang of a Hebrew appellation, to the softest sounds in the Church's calendar. But go on, and if the sexton or schoolmaster can happen to tell you to whom the parish church is dedicated, seek among the people for some information respecting that saint, or for some ideas or feelings regarding him. We are inclined to believe, that though you might find some traditions yet alive about Robin Hood, in the neighbourhood of Needwood, and you might pick up many stories about Dick Turpin in Yorkshire, you would find the people in St. Oswald's parish or St. Giles's or St. Ives', just as interested or as informed about these holy persons, as they are about the Hindoo mythology. And how can one hope to make them rejoice and hold festival in their honour and commemoration?

But how set about removing this obstacle? Their Church has been teaching them for three centuries nothing about the saints, farther than that there is great superstition and peril of idolatry, in performing any act expressive of active communion with them, such as asking their prayers, or trusting in their sympathy or protection. Their clergymen have been lecturing them about the wickedness of the Roman Church in showing them any honour, as derogatory to higher claims,

and has been proving to them the folly of invoking them, by the comfortable doctrine that they cannot hear us or see us, and by implication that they care nothing about us on earth. Who among them ever is taught that he has a guardian angel ever at his side, watching all his steps; or that he should look on the saint of his name as a heavenly advocate, and address him as such? Who has been told to turn his eyes through the perils of youth, towards the Virgin Mother of his Saviour, as the special patroness of purity and innocence? And is it to be expected that all, at once, they will enter with heart into any project for reviving festivals, in memory of those whom they have been too well taught to regard as aliens and strangers, not to be approached, save by passing over the yawning chasm of Popish idolatry or superstition? Festivals, too, the very ground of which is a belief in the existence of close and affectionate sympathy between the inhabitants of both Jerusalems, and a firm persuasion that they in heaven are pleased with our joy, and return it in blessings obtained for us. Surely the whole teaching of past centuries must be contradicted; the web so artfully woven for generations must be unravelled; the people must be taught to revere what they have despised, to love what they have hated, and consequently to see that they have been, till now, misled, blinded, and deceived, by the very step-mother Church, which now wishes to set them right. How this will be done we are curious to see.

Let us for this purpose have fair and honest courses. If you want to have the feast of any saint revived in his parish or cathedral, let the people know all about him or her. Tell them plainly that St. Hilda was a nun and abbess, and by vowing perpetual virginity, became more pleasing before God and man; that St. Bennet was the founder of the monks whose houses were all suppressed at the godly Reformation, as being hives of lazy drones, and useless members of society, and that he was a truly wonderful saint, to be greatly honoured for that institution; that Venerable Bede said mass in Latin, and held many Catholic doctrines. It will not do to try to smuggle into the English Church a veneration for saints, and holy-days in their honour, as if they were some respectable ancient Protestants, bishops in lawn, or pious ladies who taught poor-schools; but let them be made known as *saints*; and let it be well explained what saints are: bishops who in their day led celibate and mortified lives, distributed the greater part of their revenues to the poor, founded and

endowed hospitals, built churches, and resisted the oppression of the Church, even unto death : noble and royal dames, who retired from the world into poor convents, and devoted their lives to fasting and prayer, in perpetual chastity, and induced many others of like degree to do the same. And let the people know that such things ceased in England the moment its people became Protestant, and its clergy called themselves and their separated Church "Anglican," but continued in "Popish" countries in men like St. Charles, St. Francis, and St. Alphonsus, and in women like the Princess Louisa, or the late Queen Maria Clotilde of Sardinia, and many others of scarcely inferior rank.

If the whole truth be told to the people on this matter, we feel no doubt that holydays, in honour of saints, would soon revive, because the religion which can alone restore them would be re-established. But let us suppose the attempt to be made, without the preparatory feelings being excited ; how would the practical restoration be effected ? Once more, let us go to Catholic countries. The festal day of a parish or diocese is as firmly established in the calendar as is any one of the greater feasts. It has its office ; its proper breviary service, probably with special hymns and antiphons, certainly with collect, and lessons appropriate, sanctioned and approved by lawful authority. The day belongs to the festival, if we may so speak, and not the festival to the day. In the English establishment there would be a difficulty in fixing the day, for its meagre calendar does not contain a tenth portion of the saints to whom old churches are dedicated ; and when a day was found, supposing the bishop to approve it, where would its office be got ? The dry every-day *ferial* office would have to be used, in which not an appropriate allusion or reference would be made to the cause of festivity. But to proceed. The day, in a Catholic parish, is long-established, and well-known to all : not merely to parishioners, but to neighbours all around. The lord and the peasant equally look forward to it ; it is one more tie between them. The former does not grudge the day's work to his dependents, the other does not repine at the loss of his gains : it is as the Sunday, a day calculated in the general balancing of the year's occupation and profit. The poor people will not starve on that day ; they will have rather stinted themselves a little beforehand, to honour it with better cheer : nor will charitable doles and largesses be wanting to gladden the destitute, if any there be.



We saw, not long ago, an instance of how completely the village festival unites and gladdens the hearts of all classes. Who that has travelled in fair Italy, remembers not, as a vision of Eden, the shores and islands of the Lago Maggiore? Who that has seen the latter from a distance, has not leaped into the nearest skiff, and tried, though only for a few moments, to visit them, or at least the one which most invites him, "the beautiful island" as it is justly called? Among those so tempted, were ourselves: and it was as lovely a day for a festival as ever nature gave to southern skies, when we crossed the calm water which separates that charming spot from the main land. The island appears, at first sight, entirely occupied by the princely palace of the Borromeos, with its enchanted gardens. The bold front of the former, seems to rise sheer from the water, and the terrace-walls of the latter even to slant beyond the natural boundary of the land. But at one side, close to the splendid stairs which lead from the lake to the fore-court of the villa, is a small esplanade, occupied by poor but comfortable fishermen's huts, nestling under the shelter of the lofty edifice, and among them the humble parish church, now about to be beautified by its patron, to which there is access from the palace. No attempt has been made by the noble lords of the island to buy up this patrimony of the poor, for these cottages are their own little property, nor to *plant them out*, as an eye-sore, nor to transplant them to the humbler islands around, chiefly occupied by persons of their rank; but they have remained undisturbed for generations, the poor inhabitants holding the same relation to the prince, as their huts do to his palace, that of humble but independent neighbours, who share his fostering and protecting care, affording the means of pleasing contrasts, and the exercise of reciprocal duties. As we approached the marble landing-place, we observed more than usual stir about it, nor were we slow to understand its cause. An elegant gondola was riding in the water, with its boatmen dressed in the livery of the Borromeos; and as we ascended the steps we were met, in frank and gentle greeting, by the young count himself, with his countess and child, beside whom was a large party of ecclesiastics and laymen, who had been partaking of the curate's hospitality. We were made welcome, and desired to call for whatever the house afforded, and invited to inspect it at our leisure. This was hardly necessary; the entire palace and its gardens seemed to belong to the public, every place was thrown open and in the occupancy of the good priest and

his guests, who ranged freely, as we did ourselves, through the stately gardens and cool grottos of the ground-floor of the palace, perfectly at their ease. It was not the season when noblemen in Italy reside in the country; it was, moreover, but a sultry and dusty journey of forty or fifty miles from thence to Milan; but that young nobleman had made it with his family, expressly for that day. It was the festival of the little parish church, and he considered it his duty not to be absent from it. Who can doubt that this mark of sympathy and religious communion between the noble patron and his poor neighbours, this act of respect to the humble parish-church and its priest, would more firmly attach the people to his family than perhaps more expensive acts of generosity,—blankets, through his steward, at Christmas, and an ox, roasted whole, on his coming of age?

However, let us suppose concord so far secured, as that a clergyman in England could have the squire or the lord on his side (and certainly wherever a nobleman of Lord John Manners's mind and heart could be found, he would be completely with him), in endeavouring to bring the people of any extensive parish to celebrate a new holy-day. Due notice is given, the saint's day is named—his to whom the church is dedicated—cessation from work is inculcated, morning and evening service with music, and the communion service, are arranged, and village sports (if enclosure acts have left room for them) announced. If any one rejoices, depend upon it, it will be the publicans, no small a portion of a village or town population; but there will be sufficient that grieve at the notice, to destroy every thing like unanimity and cheerful neighbourly enjoyment of such a day. We can easily conceive the fright, the horror, and dismay which would fill the breasts, and disturb the features, of pious ladies and preachers of every sort; nor can we help imagining to ourselves the machinery that would be set to work to spoil the holiday sport. For we have seen it put in motion in provincial towns, to avert the calamity of a good attendance on any extraordinary Catholic function. First, there would be placards on the walls, and in the shop windows, of which the leading words, in unusually large letters, would tell to a hasty observer the whole sense:—"CHRISTIANS BEWARE!...POPISH SUPERSTITION ...WORST CORRUPTIONS....PROFANE AMUSEMENTS...GLORIOUS REFORMATION...RESISTED TO THE DEATH." Then the Independents would choose that very day for the ordination or reading in of a new minister; Mr. A. interrogating him as to his

call, and Mr. B. of C. reading the ordination prayer. The Methodists would convoke a missionary meeting, in which a Cherokee regenerated minister (known possibly, when a savage, as "the Great Wild-goose") will appear in his own native plumage (hired, perhaps, from Mr. Cattlin), and address the assembly, and recount the history of his conversion; and the Baptists would convoke another, in which Mr. D., with his wife, and interesting family of little children, will communicate their experience among the heathen: and the — auxiliary branch to the — District Bible Society would have a special meeting of subscribers; and every other sect would have something or other to exhibit, as fantastic and as profitable as the shows of a fair. More than this we have known to be done, as we have already observed, to disturb a Catholic festival: enough, and more than enough, to destroy all idea of happy communion of religious feeling between the inhabitants of one place; probably enough to divide house against house, and turn to bitterness, even in the heart of a family, what was intended to diffuse the blessings of harmony and peace.

A Catholic festival is an occurrence which puts all the place in which it is celebrated into good humour, and makes it brimful of cheerfulness. Its meaning, its object, and its demands are perfectly understood by all, and are all of a common interest. Before its day arrives, all whose duty it is, are busy in the work of preparation; but it is like the work of the bee-hive, each does his appointed office, with the punctuality of instinct:—the choir is trained, the church decorated, the altars adorned with all the richness that the place affords; the houses are put into order, wherever the processions are to pass; the confraternities make their various preparations, to appear decorously and prevent confusion; the clergy dispose all things for the more spiritual duties to be discharged, and for the Church-offices, which will well nigh occupy the day; and those who have to look to the more secular part of the festivity will not neglect it.

When the day itself arrives, the Church is ready, with all her boundless stores of spiritual ministrations, calculated, not to deaden, but to raise and quicken, the pulses of religious joy. From the first dawn of day, the doors of the church are open, and open not merely to the winds of heaven, but to the influx of eager faithful, who know that the morning sacrifice will be ready for oblation as soon as they, and that the morning banquet of Christ's children will be as early as the manna in the wilderness. There is no desertion of the holy place



“between services,” for, in fact, the whole morning is occupied by a succession of offices, which leave but few intervals; and even these are well filled up by the silent devotions of many worshippers. Then comes the great and more public function, at which all the clergy attend, and all the faithful assist, with such pomp and circumstances of festivity as the place admits of; and after sufficient respite, to allow the body its necessary refreshment, the afternoon offices, running probably till late in the evening, succeed, not equally, but proportionately, continuing the holy joy of the happy festival. And thus the more worldly demonstrations of cheerful mirth, which close the day, are not its occupation but its recreation, and come upon minds prepared to enjoy them, with good temper and sober feelings.

But there is one almost necessary part of festive observances which the Church of England has completely got rid of, as well as of all else that is beautiful in Church services; and, in her present condition, cannot hope to restore. We mean religious processions. “Behold that solemn procession,” exclaims an author, whom it is always a pleasure to quote, “through the aisles of the abbey church of St. Germain! The holy virgins in pure white robes, like very sanctity, bearing bright tapers in their hands; crowds of holy laymen, the noble and the mechanic, side by side, alike humble, alike devout; the saintly students, the venerable clergy, slowly moving along, singing their pensive melody through the dusky space, shedding radiance as they pass along, while all around them lies in deep darkness. O, it is an impressive thing to mark the countenance of each one who glides before you. There are some who walk, rapt like men in sleep, unconscious of all around them, conversant only with the internal vision, in a rapture of angelic thought...During the ages of faith, the procession was considered an institution of no small importance, in an intellectual and spiritual point of view. Before those mystic flames, which seem to be mingled with the supernal luminaries,—emblems of the star which never sets,—it was thought that the delusive meteors of corrupt passions would die away, and be no more seen. That pious crowd, still encreasing as it proceeded, which passed on, walking in such humble guise after the blessed sacrament, was in sooth a sublime spectacle, as exhibiting to the eye of the world a multitude of men, who sought to follow their ecclesiastical king, hungering and thirsting after him.”\* The catho-

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\* *Mores Catholici*, b. v. p. 92.

lic procession is the overflowing of religious joy beyond the vessel which usually contains it. It is the mystical stream which Ezechiel saw flowing from the altar of the holy place, and issuing abroad through the temple gates, so deepening and swelling, as it flows along, till it becomes a mighty torrent,\* bounding forward in exultation, and making a joyful noise as the sound of many waters. It is, in fact, the Church herself, who, not content with the fainter radiation of her blessings from their centre, at the shrine and the altar, goes forth to bear them, and to impart them to the abodes and resorts of her children. For, go into the spacious building, when its long ranks of clergy and crowds of followers have left it. You saw, but a few minutes before, the vast area covered with men and women, in their holiday attire, all giving abundant signs of life and joy, and the altar surrounded with a goodly array of ministers, vested according to their offices, richly and variously, moving in fragrant clouds of incense, while the atmosphere up to the echoing vault was filled with the organ's peal and the choral song. And now you find it solitary and silent, emptied of all that formed its life, the many tapers burning still, and the fading wreaths from the censor subsiding like evening vapours, with none to enjoy the light and fragrance; and all the beauty and charms of the holy building are there, but no worshipper to be enamoured of it; and it really seems as though the material church still remained, while the spiritual is gone forth; it is like the beautiful body of a saint entranced, while the soul is gone afar on some errand of love. And so, in fact, it is: you hear, faint and distant, the cadence of the solemn chaunt, now sweeping fuller upon the wind, as the multitude that has gone forth sings united in some ampler space, then dying, and only murmuring through the windings of streets and alleys. It is the Church of God, the rival of heavenly choirs—"almæ Sionis æmula"—that is diffusing blessings through the entire town or village, making its narrow ways the aisles of her vaster temple, the open squares its spreading nave, and the heavens, with their consenting angels, its noble vault. And in place of niches and images inanimate, to adorn its walls, see every casement alive with glowing countenances, and tuneful voices; the sick man has had himself brought from his bed to join the festival, now come to his very doors; the aged and helpless matron is supported in the arms of her

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\* Ezec. xlvii.

children, or sits and raises her palsied head at the threshold, to salute the Church's borne treasures; and the very babes exult in their mother's arms, and stretch forth their little hands in glee, as did John in the womb of Elizabeth, at a similar visit. And now the sounds come swelling and increasing, but wave-like, as the flowing tide, till they strike once more against the roof, and re-echo through the arches; and the bright successive flashes of the torches, as they enter, and the stirring flood of life that spreads over the pavement, and the thronging array that again surrounds the altar, give back the animation, the spirit, the soul, that seemed to have been sundered, for a time, from the visible and material frame, restore to it utterance, and make it thrill once more with stirring life and sparkling joyousness.

Now, what has the Church of England to produce, and send round among her people, in which they can confide, or to which they will turn their looks and hearts, in thankfulness and reverence, or in more solemn worship, as it moves among them? Do they, who would have processions restored in her, imagine that two long files of choristers and clergymen in hoods and scarfs, constitute them, and would rivet, long and often, the devout attention of the people? Or that flaunting banners and antique devices would give a further attraction to them? Surely these things may form a goodly pageant, and meet for the walking-day of a club, but they are not the essentials of a religious function. Where there are ministers and symbols, there must be something higher and better than either, a reality to be ministered unto. The Levites walk forth with their tunics and trumpets, only when the Ark of the Lord moves along, and they in attendance on it. Has the Church of England then the shrines of ancient saints, which priests may bear reverently in their hands or on their shoulders, to remind her people that she was (alas! *is* she cannot say) the mother of saints, to awaken in their minds the recollection of bright examples, and to excite their confidence in the intercession of those, with whose sacred remains they are thus associated upon earth? She that hath rifled the tombs of her ancient bishops, hath scattered the ashes of her martyrs to the winds, hath blotted the names of her holy monks from the calendar, and hath cast into oblivion the memory of her saintly virgins? She who cannot count one relic in all her treasures (revered as such), who reprobates all honour shown to any, and dares not tell her people to bear them about them? Or can she presume higher, and hope to



bear more solemnly about, the Lord Himself of Glory, in His Eucharistic triumph, for such the Catholic procession may, in general, be called? She who, independent of her sacramental losses, which debar her from ever possessing the reality, may not even attempt so to honour its substituted type, in the face of her own melancholy decree against it?\* She who allows irreverence to any amount in the administration of it, discerning not in it the Body of the Lord?† No: she has forfeited and lost these gifts, part of the Catholic inheritance. The motives which can suggest religious festivity, the means whereby it can be conducted, the objects toward which it may be directed, are all bound up together by that unity which, to be anything worth, must be Catholic, Catholic in the widest sense, as embracing in its universality heaven and earth. Only through that communion of saints which brings men in the flesh into living association with spiritual beings, can those feelings be stirred up from which glad some commemorations of them, or celebration of great mysteries spring. The vesture of the Church, that is her variable ritual, sparkles

\* Art. xxviii.

† It is but a few weeks ago that "the English Churchman" contained a paragraph complaining of the manner in which the communion service was administered in the restored Temple church. It stated that the remaining sacramental bread (considered of course as duly consecrated) was left on the paten on the altar-rails, till everything else was cleared away, when it was taken into the vestry by a man, who carried it in one hand, and a pile of cushions in the other! And yet such irreverence and sacrilege (supposing consecration) brings down no censure upon its doers and abettors, beyond that of a newspaper. If the bishop of the diocese believes in the real presence after consecration, the least he could be supposed to do, would be to suspend the clergyman, dismiss the cushion-bearer, and take measures for future amendment. In fact the church ought to be placed under an interdict. Yet because this church has been repaired and restored, and repainted after old models, it is considered quite a demonstration of return to Catholic ideas and feelings. How little they know of Catholic truth who can so judge! Alas! these things are but as the mint and the cummin, while the others, that are neglected, are the weighty things of the law. Look at the ancient canons prescribing different degrees of penance for the casual spilling of a drop from the chalice. The decree on this head in the canon law is there attributed to Pope St. Pius I, but more probably belongs to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. (Dec. 3d. P. De Consec. Dist. ii. cap. xxvii. *Si per negligentiam*.) Where there has been decided negligence, a penance of forty days is enjoined, besides the priest's having to wipe with his tongue the place on which the precious drop has fallen. The rubrics (De Defectibus, x. 12-15) specify most minutely what is to be done in cases of any accident to either consecrated species. St. Charles Borromeo, in consequence of such an accident, abstained for several days from the celebration of the divine mysteries. Surely the conduct of the Catholic Church and of the Anglican cannot indicate anything like identity, or even similarity, of belief, respecting the B. Eucharist. And if only one of them can be allowed to hold the real presence, Solomon's test—not here of maternal, but of filial, affection—will easily decide between their respective claims.

as with gems, some of greater cost and brilliancy, others serving but for embroidery and every-day adornment: but they must seek in vain to fit them on again, and have them shine, who have first rent, and then stript off her, this her seamless garment. She is as the spring, and scatters flowers along her path, wherever she treads; as the season advances, new and fresh ones rise beneath her feet, flowers of holiness as of loveliness—but it is only the dew of Hermon that can feed them, the dew which only falls where brethren dwell together in unity.\* The attempt of our amiable nobleman to revive them in the national Church, reminds us sorrowfully of those little gardens which children in Germany love to make upon the graves of their departed friends, by studding them over with flowers, plucked from the neighbouring fields. There indeed they had roots and lived; but here they can only look pretty for a time, then fade and die, to point the moral of a comparison, between the flower above, and the flower beneath, the sod.

So will it be with holy-days introduced by act of Parliament, or by private speculation—nay by that Church even, which has destroyed every emotion that can suggest them, has quenched the sympathies and untuned the harmonies necessary to enliven them, has long disused her people to jocund sounds, and cannot bring back these lost feelings without bitter self-condemnation. Till she is prepared to make this, she must sit under the yoke of her own forging, and weep over the desolation of her own making; she may exhilarate the people by a passing effort, she may throw this her body of death into a galvanic spasm, that looks like a gambol of joy: she may mistake convulsive twitches for smiles, and a ghastly glare of the eye for the rekindled flash of life. But dead, heavy, and lumpish will it fall again, so soon as the wires now applied to it are withdrawn: unless advantage is taken of the momentary artificial life, to dart into it once more the living spark—the Catholic soul, which, restoring it to unity and its privileges, will put the garland into its hand, and the canticle into its mouth, and give it place once more among the children of God.

We have said “the desolation of her own making.” Truly, “*viæ Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem.*”† But who has made them mourn? no foreign invader, no princely oppressor, no plague, nor famine, nor prophet’s

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\* Ps. cxxxii.

† Thren. i. 4.

curse. But it was a part of the plan which made her a national Church, which purged her, as she vaunts, from errors, and made her more holy and apostolic: so at least speak her bishops and her legislators. It is the designed and well-accomplished scheme of those who pretended to be her fathers in Christ. "Dixerunt in corde suo cognatio eorum simul: quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos Dei a terra."\* It was a deliberate sin, and that sin must be expiated and repaired. It is in the power of England and its rulers, to bring back once more all that is now regretted as lost, but there is only one way. ENGLAND'S FIRST NATIONAL HOLY-DAY WILL, AND CAN ONLY BE, THE BRIGHT AND GLORIOUS DAY WHICH SEES HER RESTORED TO THE COMMUNION OF CHRIST'S CHURCH CATHOLIC.

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ART. VII.—*Erinnerungen aus dem leben Johann Gottfried von Herder*, von Maria Caroline von Herder. Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1840. Recollections of the life of Johann Gottfried von Herder, by Maria Caroline von Herder. Stuttgart and Tubingen.

**A**MONG the most distinguished authors of modern Germany many whether we consider their genius, the high moral tone of their productions, their influence on their own and other nations,—an influence which, like a majestic river, is ever widening in its progress,—we may justly include Schiller, Jean Paul, and Herder.

Our pages have supplied, on previous occasions, some account of the two former, written, at least, under the influence of those earnest feelings of admiration and reverence which the intellectual powers and moral aims displayed by them demand. Of the last of these celebrated men, we shall now, in a congenial spirit, present a brief biographical sketch; with the impression that the lives of artists—"those serene creators of immortal things"—are always beautiful, however scanty the details; that such records have the power of casting some light upon their works; and that the healthy, unworldly, and peaceful atmosphere, in which every one true to his genius dwelt, will waft some of its power into souls even of the commonest stamp.

Verily, our *cousins German* have done much that is worthy

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\* Ps. lxxiii. 8.



of man's earnest gratitude; and were the ancient deity of the land, worshipped of old by the rough Teuton, in the absence of the true dispensation, anything but a divine idea projected from his own beclouded and struggling soul to reverence and reach up to, we would do much to visit her temple, and ask of its oracle a judgment of the past, and a prophecy of the future. But—

“The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
The fair humanities of old religion,  
The power, the beauty, and the majesty,  
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain,  
Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly spring,  
Or chasms, and watery depths, all these have vanished,  
They live no longer in the faith of reason.”

We may, however, fancy her looking down from some starry Walhalla on the wide German land, a momentary tinge of gloom passing over her awful face, at the thought of ruined altar and silenced prayer, yet complacently exclaiming, “Bold, great, and energetic race, that, in olden times, humanized your forest dwellings, by a wise spirit of equitable law, and a deep respect for the majesty of woman; scattered the legions of all-conquering Rome, swept with an instinct of wild justice and irresistible might over Alp and Appenine, Danube and Rhine; that carried vigour and manliness to the feeble and effeminate; framed an instrument of knowledge more enduring than brazen tablet or carved stone; that gave arms to the warrior more potent than spear or shield, and with all forceful powers of intellect hath combated against those obstacles that impede the liberty, the dignity, and well-being of man! I yet recognize in you the olden spirit; with motherly pride, I own you for my sons; with lofty joy do I witness your contests, and *imprecate* success on your future efforts, full, glorious, and redeeming as your victories of the past.”

Of high rank in the great class of regenerators, who have made the elevation of their kind their constant aim, were the three men we have named. Alike distinguished as they have been by their fame and influence, they were also singularly alike in their destiny, and the early years of their worldly career. Humble in birth, poor and dependent, they had to struggle long against want, hardships, and discouragement; yet, with a self-reliance and fortitude which bespeak souls of a noble and heroic cast, and must ever command the admira-

tion of men. We know no more touching or cheering manual for the youthful aspirant,—no more quickening and sustaining illustration of “the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties,” than may be drawn from the first part of the lives of these men. Tried in the furnace of affliction, they came out of it like gold purified. Besieged by want, weakened by hunger, deceived by hope, they kept their manliness and honour unstained, and finally, triumphing over all difficulties, they sat down in peace, beloved by their compatriots, their moderate wants provided for, blessed in their unwearying intellectual labours, and in the enjoyment of a home made happy by the spirit of love, joy, practical wisdom, and sympathy which that ministering angel, a good wife, can shed abroad in the dwellings of men.

Of the three distinguished men we have named, the first in the order of time was Herder. A critical investigation of his writings we do not profess to offer here. Our space will not allow us to give much more than the names of his works, which extend to nearly sixty volumes, embracing various branches of science,—theology, philosophy, poetry, philology, natural and civil history and policy. He came at the right time for his age and nation, and armed with the spirit and endowments, that fitted him for the mission that seems to have been committed to him.

“Great offices will have  
Great talents. And God gives to every man  
The virtue, temper, understanding, taste,  
That lifts him into life, and lets him fall  
Just in the niche he was ordained to fill.”

At a period when his countrymen were but lately emancipated from the slavish worship of French models, he sought to raise them above the narrow limits of a restrictive nationality, and directed them to the universal, the absolute, the ideal. When the sceptical spirit of Lessing and others was unwisely pursued, he came with faith and reverence for the consecrate and divine. Against the voluptuous and debasing tendency of the writings of Wieland, and such as adopted his questionable morals and views in literature, his works acted as a potent antidote, breathing a spirit of purity and self-control, and a philosophy lofty, unsensualizing, and sublime. Living in the heart of German circles, where a withering despotism in the several governments was systematic and most oppressive, without any wild or anarchical counteractions, his

whole system of thought and instruction, the heart and soul of all he wrote, was qualified gradually, but inevitably, to lead his countrymen to the conception of man's inalienable freedom, and to lift them above the accidental and the transitory, to the idea of the *free man*;

“Free by birth,  
Of no mean city, plann'd or ere the hills  
Were built, the fountains opened, or the sea  
With all its roaring multitude of waves.”

His works may be divided into three classes. The first includes those which testify his full and pure appreciation of every thing human, wherever and in whatever diverse position it presents itself,—in man or in nation, Negro or Greek, Troglodyte or Chinese; in this class are included his works on philosophic history. The second, represents him, having garnered wisdom from all fields of experience, as a many-armed enlightened adviser and helper, and include his didactic works, essays on education, such as his *Sophron*, which latter his patron, the Count of Schaumburg-Lippe, not unaptly described as “a plan of education fit for a *king*.” The third reveals to us more peculiarly the individuality of his own mind, and lets us look down into the mystery of his heart and being. Among these are his poems, in which he discourseth to us on high subjects, at the suggestion of an inward living nature—great, hopeful, and wise, which had faith in truth, goodness, and beauty, and all those eternal realities which can make man's heart the temple of the Divine.

The source whence we shall chiefly draw the materials for our very brief sketch of Herder's life, is a work written by his excellent wife, and published after her death, by Dr. G. Muller, the brother of the celebrated historian. As a faithful and affectionate memorial of the cardinal events of Herder's life, it is of great and lasting value; but it might be considerably improved with regard to arrangement. The subject matter accumulated by Mrs. Herder, is continually broken by appendices, and what the humorous Richter calls “extra-leaves,” which make so many digressions from the main thread of the story, and throw the reader's attention upon some comparatively very unimportant cotemporary, connected with Herder's life and history. The chronology is not always clear, and there are occasional minor oversights that would only be excusable in an editor out of Germany, such as, ascribing to him the authorship (p. 186, vol. iii.) of the little poem



addressed, "An einen Weltverbesserer," beginning, "Alles, sagst du mir, opfert ich hin, der menscheit zu helfen," &c. which all readers of German know to belong to Schiller, and which may be found in every edition of the latter's works.

But whatever demerits of an artificial character the work may have, its interest and intrinsic value are paramount, and all-attractive. The genial, loving, and dutiful spirit of the affectionate wife, the intellect and taste of the thoughtful woman, are conspicuous in its pages, and have woven into a most interesting narrative, all the principal events of her great husband's life.

Johann Gottfried Herder, was born on the 25th August, 1744, at Mohrungen, in east Prussia. His father was school-master, sacristan, and choir-master there; his mother, daughter of a farrier of the same place. There is nothing of the splendid in origin here, but something better. The father was a man of earnest mood, cheerful and taciturn, performing all his duties with diligence, orderliness, and punctuality: the mother a shrewd, reflective, industrious, and gentle creature, full of the most pious and tender affection for her children, noticeable for her moral and intellectual endowments, and of manners superior to those usually found in so lowly a station. This pair lived upon the scantiest income, poor enough, but not indigent, contented and happy. Without being able to express it to themselves, so clearly and so aptly, they doubtless felt the truth of what their great son wrote some years subsequently.

"High teacher and disciple excellent,  
Thou tenth muse of the world, oh Poverty!  
Great is the wisdom thou unfold'st to man,  
Not only dost thou strengthen him who bears  
A load of cares, but a still finer art,  
A moderation wise, thou teachest him,  
Mak'st it his habit—habit which is joy,  
And riches 'bove the wealth of jewelled kings."

They won the esteem of all their neighbours by their well-regulated domestic economy, industry, and quiet but exemplary course of life. A firm dependence on the truths of religion, unwearied occupation, a spirit of order in all their labours, a faithful and mutual affection cordially united all the members of the household, and lightened the pressure of their circumstances. Herder always, in referring to his youthful days, spoke with the greatest reverence and most pious

tenderness of his parents. "When my father was satisfied with my conduct"—he would tell his own children—"he would lay his hand gently on my head, and call me *Gottes-friede* (Peace of God). This was my greatest and sweetest recompense; strict and just in the highest degree, yet was he of the most gracious temper; his earnest silent countenance, with bald venerable forehead, I shall never forget." The memory of his mother he treasured in his heart, as of a saintly creature; he frequently described to his family the gentleness of her disposition, the love she manifested to her children, and her untiring industry. Her mildness of character seems to have tempered the effect of the taciturn strictness of the father, and the softness and sensibility of her nature, to have had the most beneficial influence on her son. In their well-ordered abode, the day, every hour of which was fully occupied, was closed with the singing of a hymn; deep and lasting was the impression that these pious vesper songs had on the son, and he often recalled them with emotion and melancholy retrospection. The innocent life of the parents, their piety, their simple, peaceful, and diligent habits, their contentedness in the fulfilment of the duties of their station, their love and dependence on each other, early sowed the seeds of religion, virtue, and order, in the youthful Herder. Most blessed and blessing, among worldly things, is a happy and dutiful home, with its peace, its cheerful innocence

"And pure religion breathing household laws!"

—it has almost ever been the cradle of great characters.

In this homely and straitened domestic paradise he was protected, however, by the thorns of poverty from many of the excesses and extravagances of youth, and he often gratefully acknowledged the beneficial scantiness of his parents' means. His father, to secure the bodily health of his children, an object of earnest consideration with him, as well as that of the soul, had sundry fixed and singular *recipes*. At certain periods of the year, a powder was administered as a cure for worms; in spring, tea made of the blossoms of the black thorn, was prescribed against colds, and a conserve of the elder-berry to promote perspiration; the therapeutic virtues of these remedies, we leave to the consideration of our medical readers. The physical condition of the boy however thrived under these medicaments; he grew up healthy and vigorous, a state which habitual moderation, and the precepts of a strict morality, long preserved for him.

His education he received at the public school, under a somewhat sedulous, but misanthropic master, not unaptly named Grimm. Stern and strict, though of considerable acquirements, his chief instruction consisted in rigid exercises of the memory, which effected nothing for the ennobling of the heart, or refinement of the manners. He did nothing without cane or rod; the whole value of scholastic discipline consisting, in his opinion, in a liberal use of these stimulants. There is no doubt that the tyranny and brutality of this system, acted most injuriously on the kindly-hearted Herder, and made him, for many years, the shy and timid creature that he was. Nothing is more calculated to destroy the free and affectionate spirit of youth, than this exploded system of despotic rule; boys of energy and boldness of spirit, are made reckless and vindictive; those of gentler character, fearful, reserved, and mistrustful of all their natural predispositions: the tendency is to make one class tyrants, the other slaves. The true education is that which educates man for God, an education of holiness, truth and love, which breathes a peace which passeth all *understanding* over the passions, makes gentle the heart, calm the temper, and the soul replete with charity; which fosters the growth of all those divine capacities enfolded in the inner being, and makes that which otherwise would be a wilderness and a solitary place, "blossom as the rose." This is not to be accomplished by scorn and imprecation, violence, and the *ferula*. From the almost inevitable results of the savage discipline to which the youthful Herder was exposed, nothing but his native gentleness of disposition, the sweet influence of the mother's character, daily touching his young heart, like the living look of some heavenly Madonna, and the piety that made a temple of his peaceful home, could have saved him.

Herder, while at the school, however, displayed great diligence and the most ardent desire for knowledge, frequently occupying himself with his books at his meals, for which he always incurred his orderly father's reproof. Once on pointing out Italy on the map, he exclaimed, "Oh, my Italy! one day must I see thee!" so early in his life had the greatness of that land and the ancients impressed him. Music and singing were taught him; he however then gave a preference to the sublime and simple airs of Church psalmody. His love of and desire for knowledge were insatiable; for example, when passing through the streets of the small town where he resided, if he saw any book at the windows, he immediately entered



the house and requested the loan of it from its owner. He received religious instruction from an amiable clergyman, named Willamovius, whom he ever remembered with grateful affection, and the chief traits of whose character (in an essay written afterwards when at the University of Königsberg, entitled the "Preacher of God"), were exhibited by him in that ideal of the true priest.

His most prized recreations and pleasures were ramblings in the neighbourhood of his native village, where he could stroll undisturbed, with some favourite book. Often he would be found perched in a great cherry-tree in his father's garden, reading, or in quiet reverie amongst leaves and blossoms, and the songs of birds. Here, says his wife, in true sympathy with nature, his spirit so receptive of the great and the beautiful, he received those deep impressions of religion, humanity, and greatness of soul, that afterwards shone so conspicuously in him; and inspired by the lofty thoughts of the Greek and Roman writers, aspired after a similar renown, and the desire of emulating them, and of performing for his own days and posterity what they have done for theirs, was enkindled within him.

At the age of sixteen, when he was amongst the foremost scholars of the Latin class, a new deacon, by name Trescho, came to Mohrunge. This person was of ascetic habits and delicate health, and, as he lived alone in a small house, he took Herder as companion and assistant, but not interfering with those hours devoted to his school. When not required to assist his parents, he sat at Trescho's writing-table, learning his lessons, and after supper retired to his sleeping-room. In return he acted as copyist for the deacon, who was the author of several ethical and ascetical works. The free use of the new official's library was granted to him "for the purpose of ascertaining," as Trescho tells us, "the bias of the boy's mind. But his extremely timid disposition, generated by the severe and slavish school discipline, now exhibited itself to me. He never spoke with confidence, but usually answered in a low and trembling voice, and seemed, as it were, shut up within himself. He never discoursed of his own accord, and nothing was observable in him from which I could infer anything but an ordinary intellect."

But deep within this timid and ordinary exterior lay an eager, thoughtful, and wisdom-loving spirit. From his association with Trescho he seems to have derived little benefit but readiness in writing, and an acquaintance with the works

of Kleist, and other old German authors. No difficulties suppressed his love or desire of knowledge; he studied at all hours, and frequently sacrificed his night's rest to its gratification. Trescho, visiting his chamber late one evening, to see that the candle had been safely extinguished, found the boy not yet undressed, lying on the bed, in profound sleep, surrounded by many books, Greek and Latin classics, and old and modern German authors, open, on the floor about his bed, with the candle alight amongst them. On inquiring the next morning if the young student was able to make use of these books, he modestly replied, he was "endeavouring to understand them." Another circumstance shortly afterwards disclosed further talent and intellectual activity in him. Herder had copied, and despatched to Trescho's publisher, some manuscripts for the press. Some posts afterwards, the publisher wrote that he had found in the packet a poem, "To Cyrus," full of talent, which he had immediately printed, and begged to be made acquainted with the author's name. This was Herder's own composition, who, on being questioned, blushed and laughed, and acknowledged the paper to be his own.

An impediment to the prosecution of his studies now threatened him. He was drawn for the militia of his district, and was in daily apprehension of being called out for service. The dread of this hateful interruption haunted him for some time, but he was ultimately rescued from the annoyance, by his stature being below that prescribed, and a severe affection in his eyes. He had now reached an age when it became necessary to seek some permanent occupation in life, but his prospects were as yet discouraging. An opening, however, was shortly presented, of escape from his present unsatisfactory position. A Russian regiment, during the seven years' war, was fixed at Mohrungen for winter quarters. The staff-surgeon, a generous and amiable man, of prepossessing exterior, ascetic morals, and literary acquirements, frequently visited Herder's friend Trescho. On these occasions he noticed the docile and intelligent youth. Pitying him for his unpromising and undeserved isolation, and finding him well acquainted with Latin, he offered to take him to Königsberg, to instruct him in surgery, to endeavour to cure his diseased eye, now attacked by *fistula lachrymalis*, and ultimately to have him placed at Petersburg, to pursue the requisite studies, gratis, if he should determine to adopt the medical profession.

The offer was readily accepted by Herder and his parents, although the former had exhibited no prepossession for such

occupation; but he hailed it as an opportunity of breaking the barriers that at present stopped all progress for him. For the cure of mere physical ailments, it will be subsequently seen nature had not destined him; for him, and his younger contemporary, Schiller, who had once chosen the same profession, she had other purposes. There are wounds more deep and destructive than those of the body, and to heal them was a vocation more fitted for men of their spirits and endowments.

He preserved throughout life the most grateful and affectionate remembrance of his Russian friend, who had been to him a deliverer and guardian angel. In furtherance of the plan suggested by him, he quitted in his company his native place, in the summer of 1762, and never again saw his parents, to whom he owed so much—not indeed of worldly goods, but “of that which cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx or the sapphire”—and whom he so deservedly honoured and loved.

The exemplary and venerable father died shortly after this, but the mother lived many years, to hear of the advancement and distinction of her son.

He arrived with his surgical patron at Königsberg. Here, however, full of tender recollections of his dear and peaceful Mohrungeu, and strange to all around him, he felt the solitariness of his lot. His friend took him to witness an anatomical operation; this was too much for his nerves, and he fell down as dead, in a fainting fit. This circumstance was decisive of his fate. Ever after, the mere mention of dissections and surgical manipulations, excited the greatest agitation in his sensitive system. At the suggestion of a youthful acquaintance, and with the reluctant consent of his surgical friend, he entered himself as student of theology at the University. He informed his parents of this change in his views, assuring them that in the prosecution of his studies, he would require no pecuniary assistance from home, an engagement which throughout a period of long and trying distress he faithfully kept. His scanty means, which had been increased by small contributions from some benevolent friends at Mohrungeu, were husbanded with the most rigid economy. His wants were reduced within the scantiest compass; for many days together, for example, he only subsisted on some small wheaten rolls. He attended the various professors of divinity, ecclesiastical history, philology, and Kant's lectures in logic, metaphysics, morals; the latter, from the great sage's respect



for his pupil's ability and zeal, gratuitously. Kanter, the publisher of his friend Trescho, and of his own maiden poem, *Cyrus*, offered him the free use of his bookshop. Of this he gladly availed himself, and read for many hours there, regardless of the traffic and noise around him. He became tutor in the college; and by his learning, eloquence, industry, and good conduct, won general esteem. The small income from this, and a trifling college stipend, which he received in 1765, lightened somewhat the burthen of poverty. He now also associated with many of the most respectable families and enlightened men of the place. His early timidity and reserve were now conquered, and he acquired a graceful and courteous, yet independent manner. He who, at one time, was embarrassed before the most unimportant stranger, could now look unblenchingly upon men studded with honours and of the highest station and influence. Several of his college associates speak with the warmest approbation of his endowments of head and heart, and of his gracious and friendly demeanour in their private hours. "I found him," says one, "ever cheerful and communicative, and of the strictest morals."

In 1765, he accepted the office of teacher in the cathedral school, and preacher at Riga. In the execution of his clerical duty he made a great impression, and in his scholastic, he won general esteem, as at Königsberg. He found a new home and country in Riga, and his worldly condition, from the love of zealous friends, was at once placed beyond care, while, undistracted by the necessities and anxieties that had previously oppressed him, he fulfilled the several duties of his station, and indefatigably devoted himself to intellectual inquiries. His genius, his pure morals, his just and amiable character, his keen appreciation of right and wrong, of truth, honour, and probity, his generous sympathy with the sorrows of others, caused him to be most widely esteemed and sought after. What a contrast to the poor and straitened period of his boyhood at Mobrungen, and the needy, bustling academic years at Königsberg! But "sweet are the uses of adversity;" and the privations of his youth, its consequent moderation, and the maidenlike innocence of his morals, were now requited by the richest of recompenses, a state of vigorous health, and a blameless conscience and self-respect.

While resident at Riga, he became a member of the society of Freemasons, but does not seem to have devoted himself with particular zeal to its operations. He regretted the

partial and limited application of the institution, too often made accessory to mere sensual indulgence and revelry, and that it was not turned to a more productive and elevating effect on the wants of the age. Some years after in Weimar, his essays on Freemasonry, in the *Adrastea*, were the commencement of his endeavours to realize some of the objects to which he thought it might be rightfully and hopefully applied. "The order," he said, "must, in our days, act in the light of day, open and free; it would thereby much increase its influence and win a much wider support."

Zealously engaged in the performance of his clerical and scholastic duties at Riga, enjoying the intimate friendship of the most worthy, and the esteem of all, but a few envious persons, who, however, could allege nothing to his discredit, he yet felt that his sphere of action and the range of his observation, were too narrow. He yielded to a strong inclination to travel, considering his present age most fitted to its fatigues and activities; and parting in a manner honourable both to himself and his Riga friends, set sail in May 1769 from that place, leaving all his Livonian connexions, as Providence had destined it, behind him for ever. He landed at Nantes in July following. Relating to this voyage, we have part of an unfinished journal, a fragment of considerable interest, although it contains little of the historical or critical, but consists of soliloquies on his past life, and plans for his future occupation at Riga, to which, at that time, he seems fully to have contemplated returning. It contains many germs of thoughts and philosophic views, which were afterwards expanded and published, in the *Philosophy of the History of the Human Race*, and other of his works.

At Nantes he remained to perfect himself in the French language, until November, and then departed for Paris. This city, as the political centre of the French nation, possessed the greatest interest for him. He became acquainted with Arnauld, Thomas, d'Alembert, Diderot, and other distinguished men, by whom he was received in the most friendly manner. Diderot pleased him much, for the vigour and unaffectedness of his character, and he always spoke of him with esteem. In Paris and Versailles he saw all that was worthy of observation in art, institutes, libraries, public buildings. The national theatre impressed him strongly, as representative of the character, taste, and moral culture of the nation. He saw Dumenil, Clairon and Le Cain perform, and admired their

talents, but could only admit their efforts to be clever specimens of conventional art. The simplicity of the Greeks, the nature and truthfulness of genuine character, and the genius of Shakespeare, had too strongly impressed him, for the artificial and declamatory theatre of France to corrupt his taste. In later years, the efforts made in Germany to transplant French dramatic productions and style, called for his opposition and censure, they being, as he stated, rather caricatures than faithful representations of human nature, and so discordant with the elements of the German character.\* He characterized the attempt as a sin against the nation, that needed a far different species of representation, more in accordance with the distinctive marks and wants of the people, and more calculated to draw forth, to ennoble, and cultivate them. Nevertheless, intimate personal intercourse with Frenchmen of various ranks, had enabled him to form a just and impartial estimate of their merits. He readily recognized and acknowledged the virtues and capacities of every nation, but deprecated the extravagant imitation of France and England by his countrymen, by which they disparaged their own single-minded and honest character, made themselves slaves, and attracted the contempt of the very nations which they had selected for their prototypes.

In one of his letters, dated from Paris in 1769, he says,—

“My time is divided here between the society of the learned, visits to libraries, picture galleries, and antiquities, the theatre and such public buildings as are interesting in conception and execution. Paris is the centre of taste and splendour, the arts and scientific institutions. As, however, taste is but the lowest apprehension of the beautiful, and splendour is but appearance, and often a substitute for it, France can never fully satisfy me, and I am already tired of it. Nevertheless, I would not, on many grounds, have foregone my acquaintance with it, or have wanted the experience and the ideas respecting its language, manners, morals, taste, arts, and sciences which I have acquired. I have studied books and men, dance and painting, music and the French public. The seeds, however, are for a future spring.”

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\* Schiller also held similar sentiments, and with true poetic instinct and jealous care of the taste and moral advancement of his countrymen, deprecated the introduction of French models on the German stage. Vide his indignant verses to Goethe, on his production of Voltaire's “Mahomet,” at the Weimar theatre, beginning—

“Du selbst, der uns von falschem Regelzwange  
Zur Wahrheit und Natur zurückgeführt,” &c.



Elsewhere, he says of the same country and period:—

“Its literary epoch has closed, the age of Louis is past, and the Montesquieus, D’Alemberts, Voltaires, Rousseaus, are gone. Men are dwelling on their ruins. What now doth the hero-singer, the writer of *petite-comédie*, the lyrist say? The taste for Encyclopedias, *Dictionnaires*, Extracts, Anas, indicates the want of original works. The *penchant* for foreign writings, the praise of the *Journal Etranger*, expresses a deficiency of native power. Marmontel, Arnaud, Laharpe, are the short stubble—mere, sprouting Autumn shoots. The great harvest is past.

During his sojourn in Paris, he received the offer of the post of tutor and travelling chaplain to the son of the duke of Holstein-Eutin, whom he was to accompany in a tour for three years, under the Baron von Cappellmann, who acted as superior tutor. This he accepted, and passing through Hamburg in April 1770, where he spent fourteen delightful days with Lessing, arrived at Eutin to enter upon his charge. His reception was most friendly, and the duke promised, at the completion of the period, not only not to impede Herder’s return to Riga, which still was his hope, to establish a seminary there for youth, on a comprehensive and enlightened scale, but to lend all his assistance to secure his permanent establishment at St. Petersburg.

Herder’s position however was anything but satisfactory. Von Cappellmann, the head tutor, was not well-suited for his station, and the prince, his pupil, was of weak and wayward mind. In July 1770, their journey, which was first to embrace various parts of Germany, commenced, and they arrived at Darmstadt, where he met with Mademoiselle Flachsland, the lady who afterwards became his wife. She says,—

“Herder preached in the palace chapel; I heard the voice of an angel and the language of the soul. A celestial creature, in the human form, stood before me; in the afternoon I saw him again and stammered out my thanks. From this moment our souls were one, and remained so for ever, our meeting was the work of God. A more intimate unity of spirit than ours could neither be, nor be imagined.”

Certainly, Herder had just reason to be grateful to an all-kindly Providence, for the amiable creature bestowed on him as his partner. Dr. Müller describes her “as wife, mother, friend, one of the noblest of her sex.” Herder himself, in a letter to Friedh. Jacobi, calls her his “consolation, happiness, and tree of life.” She was of lovely Grecian countenance, as a cotemporary depicts her in 1773,—

“Blue-eyed as is the vault of Heaven  
 —A very Angel on this Earth.”

equally graceful and winning in body and soul. It may not also be uninteresting to some of our readers to state, as offering a guage of the powers of her heart and intellect, that she was one of the earliest to recognize and to admire the genius of Jean Paul Richter.

But to proceed—

“We saw each other,” she says, “daily: I felt a happiness hitherto unexperienced, but also an indescribable sadness and melancholy, for I believed we should never meet again.” On 25th August, we celebrated his birthday in a small circle of friends at the castle; there he gave me the first letter he ever addressed to me. With this, I received the most sacred gift that earth had to bestow on me; I could only be grateful to God and him.

On 27th August, Herder continued his journey, setting off for Strasburg. I spoke to him on the morning of his departure, at the moment of separation, for the first time quite alone: few words were requisite here, we were one heart, one soul; no separation could *sever* us.”

He resigned his unsatisfactory office at Strasburg, where he remained six months, chiefly for the advantage of surgical aid which he needed for his eyes, submitting to three painful and unsuccessful operations, and confined all the time to his chamber, to the exhaustion of his scanty finances. Here he wrote his prize essay on Language, and became acquainted with Goethe and Jung Stilling. In Goethe's *Aus meinem Leben*, we find this account of their first meeting.

“I had gone to an hotel to visit some stranger residing there; at the foot of the staircase I met a man about to ascend, and whom I took for a clergyman. His powdered hair was arranged in cylindrical curls; his black coat, and still more a long black silk mantle, the ends of which were together tucked into his pocket, indicating his profession. This somewhat singular, yet on the whole well-bred and pleasing person, of whom I had already heard, made me no longer doubt that he was the celebrated stranger, and my address must at once have convinced him that he was recognized. He asked my name; that to him could have conveyed no importance; my frankness seemed to have pleased him, as he replied with greater friendliness. At parting, I requested permission to visit him, which, with great kindness, he gave me. I neglected not to avail myself of this favour repeatedly, and felt myself continually more attached to him. He was gentle in his demeanour; which was very pleasing and becoming, without being properly *adroit*; he had a round face,

a striking forehead, a somewhat short nose, a rather projecting, but by no means vulgar, mouth, of peculiarly agreeable and amiable expression, and, below black eyebrows, a pair of coal-black lively eyes of which one appeared red and inflamed. By manifold questions he sought to make himself acquainted with me and my circumstances, and I felt myself continually more and more attracted towards him. Herder had already made himself sufficiently renowned, and by his *Fragments* his *Critical Wolds* and other works, had ranged himself by the side of those distinguished men, who for some time had drawn the eyes of their father-land upon them."

Of Goethe, Herder says, in a letter written to his beloved very shortly after,—

"Goethe is truly an excellent creature, though somewhat susceptible and volatile, on which subject he has my constant reproofs. He was occasionally the only one who visited me at Strasburg, during my confinement on account of my malady, and whom I was so glad to see ; I believe that I made some beneficial impression on him, which will one day be operative."

The gay young Franckfort patrician, full of life and animal spirits, with a poet's fancy and a poet's blood in his veins, would doubtless not carry himself so steadily at times, as the strict morals and profession of his friend would require.

Like all of gentle soul he had the power of bearing pain and trial most bravely.—

"I found frequent occasions, says Goethe, of admiring his great fortitude and patience ; for neither during the many surgical operations for his eyes, nor the repeated painful dressings, did he evince the least irritability ; he seemed the one amongst us who suffered the least. His resolution under such continued trials, and his stern determination of bearing the consequent disfigurement all his life, were truly sublime."

In the volumes to which we are indebted for the substance of this sketch of Herder's life, we have copious extracts from the letters addressed to his chosen one while he was staying at Strasburg. They are of great beauty and interest, but from want of space we must refer the inquisitive reader to the work itself. In one he says, of music,—

"For sensitive hearts and refined spirits, it is an indispensable pleasure. Thoughts of the mere understanding fatigue so easily, words, of the mouth alone, become frequently so powerless, that music, ensouled with song, certainly is requisite, as a daily implement to the economy of a happy life."

In another,—



“So Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* has delighted you, and yet this is one of Wieland’s least happy translations! The reason probably is, that Wieland himself never felt anything like this sweet *Romeo-love*, but has only had his *head* filled with his Pantheas and Seraphins, instead of having his *heart* humanly warmed, and therefore the most beautiful hints, in which love speaks more than words, were to him a totally unknown tongue. \* \* \* I have not only read, but *studied* Shakespeare, and I rigidly underline the word. Every play that he has written is an *entire philosophy* of the passion of which he treats.”

In February 1770, while at Strasburg, the office of primate and ecclesiastical court councillor at Bückeburg, in the territory of the Count of Schaumburg-Lippe was offered to, and accepted by him. In May 1771, he arrived there; his new patron (whose portrait is to be seen at Buckingham Palace as the Count La Lippe) was of singular character and of opposite qualifications to Herder. Of tall well-framed, noble but spare figure, melancholy countenance marked with intellect and gravity totally dissimilar to the German physiognomy, he more resembled a Spanish knight, or an aristocratic Don Quixote, than a German prince. He was still, earnest, proud, self-esteeming and taciturn; while Herder was of gentle, free, modest, but lively character. Hitherto as tutor, preacher, instructor, he had been a free man; not arrogating importance to himself, nor by anything like forwardness seeking to impose upon men, yet not the less deeply was rooted in him a keen sense of manly dignity, and a susceptibility of all severity and injustice. Both expected something different in each other; besides the duties of his clerical station, he was to supply the place of the celebrated Abbt, lately deceased, who had been the count’s companion and friend. The count expected from his new associate, not only philosophic discourse and learned communications, but pliability of character, to pay homage and deference to his patron’s views. The independence and strict rectitude of Herder’s character, could not be in accordance with such servility; his patron wished also, that he should devote himself more to a contemplative and literary life than to his spiritual calling, a strenuous dedication to which Herder felt to be his paramount duty. A pastor without a congregation, a friend of education without schools to superintend, a consistorial councillor without a consistory! all the pleasing anticipations of his pastoral office annihilated, while an entire deficiency of society and friendly intercourse, made him dissatisfied with his position, which he

would have felt intolerable, but for the counteraction supplied by the amiable and impressive character of his patron's consort. She possessed every quality to win and preserve the reverence and love of all around, and particularly of one so appreciative of the sweet womanly and christian graces of her character as Herder. Youth, beauty, piety, humility, affability, a sweet and gracious temper, were united in her.

“A perfect woman nobly planned  
To warn, to comfort and command,  
And yet a Spirit still, and bright  
With something of an Angel light.”

“To behold an incarnation of *Carita*, gentleness, love, and angelic humility in one person, you must see her;” he says in one of his letters. She was of delicate health and weakly constitution, and Herder feared she would be but short-lived. Her correspondence with him, and the extracts from his wife's letters, illustrative of her beautiful character, are among the most interesting portions of the work to which we must refer our readers. By her influence his appointment was made more agreeable; he was stimulated and encouraged by her in his proper sphere of utility, and ever found in her personally a faithful friend, a zealous disciple, and an assiduous co-operator.

In 1772 he visited Göttingen, and became acquainted with the celebrated Heyne and his wife;—the latter, another rare specimen of womanhood.—

“Heyne (he says) is one of the noblest, finest, and most harmonious of souls, such as no one would look for in a man made up of Latin, or would find in a century. She is a woman of the strongest sensibility and character—*the best of mothers*; she is not handsome, but her countenance is one entire expression of feeling and sympathy. Its ordinary indication is profoundly still and reflective, as if absorbed in the deepest dream; many trying circumstances have spread a cloud over her mien, giving\* it an earnest cast; but when she speaks, when her eyes enkindle, when with full soul her heart speaks, what a change! We read Klopstock's odes together, and I believe the poet's power was never more fully or enthusiastically felt. Heyne himself is in character sweet-toned as his voice, he detects the minutest deviation from sincerity, is a deadly foe to all artifice and servility, gentle and unassuming, but under all this lies the profoundest learning, sensibility, and reflectiveness. I

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\* The early trials and sufferings of Heyne and his excellent wife form a most touching chapter in the history of those who have had tribulation. We refer our readers, for the detail of these, to his biography by Heeren, or to a delightful paper on it in Mr. Carlyle's Miscellanies.

have had recounted to me by several, many noble traits and actions of his, of unequalled greatness."

On his return from Göttingen, Herder determined to marry.

"We must act determinedly, he wrote to his future wife, or there will be no end to our waiting, and our hopes will be ruined. The condition of a noble, faithful pastor's wife is, without egotism, the worthiest and the loveliest on the earth, and blessed with good children, must be one of the most heavenly. Without them even, still divine, where it is active and dutiful; when it unites two beings who, severed from each other, would be harassed with anxieties; who, together, strengthen each other, and reciprocally teach and impress the thousand-fold duties which God has imposed."

And referring to the petty bickerings at court, and the insinuations against him, he very beautifully says:—

"Every one should act for and from himself. *Be true to thyself*, to the idea of manhood within thee, in this consists all morality. We are all, as the Vicar of Wakefield's wife says, as God has made us. This we ought to remain, and be at one with ourselves, and strive to act with all truthfulness and integrity. This is law and gospel, character and discipline."

As to the proposal of their marriage, the lady hesitated with diffidence and true feminine delicacy, stating that she possessed no property, nor any qualifications to render him as happy as he deserved to be. Herder pressed her still more. "You must not, shall not forsake me. I am alone in the world, and God will not forsake us." "So loved he me in my poverty," says the grateful woman, "and I, oh God, would have offered up ten lives for him."

In the month of May 1793, they were married; that season sweet, when

"Spring sweeps o'er the world again,  
Shedding soft dews from her etherial wings,  
Flowers on the mountains, fruits upon the plain,  
And music on the waves and woods she flings,  
And love on all that lives, and calm on lifeless things."

That time of promise and renewed youth and gladness, which seems the fittest period for a poet's wedding.

They now stepped into a new sphere. Previously, but portions of the circumference of other circles, they were now about to become the centre of their own, that circle of sweet duties and charities, that domestic microcosm, of all institutions the most sacred—a family.

This was a wise step of Herder's, of which he never re-



pented, although he possessed none of what he calls "that tormenting devil, Mammon, that leviathan that entangles all mankind, gold;" but began his wedded career somewhat in debt, yet with a cheerful dependence upon Providence.

"We hastened to our peaceful little dwelling at Bückeburg," says the bride, "where the disinterested regard, sympathy, and friendship, of rare and noble-minded persons, awaited us. The three years and-a-half that we resided there, were the paradisaical years of our household felicity, the golden age of our wedded life."

From this change of condition he reaped great benefit. He felt renewed, as it were, in heart and mind, and restored to his free, firm, proper and benevolent nature. All vacillation and uncertainty were banished; by his side stood a beloved wife, who looked up to him and was a part of his being, who sought to make his lot a happy one, and whose felicity was committed to his hands. With undistracted mind and rekindled powers, he applied himself to the prosecution of many suspended literary labours. He now completed a work, of which the idea was conceived at Riga, *Die Älteste Urkunde des Menschen Geschlechts*. He prepared his *Provincial Leaves*, his *Popular Songs of different Nations*, his *Exposition of the New Testament*, and the *Epistles of two Disciples of Jesus*. He also obtained a second prize from the Academy of Berlin, for his Essay on the "Causes of corrupted taste among divers nations." The *Provincial Leaves*, which excited some displeasure and opposition, he had been induced to undertake in contravention of some theologians of the day, who sought to reason away all that was venerable in antiquity, the consecrate and divine in Scripture, and all that was positive in religion.

An instance of Herder's probity of character, and devotion to the sacred trust committed to his charge, now occurred at Bückeburg. His patron, the Count, desired the appointment of a young man as preacher. This, which was doubtless equivalent to a command, Herder felt bound to refuse, on account of the immoral character and gross incapacity of the candidate. Herder summoned him before the Consistory, but he excused himself from attending. The summons was repeated, with a similar result, when a member of the court communicated a verbal order from the count, that the candidate should be admitted *without examination*. Herder, feeling himself fully justified by the character and ignorance of the applicant, notwithstanding several irregular proceedings of his patron, to secure the ordination of his *protégé*, steadily

persisted in his refusal, and the count finally submitted to the rejection.

Some negotiation now took place with his Göttingen friends respecting his appointment as professor of theology, and university preacher there, but which terminated in Herder's refusal, on account of some vexatious and novel conditions connected with it. Pending this negotiation, he received a letter from Goethe, inquiring if he was willing to accept the office of superintendent-general at Weimar, the duties of which were equivalent to those of bishop. To this application, Herder replied with alacrity, stating his readiness to undertake the office.

From the count, Herder parted not without emotion. Of the countess he had previously taken a last farewell, as death, the great deliverer, had removed her, some time before, to that bourne whence no traveller returns.

In October, 1776, he arrived in Weimar, and was officially installed in his new and dignified office. The first winter he dedicated entirely to the affairs of his diocese, in the arrangement of which he met with much unlooked for and unjustifiable opposition. But by the correct and exemplary discharge of his duties he secured a just appreciation of his conduct, the esteem of the court, and the respect even of his opponents.

The duchess-mother, an accomplished lady, had gathered about her an assemblage of distinguished and learned men, among whom Herder was invited, and she exhibited her sense of his merits by many conspicuous tokens of her confidence and regard, as did also the reigning duke and his consort. An intimate friendship united him to Wieland, Von Knebel, Johann von Müller, the historian, and his brother, Dr. G. Müller, and the society of these, and a few other accomplished men, was one of the great charms of his Weimar residence.

His literary activity was conspicuous during his residence in Weimar, important and engrossing as were his official duties, and zealous as he was in the discharge of them. Amongst other writings he published his *Lieder der Liebe*, his *Plastik*, and obtained the prize of the Munich Academy, for his essay *On the Effects of Poetry on Ancient and Modern Nations*. In 1779 appeared his *Maran-atha*, or the Book of the coming of our Lord. From the Academy of Berlin he bore off the prize for *The influence of Government on Science and Science on Government*. In 1780 and 1781 he gave out

his *Letters on the Study of Theology*, and obtained a second time the Munich Academy's prize, for *The influence of the Fine Arts on Science*. The *Spirit of Hebrew Poesy* was printed in 1783, and the first volume of his *Philosophy of the History of Mankind*. On the latter he had long and deeply meditated, and it may be ranked as the ripened fruit and rich garnering of his active and vigorous mind. Of this work he says:—

“In early life, when the fountains of knowledge lay before me in all their morning splendour, the thought often occurred to me whether, as everything else in the world had its philosophy and regulative principles, that which so much concerns us, the history of mankind as a great and entire aggregate, had not also its philosophy and scientific laws. All things suggested this to me, metaphysics and morals, physics and natural history, but religion most of all.”

In 1787 he published his *Conversations on God*, in which he passes in review the creeds of Spinoza, Leibnitz, Shaftesbury, Lessing, Jacobi, and others, on the idea of the Supreme Being, and defends the character of Benedict Spinoza from the unfounded charge of atheism.\* In this work he gives us the leading events of the wise and gentle Jew's life (from an interesting biographical sketch published about half a century previous), and a translation of an incomplete essay by Spinoza, entitled *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione*, which is a precious fragment of philosophic wisdom.

In August 1788, he set off for Italy, in the suite of the duchess dowager of Weimar, whence he returned to his home and his official duties in July 1789. The impression that this beautiful land, “the mother of painting and sweet sounds,” with all its magic wonders of art, its ruined greatness and political degradation, made on him, may be gathered from many parts of his works, but still more from the various delightful and pictorial letters addressed to his wife and children, which are quoted.

In one letter, addressed to his wife, he says:—

“Italy has been to me a great school of culture. Every accom-

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\* The accusation of atheism may be attributed to the ingenious, but light-minded Bayle, and the irritation of the disciples of the Cartesian school, of which Spinoza had himself once been an adherent. F. Jacobi also, in his letter to Fichte, has justly exonerated him from the same charge. “Not the *being* of God,” he says, “but only the *name* is denied. So thought I of Spinoza, when, in my answer to Mendelssohn, I wrote, ‘Eh proh dolor.’ And be thou blessed, great, yea saintly Benedictus, however thou mayst have erred and philosophized respecting the nature of the Supreme Being, his truth was in thy soul and his love was thy life.”



plished man, or every one seeking to accomplish himself, who is provided with the requisite knowledge of its history, literature, and language, will find here a lofty school, and learn to frame and rectify his judgments by an exalted standard.

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“In how many things has not this journey instructed me ! How many chords of my being has it not greatly and strongly agitated, of which I was scarcely conscious before. This I know, that it has enlarged my knowledge of men a thousand-fold ; forcibly made me to discern the true value of life ; and, especially, taught me to esteem fidelity and love, of which the world presents so little. Italy, and, *in specie*, Rome, has truly been to me a high school, not only of art, but of life. More serious wilt thou find me on my return ; but fear not my earnestness, it will bind me to thee and to mine with renewed and unseverable bands.”

About this time, while at Rome, he received through his friend Heyne an official invitation to Göttingen, to undertake the offices of professor and head preacher there ; but, after much consideration, determined to remain at Weimar. He subsequently, however, regretted this decision. He had been appointed to a higher station in the Superior Consistory, which burdened him with new and absorbing claims on his time, and the opposition given to some of his projected reforms wearied and distressed him. In addition to these, deep-seated bodily ailments, and hostile misrepresentation of his aims and character, by some of his cotemporaries, preyed upon his spirits, and deprived him of his activity. In the winter of 1789, he was confined to his bed, and, for some days, his life was despaired of. In 1791 he was attacked by ill health, and compelled to visit Carlsbad for recovery, and, in 1792, Aix la Chapelle for the same purpose. His sojourn at these places was very beneficial, and he returned home much improved in physical condition.

In the earnest discharge of his official duties, the supervision of reprints of his published works, and the composition of new productions in various departments of literature, evincing great talent and erudition, replete with the most humanizing sentiments, broad-based philosophic views, piety, and Christian love, the intervening period, until 1802, was passed. The *Philosophy of the History of Humanity* was then completed, and the *Persepolitan Letters* ; many valuable and original theological works, his *Metakritik* on Kant's philosophy, and his *Cid*, were then written. The critical attack on the Kantian metaphysics added neither to his reputation nor

repose; for, although abounding in many specimens of his fine intellect, and observations of great interest to philosophical investigations, both in substance and treatment, there was much of misunderstanding, and consequently, misrepresentation of Kant; and the disciples of the Königsberg philosopher replied with a fierceness and perseverance that very much affected the comfort of Herder's latter years. It is but justice, however, to Herder, to state that, though he dissented from much of the system of the founder of the critical philosophy, he had the highest regard for the man, which he expressed, not only to Kant himself, in correspondence, but had pronounced in print, eulogizing the spirit and the beneficial results of much that had been promulgated.

The poems on the *Cid* had a different fate. They were well received from the first, and continue to this day one of the most popular books in Germany. His noble editor, Johann von Muller (nobler in the blazonry of heaven's bestowal than in that of the holy Roman empire) erroneously describes them, in the preface he attached to a late edition, as *translations* of old romances. The material, the *metal*, may be traced to many a *tesoro* and *historia del muy valeroso Cavallero*, and particularly to the *Romancero General*; but Herder has completed, re-fused, and reminted the mass in the forceful crucible of a rich and vigorous imagination, and moulded it into new and gorgeous forms, eloquent of the old, noble, and *Hispanicsque* spirit. They are not verbal transfers from one language to another, but original and impressive poems on the great and good *Campeador*. They sing the joys and sorrows, the renown and death of the heroic *Cid*, whose name will last as long as any feeling for a genuine noble mind exists in the human heart.

In addition to the many works he had hitherto produced, he had framed vast plans of future activity, to the execution of which it would seem that a long life was requisite. But the mission prescribed to him was now drawing to a close. The last of the Hours that brings rest and peace for man in its friendly hand, that makes calm the beatings of the heart, and closes his eyes on the sphere of the phenomenal and the transitory, then bears him, on gentle wing, to the region of eternal realities,—realities, how pure, abiding, and sublime,—was approaching to execute its office for Herder. In 1801 and 1802 he suffered much from ill health, and particularly from a disorder in the eyes, for which he visited various watering places, but returned only temporarily improved.

Renewed application to his pursuits, literary and official, deranged his physical system, and aggravated the complaint in the eyes, producing inactivity in the liver, and extreme irritability of the nerves, which reacted on all the functions of life. These maladies reached a height in 1803 alarming to all his friends. The weakness and excitability of the nervous system affected his whole organization, his sight was nearly lost to him, and he was subject, almost daily, to fainting fits. His eldest son, Gottfried, recommended recourse to the baths of Eger, and a visit to Dresden. The anticipated efficacy of the baths failed, but the visit to Dresden acted like a potent stimulant on his decaying powers. That city, which he had never before seen, with its lovely environs, pure air, its noble library and galleries of art, the magnificent strains of sacred music in the Catholic churches, together with the society of some men of high attainments, who welcomed him with respect and enthusiasm, quite enchanted him, and reconjured up for him all the magic fairness of his beautiful Italy. Amongst others, he became acquainted with the then electoral prince, who treated him with the most deferential distinction. They conversed on his ideas of philosophy and history, on the spirit and art of government, and on Herder's various professional vocations. The prince expressed his surprise that, amidst such multifarious and absorbing occupations, his distinguished guest could find time to cultivate the finer branches of literature. Herder's answer was,—“The hours devoted to these are my periods of repose and restoration. Poetry is to me the language of the human heart, that acts upon us with more living and life-giving energy than prose, and which I hold indispensable for the elevation and ennobling of the mind and character of men.” He returned to Weimar, believing himself much improved in health by the excursion; but it was a vain notion. The nervous weakness returned upon him, perhaps the more strongly from the late expansion and excitement he had experienced. He became weaker and weaker, and eat nothing, so that for a time life was only artificially sustained. In the early period of his last illness, he often said, “Ah, would that some great and original idea would come to me, to pervade and gladden my soul, then should I be cured at once.” When the sleepless and restless nights continued, he said, “I cannot comprehend my malady; my mind is sound and vigorous, my body only is weak. Could I but rise from bed, how much could I do.” The hopes of his family, although daily becoming weaker, yet lingered until



the 18th of December, the last day of his life. "On this day," says his excellent wife, "after a violent attack of pain in the breast, he sank into sleep, from which he never awoke on earth, but in the evening, about eleven o'clock, gently, without the slightest pang, fell asleep in the arms of God. Alas! all our lamentation and tears could not awaken him again. He it was for whom alone we lived. He was our guardian angel who had lived for us. Oh! inscrutable God, Thou wilt one day unveil all things to us—perhaps soon."

The loss of a man so honoured and esteemed, so distinguished by the efforts he had made for the moral exaltation of his countrymen, so accessory to the lasting reputation and true dignity of Germany, was felt deeply and widely. His funeral, at night by torch-light, was public and becoming. He was buried in the metropolitan church of St. Peter and Paul, at Weimar, and an oration pronounced over his grave by the senior clergyman, in the presence of a numerous auditory, in which due justice was done to the high character, the rare attainments, the elevating purposes of the man. Over his grave the duke of Saxe-Weimar has caused a monument to be placed, of black marble, on which is sculptured a serpent, the symbol of eternity, and the words *light, love, life*, expressive of the sum of his philosophy, his religion, his hope, the principle, the character, and the end of all his earthly efforts.

His intellectual excellences were rare and commanding, and worthy of all admiration; though less so than those of his moral being,—his strict integrity, his ardent love of truth, his fervent and tender piety, the purity and loveliness of his domestic life, his devoted attachment to the cause of liberty and human happiness. If there were shades and defects of character that would chequer the brightness of the picture, let them be unrated as things departed, and let the grave veil them for ever.

How great was the influence of his genius, is proved by the high estimation in which he was held by so many of his contemporaries, of diverse attainments and character; among others, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, Heyne, Eichorn, Jean Paul, and Dalberg. A friendship of the most cordial and brotherly nature existed between Herder and Richter. He who could win the admiration and regard of one so finely moulded, so rich in head and heart, as Jean Paul, must doubtless have been no ordinary man. Out of his exuberant love and regard for Herder, he either speaks directly of, or makes

allusion to him in many parts of his various works, particularly in the *Flegeljahre*, the *Æsthetik*, and the *Briefe und bevorstehen Lebenstauf*.\* In the latter is a letter, addressed to his imaginary son, Hans Paul (for he was at the period of its composition unmarried), which embraced a clear and appreciative judgment of the Kantian philosophy, and terminates with a spirited apotheosis of Herder. From the conclusion of this paper we give the following extract:—

“Thou wilt one day peruse the works of a man of genius, whom, in thy youth, from enthusiastic excitement, thou wilt fail to comprehend, who later however with limbs, which are at the same time wings, will bear thee above the paper globe of mere verbal wisdom Oh Paul, when thou hast once ascended to the upper world of this genius, that has no isolated thoughts and attainments, but spreads out every wavelet-ripple into the vastness and richness of a planetary orbit; that lays not his hand on a solitary bough of the tree of knowledge to pluck its fruit, but, like an earthquake, upmoves and agitates the whole tree from the very soil in which it is enrooted,—when thou hast climbed the heights of this world, thou wilt stand on a mountain-top; the nations below will be brought nearer and lie united around thee, and this painter of ages and peoples, will confer a loftier toleration on thee, than that which thy century knows;—on his Alpine elevation thy soul will become expanded, and the pure and light mountain-air will bring the heavens and the earth nearer to thee, and soften the gleams of the fiery stars and the tumult of life.—Fancy will weave for thee her *Fata morgana*, and surround thee with her gorgeous rainbows; and melodies will float around thee, when he builds up an altar, for on every stone Apollo’s lyre has been laid\*—then, my good son, when by his aidance thou art made so happy, remember also how happy he made thy father, and give to the man whom thou lovest and honourest most inwardly, no other name than—HERDER.”

The *Vorschule der Æsthetik*, closes with another splendid tribute to Herder’s genius and powers; beautiful as the sad but stately chaunt over the grave of some dear friend. From it we give the following extracts, which we feel assured require no apology to our readers for their length.

“The nightingales were warbling amid leaves and may-blooms, above them the lark in the evening clouds; through all the neighbouring copses Spring had passed and left memorials of her progress everywhere in odours and blossoms. I pondered on that departed one whom (rarely as the appellation dare be applied), I cannot

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\* The stones on which Apollo placed his instrument, while building, drew from it the gift of uttering musical sounds.—*Pausanias Att.*

otherwise denominate than a great man ! how happy and how refreshed was he among trees and flowers ! with an inborn passionate ardour towards all nature, like a Bramin, he loved with a lofty Spinozism of the heart, every minute creature, and the meanest blossom in his path. A travelling carriage moving through all the verdant life of meadows and woods, was his chariot of the sun, and only to the free and open heavens, as under the expansive charm of music, did he unlock his heart, which then unfolded all its beauty as a serene and lustrous flower." \* \* \*

"Was he no poet, as he himself often declared when measured by the Homeric or Shakesperean standard, yet was he something more,—namely, a poem, an Indico-Grecian Epos shaped by a Divine hand.

"But it is difficult to distinguish, for in his fair soul, even as in a masterly poem, all was most harmoniously fused and blended together ; and the good, the beautiful, and the true, dwelt there in inseparable and coequal manifestation. His life seemed to be fashioned after some living Grecian model ; poetry was not a mere appendage to its horizon, like the iris-hued mass of clouds which we often discern in the distance, in foul weather : but it glided resplendent and beautifying, like a free and graceful rainbow, over the gross surface of worldly things, a moving heaven's portal. Thence came his Grecian reverence for all gradations of life, and the epic spirit of all his works, which led forth, as with the impartial hand of a God and on the widest of stages, all times, modes, nations and minds before the secular eye. Thence came his Grecian aversion to every inequality and want of symmetry, every bias either on one side or the other ; many storm and rack poems, converted his intellectual martyrdom into a physical one. He wished to see the victims of poetic art fair and inviolate, as the thunder of heaven leaves the men it strikes ; therefore he rigidly drew, as a Grecian poem, the limit of beauty around every sentiment, even the sweetest and most becoming, and frequently by the interjection of the humorous. Men of deadened sensibility only, revel in its emotions ; those of deeper and healthful character, fly from their power, and hence wear the appearance of coldness and apathy. It is more easy for a great poetic soul to become everything on earth but happy, for man has something of the lava soil, which for years braves every winter, but softens and crumbles away when it puts forth flowers. Verily the poet is an eternal youth, and the morning-dew remains throughout his life-day, though without sun-light, its drops are dull and cold.

"Few minds were learned upon so comprehensive a scale as Herder. The major part follow only the rarest and least known branches of a science ; he, on the contrary, took only the great streams, but of all sciences, into his vast heaven-reflecting ocean, that impressed upon them its own motion towards the *east*. Many become entangled by their erudition, as by a destructive ivy ; he,



however, was festooned by his, as by the grape-clustered branches of the vine ; he united the boldest freedom of system on nature and the supreme with the most pious faith. He exhibited a real Grecian humanity, in the tenderest appreciation of all genuine human relationships and circumstances, and in a vehement wrath against all corruptions of the same ; thus was he a defenced city populous with flowers, a northern oak whose branches were sensitive plants. How magnificently, how implacably did he kindle against any creeping creature, against indolence, inward dissonance, dishonour, and poetical effeminacies : against German critical coarseness, against every sceptre in brutal hands and the serpentry of the age ! But would you hear the sweetest of voices, it was his, in the expression of love : whether towards a child, poetry, or music, or in forbearance towards the weak. He resembled his friend Hamann, in whom was combined the hero and the child ; who like an electrified man in a darkened chamber, stands with a glory round his head, until contact draws the flashing lightning out of him. His greatness was but insufficiently estimated by his contemporaries ; he was partially weighed, not taken as a whole, and his full valuation will only be ascertained in the diamond scales of posterity." \* \* \*

"Two sayings of his remain ; although to others unimportant, to me they are suggestive of profound reflections. The first, that when once on a peaceful Sabbath morning, in deep melancholy feeling at the cold and lifeless spirit of the times, while the music of the neighbouring church bells floated towards him as from departed centuries, he wished that he had been born in the middle ages. The second, and quite different declaration, was that he yearned for an apparition from the world of spirits, and that he neither felt nor apprehended any of the customary dread connected with such presentations. Oh thou pure and spiritually-related soul ! to thee was this possible—however poetical was thy capacity, and however much these feel the deepest awe before those majestic silent veiled ones, that dwell and wander beyond death—for thou wert thyself a spiritual presence to the earth, and never forgottest thy immortal realm. Thy life was the resplendent exception to the too frequently tarnished careers of other genial men ; like the ancient priesthood, thou sacrificedst ever at the altar of the muses in *white* and *spotless* garments.

"Powerful as death is to surround men with a halo of saintly glory, to me he is not, in that high and far-off world, more lustrous than when here below near me ; and I picture him to myself, in the depths of the immeasurable heavens, beyond the stars, as in his appropriate place and but little changed, save in the obliteration of his earthly sorrows."

The name of a good man should never perish. It is a sacred duty to receive it and his works from the past with

reverence; to hold up both to the admiration of the present, and give our best assistance to transmit them to the future, for its love, its emulation, its instruction. He who zealously strives to perform this, though imperfect his skill or circumscribed his sphere, may feel a manful pleasure in the effort. Some minds, though few, will be "touched to fine issues," and the glory of the exemplar, that the humble disquisitionist holds forth, may live and work for good long after the name of the craftsman has perished for ever. For the preciousness of goodness is indestructible; it is communicable from mind to mind; wherever there is found fitting soil, it will take root and grow; and thus, by a divine arrangement, a golden chain is made to link all lands and ages into one. Virtue, true manhood, has thus an indefinite career; it has the wings of the morning, which speed over the whole world. Like the eagle, however, its course is in an elevated region; it descends not to low places, but alighteth on mountain tops familiar with silence, sunlight, and the stars. To be such resting-places we must raise ourselves above the grovelling and the earthly. To use the language of the fine spirit, whose history we have here imperfectly sketched, we must "cast from us what is unworthy of our nature, aspire after truth, goodness, and heavenly beauty, then shall we not miss the attainment of our immortal aim."

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ART. VIII.—*Russia and the Russians in 1842.* By J. G. Kohl, Esq; London: 1842.

EVERY politician amongst us, from Lord Dudley Steuart, to him who studies the affairs of nations in a borrowed newspaper, is interested in the progress of Russia. Her history has been a subject of anxiety or curiosity to the rest of Europe, from the days when clumsy barques, filled with yellow-bearded barbarians, issued from the Borysthenes to pillage the aged capital of the Greek Emperors, down to the present time, when one-ninth of the surface of the globe acknowledges her sceptre; when her ships of war are seen saluting every seaport, and her men of science exploring every region, when her manufactories are emulating the oldest workshops of England and the Continent, when her armies are amongst the foremost in glory, and her statesmen perhaps the

first in diplomacy; and when her Emperor, in the midst of the most brilliant court in the world, is preparing for the extension of his government and of his religion over the fairest portion of the earth. But in a superior degree should Russia be a subject of consideration to us; for, having such ambition, and possessing a navy thought by many not inferior to ours, her interests are, in every quarter of the world, coming into collision with those of Great Britain:—in Africa, at the north-eastern extremity; in America, at the north-western; in Asia, standing opposed to each other in India and in Persia; and in Europe, at the Bosphorus and the Sound.

The great characteristic of Russia in policy is encroachment, slow, but incessant and certain. Little more than one hundred years since, she built her capital on Swedish ground; ever since then she has been pushing, jostling, coaxing, and driving before her the Swedes, the Poles, the Chinese, and the Turks, and always advancing more or less on the Hungarian and German nations. In the meantime she has increased her means of aggression by land and sea—her army would fill a nation; her navy, from the Baltic and the Black Sea, is always looking towards the rich countries of the southern and western coasts. At home, her progress has not been less extraordinary; civilization, instead of spreading slowly over the land, seems to have sprung up every where with mushroom celerity. The government and the people adopt the institutions, the arts, and the manners of the more advanced nations of Europe, almost before they have had time to lay aside the habits and traces of the old systems. Her transition has therefore been so rapid, that she is always a stage or two ahead of her historians; amongst the Russians seven years are equal to an *ætas hominum* elsewhere. The last arrival must therefore bring something new. In these circumstances we are happy to introduce to our readers Mr. Kohl, as an industrious and observant traveller, who brings with him the “latest particulars” of “the march of intellect,” amongst this extraordinary people. It is usual amongst us reviewers, to present the travelled philosopher to the *soirée*, and then to take all the talk to ourselves; but in the present case we will allow the stranger to speak for himself in all important passages, we merely doing the duty of filling up a pause, and throwing in a few words, here and there, to illustrate and advance the thread of the story.

As Paris is France, so it appears Petersburg is Russia. In this magnificent capital, built upon a bottomless bog,



on the sixtieth parallel of north latitude, are collected specimens of all that Russia possesses, in princes, boors, mechanics, agriculturists, priests, soldiers, merchants, pedlars, artists, fine ladies and gentlemen, swindlers, pickpockets, and rogues of every description. For the ancient habits of the people you need not repair to Moscow—you will find unadulterated specimens in the new capital. To what is to be seen here, Mr. Kohl therefore chiefly confines himself. Much of what he gives has necessarily been described by former writers. We shall follow him into what is new; and so, without delaying to speak of the grand people, who are like the grand people all over the world; of the grand houses which are even grander than those of our own grandees,—except that the former being often built of wood in a great hurry, frequently tumble down or take fire with corresponding haste; of the streets without a small house or a lane; of the “places” larger than our parks; of the conglomeration of five hundred thousand inhabitants, containing specimens of every race, from the Cape of Good Hope, to the North Pole, from the wall of China, to the mines of Peru; we shall elbow on through “the masses” and examine the extraordinary picture of the primitive Russian people, whose genius still pervades the empire and all its institutions.

In the Haymarket we find the common people; the *Tschornoi narod*, “the black people,” that is, “the dirty people,” of whom an individual is called a *Mushik*. These people display so many good and bad qualities, that their like is not to be met with in any other nation of the earth; and, therefore, they have been the wonder of all the thinking and comparing heads that have ever visited Russia.

“The common man of Petersburg is precisely the same that we find in the markets of Moscow as in those of Odessa, and who adhering, in all regions and climates, from the Baltic to the frontiers of China and America, with wonderful tenacity to the manners inherited from his ancestors, and preserving his original character, still remains, and will for ages remain, the same in the minutest details of his disposition, his culture, manners and food. The Russian Mushiks have at the first glance, a repulsive and alarming, rather than a courteous and pleasing look; with their long hair and beard, muffled in a thick pelisse, dirty and noisy, they at first rather deter the stranger, and almost dispose him to believe that he has before him a legion of barbarian banditti, who are more inclined to murder and plunder, than to any peaceful occupation. Visitors from the west of Europe have had their notions of the barbarism of the north, of the slavery, misery, and oppression, of the lower classes of the people, all con-

firmed when they look at the Mushiks. But all this roughness, that is at first so striking in the Russian, arises only from his long thick hair, his bushy beard, his shaggy pelisse, often of sheep skin, his loud harsh voice, which is indeed common to all his nation, though sometimes varied into a hollow and drawling tone. Only learn a few phrases of his mother tongue, and address a few kind words to him, and you will immediately discover in every Mushik, a harmless, goodnatured, friendly and officious disposition. ‘*Sdrastwuitje brat!*’ Good day brother; how are you?’ ‘*Sdrastwuitje batuischka!*’ Good day father; thank God, I am well; what can I do for you?’ At the same time the whole face relaxes into a smile, hat and gloves are taken off, bow after bow is made, your hand is grasped with as much politeness as unaffected cordiality: and then he answers your questions with the utmost patience, and the more cheerfully because the common Russian always feels flattered if you ask him about anything, and is fond of acting the part of instructor. A few words often suffice to draw from him long stories and narratives; the Englishman, it is true, feels disgusted when he thinks of the civility and courtesy of the Russians, because he regards them as the natural result of slavery and the whip. The Russians indeed are sometimes taught civility in a way that is far from civil: but a portion of it may always be ascribed to natural disposition; and we may accept the whole, when we have occasion to visit the Haymarket, as a very considerable and welcome boon, when we recollect the rudeness of the low English market people. How far that courtesy in the behaviour of the Russian is from being a consequence of a slavish spirit, how much rather it is in an equal degree the consequence of the mild, gentle, hospitable spirit of the nation, the stranger may learn from the scene that takes place on the meeting of two common Russian peasants, who make more ceremony than gentlemen would with us. The lowest Russian day-labourer salutes his poorest *kum* (cousin) with the same politeness, takes off his hat three times to him, hastens towards him, shakes him by the hand, calls him brother, father, grandfather, bowing repeatedly, inquires with the kindest interest how he does, and wishes him the grace of God, the blessing of heaven, and the protection of all the saints, as he would a person of the first distinction. With the greatest astonishment has many a foreigner witnessed such scenes. *Iswoltje* (be pleased) or *iswinitje* (excuse) is always the third word with the Russian; ‘Pardon me! forgive me! excuse me!’ says one beggar incessantly to another, pulling off at the same time his greasy cap; and though with us a person of quality would not deem the question rudely worded, if one were to ask ‘were you lately at your brother’s?’ yet even the Russian peasant would think it more delicate to give this turn to the expression, ‘*wui iswolili buitj u bratju?*’ (Were you pleased to be yesterday evening at your brother’s).”

Why, after this the “excellenza” of Italy, the “vuestra



merced" of Spain, the second person plural of France, and the third of Germany, sink to the level of kitchen gentility! Well may Mr. Kohl remark, "these bearded fellows are the same that we meet ground and polished in the drawing-rooms."

It appears that every peasant has a natural facility for politeness and art:—

"It is interesting to observe with what incredible dispatch these clowns, just taken from the plough, adapt and fit themselves to their new situation in the capital. Many of them arrive there rude and unfashioned as they sallied from their sheepfold. At first they slip and slide on the floors of the apartments, and know not even how to set a table against a wall; but it is not many months before they are coquetting in the most elegant livery, dancing on the smoothest floor with the chamber-maid, scenting the air with their perfumes, and handing their mistresses into the carriages as gracefully as if they had been trained in the corps of pages."

With a hatchet and a knife, a Russian peasant will make almost any thing, from a piano forte to a chair: he will with equal certainty learn to clean boots, and to play the fiddle, within a fortnight: whether he begins one or three languages at a time, is all the same to him, for hearing them is learning them with him,—indeed, the Russians have the reputation of being the first linguists in every court in Europe. Mr. Kohl, however, observes that, though the Russians show such genius at first, it is a genius which cannot advance beyond mediocrity, and that in mechanics and arts they are never first-rate in any thing. But Mr. Leitch Ritchie, who published a very interesting account of Russia a few years since, is even stronger in his applause of Russian ability and versatility than our author. Mr. Ritchie declares that he saw a picture by one of the old masters, so admirably copied as to deceive a connoisseur; and on enquiring for the artist, he was shown a sheepskin-clad boor, lying drunk in a cellar! But we proceed with some other astonishing characteristics of the "black people:"—

"Nothing distinguishes the Russian of the lower class more than his trust in God, and his religiousness, which he is continually evincing in the most trifling incidents of ordinary life. *Bogs'teba* (God with thee), *Bog dasti* (God grant), *Slawa Bogu* (Glory be to God), are expressions that meet the ear at every step. This religious tone of mind has certainly no small share in that unalterable cheerfulness and content of the common Russian. Let any go from dealer to dealer in the haymarket, and ask each how business goes



on with him, and *Slawa Bogu, charasco* (Glory be to God, well), and *Slawa Bogu paradoschni* (Glory be to God, tolerably), and *Slawa Bogu, ja dawolnui* (Glory be to God, I am satisfied), are the precise answers that will follow one another. One day when I pursued my enquiries farther, I came at last to a little man, and asked, 'How is business with you to-day?' '*Slawa Bogu, ostchen plocho*' (Glory to God, dogged bad). 'If you have fared so ill, why do you say glory to God?' 'What God does is always for the best, sir, and so I praise him when I am unlucky as well as when I am prosperous.' The matter, it is true, has its dark side, and if this trust in God is, on the one hand, a source of the cheerful temper of the Russians, it is, on the other, a cause as well as a consequence of his levity, his indolence, and his planless resignation to whatever may betide him; and, on questioning him farther about the future, you very often obtain the unsatisfactory answers, — 'I can't tell, God knows,' 'God will grant it,' 'God is great and almighty,' which are echoed in a thousand tones in the ear, and remind you in Russia at every step of Mohammed and the East."

Now we come to the vices of the Mushik:—

"The whole nation, there is no denying it, is addicted to intemperance in eating and drinking: and yet, it not only furnishes models of the most exemplary sobriety, but there are times when the greatest drunkards practise the strictest temperance. It is generally admitted that in drinking, and especially in the drinking of ardent spirits, the Russian surpasses all other nations; and yet it is singular, he seems to be little affected by it. The awful lesson which Hogarth has given, on the consequences of excessive indulgence in spirituous liquors, is not applicable to this country: on the contrary, these people, who while infants in arms have been accustomed to their share of the dram, live to the age of eighty or a hundred years, and are hale and hearty, as though they never swallowed any thing but milk warm from the breast, and can justly say of brandy as Voltaire, at four-score, said of coffee, that if it was a poison, it must be a very slow one. When they have money, they are to be seen, not sipping out of thimble glasses as we do, but gulping incredible quantities of these pernicious liquors out of tumblers, or, still more unceremoniously, out of the largest pewter measures in which they are served to them. Women, girls, boys, and literally infants at the breast, partake of these carouses, which in any other country would be productive of the worst consequences. Notwithstanding all this, there are times when even the drunkard makes it a point of conscience to drink in secret; and there are individuals who have never tasted ardent spirits, and many others who make a vow, either privately or in a church, not to drink for a certain period a drop of spirituous liquor, and fulfil it most punctually. Many impose on themselves this kind of voluntary absti-

mence for a long period of years, and equal in sobriety the khalifs and the apostles [Mr. Kohl is, of course, a German *philosopher*]. But as extremes produce one another, there are to be seen, on the other hand, even sober exemplary people suddenly seized with the mania of drinking in a frightful degree. This is a phenomenon peculiar in its kind to Russia, so rich in the strangest eccentricities. It frequently happens that the most regular persons, who have punctually performed all their duties, are suddenly seized with such an irresistible hankering after spirituous liquors, and to such a degree, that for months together they are in a state which reduces them to a level with beasts. They assert that they cannot help it; that the devil has got into them, and that they are forced to drink, drink, drink, whether they will or not. They often beg, as if in pity to themselves, that those about them will put the maddening liquor out of their reach, and shut them up, and keep them in confinement. They, nevertheless, break through all restraints, and strive like persons possessed to drown the devil in them with liquor. In Little Russia especially, which is the seat where the demon of brandy has established his worship, and where, on holidays, whole villages are frequently found intoxicated, this peculiar mania rages with the greatest violence. The great sums derived by the government from the brandy monopoly, the prodigious wealth amassed by the farmers of spirituous liquors, who regularly make vast fortunes by their scandalous and fraudulent trade, the hundreds of thousands of blighted prospects and ruined hopes, are the sad evidences how absolute in this country is the sway of that fire-breathing demon, to whose altar all throng to sacrifice their own property, and the welfare of their families,—for whose seductive gifts all long with a vehemence of desire which excites the profoundest disgust, and at the same time the strongest pity for these deluded wretches. The harassed soldier, knowing no other means of drowning for a time the remembrance of his condition and elevating his spirits, has recourse to brandy. Beggars of both sexes beseech you in the most urgent manner—‘Give us some brandy, father.’ Peasants and servants thank you, if you give them spirits, as warmly as if it were the nectar of the gods; and even the women lust after this product of hell as keenly as though it were a gift of heaven. In all the innumerable *wedro-stoof* shops and drinking houses in Petersburg, there were sold in 1827, ardent spirits and liqueurs to the amount of eight millions of rubles;\* but in 1833, the spirits alone amounted to eight and a half million rubles. This allows yearly for each inhabitant—man, woman, and child, twenty rubles, or three hundred and twenty bottles; but deduct the foreigners, the higher classes, and invalids, and then you will see at what a rate the

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\* A paper ruble is worth 10*d.*; a silver ruble 3*s.* 2½*d.* Mr. Kohl leaves it in doubt which he means, but most probably the former.

*Tschornoi narod* swallow brandy. Of late years, the consumption of spirits has been increasing; but government is doing all it can to check this fatal rage, by improving the quality of beer, of which the consumption also increases. Among us, the boys in the streets follow a drunken man, pelt him with mud, and call him abusive names; [Mr. Kohl is a German, and speaks of *vater land*] this is never the case in Russia: to his no little astonishment, the stranger frequently sees before him two, three, four men walking side by side very quietly, and apparently in full possession of their faculties, till all at once he perceives the whole row before him stagger and reel, and suddenly one or another drops upon the ground, stretches out all four extremities, and makes his bed in the mud, where every passenger who is not his brother or a policeman will let him lie. Our German drunkards are coarse, boisterous, rackety; intoxication makes the Italian and Spaniard gloomy and revengeful, and the Englishman brutal and beastly; but the Russian, unluckily, is in the highest degree cheerful and humorous. In fact, a Russian running over with spirits, kindness, and universal philanthropy, is one of the most remarkable phenomena that a psychologist can study. At the first stage of intoxication, Russians, drinking in a friendly way together, begin to chat and tell stories, sing and fall into each other's arms, hugging, kissing, and nearly stifling one another. By and by, even enemies become reconciled, and mutually embrace, declaring with a thousand demonstrations of friendship, that all former animosities shall be forgotten. Then all strangers, be they of whatever class or age they will, are cordially saluted, kissed, and cuddled. All are addressed by the diminutives of father, daughter, brother, mother, grandmother; and if you do not make a warm return to their friendly greetings, they will say, surely father, you are not angry because we are drunk? Yes, good God, we are all drunk together! Indeed it is abominable. Forgive us, father, for being drunk, punish us, thrash us.' A Russian never fights in his liquor; he never abuses his landlord when he is turned out and refused more drink, but he swears at the closed doors, at the windows, and at the whole house at a frightful rate, heaping abusive epithets upon it, from the foundation up to the roof. He never breaks a lamp; but often does he break his head against the lamp-post; even then he keeps his temper,—he addresses a long speech to his opponent for having stood so obstinately in his way, and then bids it farewell with a hearty hug. At last his jubilation subsides into a continuous song; and extended on his sledge, talking with himself, and with all good spirits, he arrives fast asleep at his farm, whither his sober and intelligent horse has found his way without a conductor."

The reading of this extraordinary picture excites very different sensations. But taken as a whole, the Russians are



not such drunkards as they used to be. The aristocracy formerly drank as much as the "black people." Peter the Great used to get drunk, and so used other emperors. In Catherine's reign, drunkenness was common amongst ladies of quality. The prelates of the Greek Church have not had until very lately a reputation for sobriety; and the body of the clergy—the "papes," are said, up to this time, to drink glass for glass with the common people, from whom they all spring. They are frequently sent home dead drunk from the house which they had attended to prepare penitents for the other world; and it is not uncommon to see them staggering on the altar. They are generally without influence over their flocks, and almost as ignorant as those whom they teach. We are, therefore, not justified in looking for any reformation from that body; and Nicholas seems determined to drive from his empire, the men who might send a Father Mathew amongst his people.

We must continue to trace the character of the Russians amongst "the black people," since from them all the upper classes are recruited. In the history of Russia, we frequently read of peasants becoming persons of consequence. At present they are daily becoming such. On the other hand, nobles are every day transformed into peasants and Siberian colonists, and the highest officers, are degraded to the rank of common soldiers. Nobility is not worshipped, nor imitated as amongst us. The serfs are frequently transferred to new districts; a great body of the population is always in a state of migration, as pedlars or adventurers of some kind or another; and the speculation and shrewdness which make the fortunes of so many, are all found amongst the common people. For all these reasons, then, we must study the nation amongst the Mushiks. Again, we find in them another characteristic, not less conflicting and extraordinary:—

"Of that inferiority which the common people of Russia betray when drunk, they make no secret when sober. They well know and freely acknowledge that we, west Europeans, are superior to them in many respects. When you find fault with their goods, they will frequently say, by way of excuse, 'Why, sir, it is only Russian workmanship, I made it myself. How should it be better? The Germans, we know, are more skilful than we.' *Prostaja rabota* (common work,) is the expression used not only by the foreigner resident in Russia, but by the Russian himself, for Russian workmanship. I asked a dealer in baskets and toys, where his goods came from, 'the toys,' said he, 'are *Niemetzhkaja rabota* (German

work;) the baskets, *prostaja* (common) that is to say, Russian. 'We are rogues,' the Russians often plainly confess, 'every one of us strives to cheat the other as much as possible, and I tell you candidly, beware of me.' Again—'indeed we, Russians, are indolent; we cheat whenever we can; our priests wink at the most abominable tricks; nothing can exceed the corruption of our authorities; we are active only when there is money to be gained; the sciences and higher matters have no attractions for us, unless we are forced and kept to the study of them. We cannot do anything cleverly, or finish anything that we begin; and we are sunk in a sensuality to which there is no parallel!' This very frankness in confessing their faults, frequently puzzles a foreigner, and makes him not know what to think of them. 'What is the price of these Catherine plums?' 'Two rubles, sir; you will think them rather dear, but they are capital, genuine French.' 'Oh thou Russian rogue!—these French!' 'Yes, I tell you, really French. But of course, as I am a Russian, this must be a lie. Oh, yes, the Russians are rogues, sir, that every body knows. The Germans and French are not cheats—that is well known too; they are all honest folks, and they sell nothing but what is of good quality. Is it not so, sir? Father, let me advise thee not to buy my plums. Because I say they are French, they are no such thing. We, Russians, look you, lie and cheat whenever we can, and make no scruple to do it. And so the Poles have a saying about us:—'He must be a cunning fellow who outwits a Russian.' Yes, the Poles are right; don't you think so, sir? But, father, buy something of me, whatever thou wilt, if it be ever such a trifle, and I will lay any wager thou pleasest, thou shalt not leave my shop without being taken in. Ha, ha, ha! Yes, yes, the Russians are cheats! He who is not imposed on by a Russian, must be a cunning fellow!'"

So far from these indications of candour and good-humour being a key to the true character of the people, they only serve to render it inscrutable to the stranger. Nothing is easier than to make a Russian thief confess, and nothing is more common than for one who has a dozen times confessed that he has stolen, and received pardon or punishment, to be guilty again of the same fault. Neither must you suffer yourself to be led away by their open-mouthed good-humour and eternal smiles. Russian thieves and rogues are good-natured, and, to all outward appearance, harmless scoundrels, and the worst Russian despots have been droll, frank, familiar, and seemingly innocent fellows. While they are a nation of cheats and thieves, instances of the most devoted honesty and of the most delicate scrupulosity, are not rare. This system, or rather principle of cheating, however, is injurious

to them; for the mutual distrust occasioned by it, and the want of a system of credit, keeps them always in retail business, or at most second-rate merchants. Every department of business on a large scale is in the hands of a foreigner. With a foreign master and Russian workmen a factory gets on admirably. The difference between the treatment of a foreigner and a native is very striking:—

“As the common Russians make an essential distinction between the Germans—by far the most numerous body of foreign settlers—and their countrymen, so do those of the higher class. ‘*Sluschi tui*—hark thou,’ says the Russian gentleman to a Russian tailor—all who are not gentlemen or foreigners, not excepting the wealthy tradesman, are thou’d.—‘*Padi ssudi*,’ come hither. Measure me for a coat—velvet collar, metal buttons, long waist. Dost thou understand? ‘Perfectly.’ But I must have it the day after tomorrow—dost thou hear?’ ‘*Sluschi*—I hear, I am silent, I obey.’ ‘*Stupie*’—be gone! To an Innostranez, a foreigner, on the contrary, the language will be as follows:—‘My dear Mr. Meier, excuse me for having sent for you. Pray be seated. I should like to have a new coat. What colour do you advise; shall it be green or blue? But I must beg you to make it precisely accordingly to the latest journals of the fashions that you have received, and I should wish you to let me have it within a fortnight, if possible. I know you are very busy. Well, if it is not quite convenient, I will wait three weeks—I am extremely obliged to you. But tell me how are you getting on, Gospodin Meier. What is the state of your affair with Prince K.? If I can be of any service to you, let me know it. Of course you will let me have the coat if possible in three weeks. Adieu!’ A foreign mechanic is paid without a question what he charges, even though he sets down sixty rubles for the mere cutting out of the frock, which is the usual price in Petersburg. But to the Russian, the answer is, ‘What! do you charge twenty rubles for this trifle? Thou shalt get twenty lashes from the police. There are ten for thee—take them!’ ‘*Sluschu*—I obey’—replies the poor brow-beaten rogue, and bowing, goes away contented.”

In all respects the foreigner is in an enviable position in Russia. His rank in society is much higher than that of the native in the same pursuit. He enjoys the full protection of the government; he is exempt from most of the taxes, and he is never called upon to enlist in the army, which is considered the greatest of all visitations. The government periodically attempt to induce or intimidate old settlers into the oath of allegiance; the latter, well knowing that with it ends all their happiness and liberty, sometimes manage by bribes



and manœuvres, to shift off the dreaded day to the third and fourth generation.

The vastness of the empire seems to be indicated by everything you see in Petersburg. Every street and every building is on a Brobdignagian scale, so that the eye soon becomes fatigued in surveying such unwonted proportions. The streets are miles in length and hundreds of feet in breadth. A house contains the population of a town. In the Winter Palace there are 6000 inmates; in the Military Hospital, 4000; in the Foundling Hospital, 7000 children. The private houses are almost equally great. Take one as an example:—

“The *rez de chaussée* formed one side of a bazaar, where the thousand wants of this earthly life might be supplied; while on the other a row of English, German, and French artists and artizans had hung out their show-boards. In the *bel étage* resided two senators, and the families of several wealthy private individuals. In the second story there was a school, which had a high reputation throughout the whole house, and a tolerable number of academicians, teachers, and professors; and in several buildings in the rear dwelt, besides many nameless and obscure people, several majors and colonels, some retired generals, an Armenian priest, and a German minister.”

Hence persons going from one part of the town to another always use a vehicle; to walk is in the lowest degree vulgar. The cabmen are a very numerous body, and reckoned the most skilful in their profession in the world. The Summer Gardens are the great public promenade. Here you will see children attended by Russian footmen, English and French *bonnes*, and German tutors; and in the conversation you will observe the beginning of those Mithridatic acquirements for which the adults are so famous. It is no uncommon thing to hear, for example, such expressions as these:—

“Papa, I have been in the *letnoi ssad* (Summer Garden). Flodor *ss'nami buil* (was with us). *Est ce que vous n'irez pas?*”

The following is a specimen of a conversation between a little polyglot and his French *bonne*:—

“*Bonne*. Nikola, have you been a good boy?”

“*Nikola*. *Da, Nana* (Russian, Yes, Nana).

“*Bonne*. Are you sure you have not been naughty.

“*Nikola*. No, no. *Koko sa, Koko mi*. (Koko, a Russian abbreviation for Nikola; *sa*, French, *sage*, good; *mi*, Russian, *mihloi*, good, dear.)

“*Bonne*. What has your brother done?”

“*Nikola*. *Bibi Koko* (*Bibi*, English for beaten; he has beaten Nicholas).”

The market for eatables affords the most extraordinary physical and social sight in the world, particularly in winter :

“ Not only is every thing brought in sledges, but the sledges serve at the same time for shops and counters. The mats which cover the goods are thrown back a little, and pieces of geese, fowls, and calves, are ranged on the edge, and hung up at the corners and at the tops of the posts. The geese are cut up into an hundred pieces ; the necks are sold separately, the legs separately, the heads and rumps separately, each in dozens and half-dozens, strung together. Whoever is too poor to think of the rump, buys a string of frozen heads ; and he who finds the heads too dear, gives six copecks for a lot of necks ; while he who cannot afford these, makes shift with a couple of dozen feet, which he stews down on Sunday into a soup for his family. The sledges with oxen, calves, and goats, have a most extraordinary appearance. These animals are brought to market perfectly frozen. Of course they are suffered to freeze in an extended posture, because in this state they are most manageable. There stand the tall figures of the oxen, like blood-stained ghosts, lifting up their long horns around the sides of the sledge ; while the goats, looking exactly as if they were alive, only with faint, glazed, and frozen eyes, stand threateningly opposed to one another. Every part is as hard as stone. The carcasses are cut up, like trunks of trees, with axe and saw. The Russians are particularly fond of the sucking pig, and whole trains of sledges laden with infant swine come to the market. The little starvelings, strung together like thrushes, are sold by the dozen, and the long-legged mothers keep watch over them around the sledge. The anatomy of the Russian butcher is a very simple science, for as every part is alike hard, they have no occasion to pay regard to the natural division of the joints. With the saw they cut up hogs into a number of steaks ; the flesh splits and shrives under the operation like wood, and the little beggar wenches are very busy picking up the animal sawdust out of the snow. You do not ask for a steak, a chop, a joint, but for a slice, a block, a lump, a splinter of meat. The same is the case with fish ; they too are as if cut out of marble or wood. Those of the diminutive species are brought in sacks, and put into the scales with shovels. It is not uncommon for the whole cargo to be frozen into one mass, so that the crowbar and pincers are required to get at an individual fish. Every thing looks clean and pure during the winter, for the offal and fragments are frozen to the ground the moment they fall. But when a thaw has prevailed, the place is insupportably filthy and disgusting. This, however, does not spoil the appetite of the Mushiks, and the butchers around the market see customers in abundance, wading through the mud to them.”

These people thoroughly understand the art of keeping

food hot. For this purpose they wrap it in thick cloths, which retain heat much better than earthenware or metal. They cover every thing with thick cloths, three or four times double, as well the copper tea machines as the earthen potatoe pots. Their hot cakes and pea soup are in like manner covered up with canvas. It is interesting to follow in detail this system of covering, which nature has taught them. Even when the Russian peasant is slowly sipping his tea, he will clasp the glass in both his gloved hands, that the cold may not deprive him entirely of his warm treat.

Every Russian gentleman and lady is elegantly dressed, with manners and conversation *comme il faut*. Yet Mr. Kohl suspects that this is but a crust of civilization, and that there is a real savage within. He contends that the Russians are too showy, too impatient, to have a solid character. When you look closely you will detect many flaws. Even their magnificent buildings have a gawky look, when you scrutinize them. The beautiful pillars have cracks and leanings, and a noble front has green fissures, hinting that it will soon come down. Mr. Kohl reads the character of the people in their architecture:—

“It is incredible with what rapidity buildings are run up in Petersburg. This is owing partly to the shortness of the season suitable for building, partly to the impatience of the Russians to see an undertaking completed; hence a great number of houses exhibit symptoms of premature decay. The winter palace lately rebuilt is a most striking example of this kind; in the space of a year not less than twenty millions of rubles were expended on it. The work was continued during the winter, the whole building being constantly warmed to keep the materials fluid, and to make the walls dry quickly,—with most of the private mansions of the great, much the same course is pursued; everything is got up with as much despatch as theatrical decorations. The Russians seem to build only to make ruins; and it is a most unpleasing sight to see so many quite new buildings affected with the infirmities of age: they afford a correct emblem of the precocious culture of Russia. Wherever there is a yard, a workshop, or a mean dwelling, which it is desirable to mask from the public, they clap before it a Grecian temple: on close examination, it turns out to be a plain front of wood rudely painted. You behold a grand house two stories high: when you approach, you find the upper windows all sham, the second story being merely a perpendicular line of boards. Half the grandeur of the city is painted wood. Scarcely ever a house is made before there is some alteration or improvement to be made. It is a fact, that not a house belonging to a Russian, remains in the same state for fourteen days



together ; neither will ennui, restlessness of disposition, and caprice, suffer persons of distinction to sleep in the same chamber for fourteen successive nights. Nomadic habits are so deeply engrafted in the Russians, that in the course of a year, they not only wander from one extremity of the empire to the other, but during the same period, migrate at least from floor to floor in their houses."

We may now take a glance at the state of arts, manufactures and industry, the development of which also exhibits social characteristics different from the rest of Europe. In the last century, Russia imported from abroad all she required from arts and manufactures ; but since the commencement of the present, the imitation of these productions being facilitated by the extraordinary cleverness of the common Russian, and the very low price paid for his labour, a great number of manufactures after the foreign fashion, and some not even known before, have been established in the country, under a tariff every year becoming more and more rigorous against foreign products. Some of the manufacturers are foreign settlers, favoured by government ; some are Russian noblemen, but the greatest of manufacturers is the Emperor himself. Many of the owners of great estates, availing themselves of the dexterity of their vassal peasants, who of course work for nothing, or at most cost the master no more than when they are idle, have erected factories on their lands, so that not far from a splendid palace, you will see the smoke of the factory chimney, and hear the belching of the steam engine. The villages of the Scheremetievs are celebrated for their iron works : all the markets and fairs of the interior are filled with their cutlery. The Demidoffs turn out cups and saucers and teapots ; the Iakolews and the Karpows something else. Noblemen send their serfs to sell or to take orders for articles of glass, porcelain, cloth, machinery, tile kilns, and tar and saltpetre. The aristocrat is never a sleeping partner, or under the rose, as with us, but his name is at the head of his house ; many of these treat the cleverer and better behaved men with the greatest liberality ; they are speedily allowed wages that enable them to purchase their freedom : and some of the peasants still remaining on the estate set about spinning, weaving, grinding, or forging on their own account, and become wealthy manufacturers themselves. Thus though they begin slaves, they have better chances before them, than the free artizans in England or our agricultural tenantry ; and in the meantime they are certain not to starve. In town or country, you will never see a beggar or a pauper cripple ;

this is one of the consolations of villenage; and as every Russian can read, the Mushik looks with the utmost compassion on the famishing artizans of Stockport and Bolton, and shudders at the prospect of exchanging his condition with a labourer anywhere, in England, Scotland, or Ireland. Dr. Bowring one day talked to one of these sheep-skinned slaves, of the delights of being free. "But then who'll feed me?" says the Mushik, knowing that in reality he was more free than any of the Doctor's fellow-countrymen, who have to ask a parish overseer for food, and had quite as much liberty, as those who vote at elections for knights of the shire. It is true, that the goods made at these factories are not as well fabricated as those our manufactories can export—that is when they do not send out a swindling assortment of the worst things they can put together,—but the tariff protects them; the nobles, by their interest with the crown taking care that they shall have a monopoly, exactly on the same principle as our landholders have been fortified by the corn laws, and like these, too, making the people at home pay more than they need pay to the foreign dealer. The Emperor has his own factories on his thickly-populated estates, whence he supplies the public institutions. Of the consumption of his imperial majesty's customers, you may have an idea from the fact, that one of them, the Foundling Hospital, contains 7000 children, 700 nurses, 500 teachers and overseers, not to speak of an army of cooks, doctors, porters, clerks and other officers; and that its income is 5,200,000 rubles, which is as much as the entire expenditure of three German kings! Many establishments are in the neighbourhood of Moscow; but those which produce the most costly articles, or require the most capital, are about the metropolis; as works for gobelin tapestry, calico printing, cotton spinning, making colours, glass, and mirrors, boring cannon, grinding precious stones, and making paper and fire arms. The crown frequently assists the foreign manufacturer who settles at Petersburg, and the works here serve as models for all other similar institutions in the empire. The interior of the dwellings of the Russian gentry is fitted up with brilliant, though tawdry and comfortless grandeur; their drawing rooms have as many mirrors as a Parisian café. The consumption of looking glasses and colossal plates of mirror is therefore immense. The great manufacturer is the Emperor; but so many spoil in the making, that the balance is against his majesty. The establishment for grinding glass is said to be the largest in the world. Though the Russians

do not come up to us in some manufactures as yet, they exceed us already in others. Sealing wax, and perhaps paper, may be had better and cheaper than, or at least as good as, England can produce. When the Emperor Alexander was in England in 1814, he invited English paper-makers to go to Russia; they agreed, carrying with them machinery; and now there is a first-rate paper manufactory at Peterhoff, which exports paper to America, and even to Great Britain. The paper produced by it for letters and *billets doux* is *ne plus ultra*; whole ware-rooms are filled with it, and not unnecessarily, for the Russians cultivate the *cacoethes scribendi*, on an extensive scale. Nowhere are more elegant letters written than in Russia; caligraphy is carefully studied, and the envelope is always particularly accurate and handsome. Under the same roof is an establishment for grinding precious stones, which come in great profusion from the Ural and Altai, and are distributed with equal profusion by the Emperor and the Empress, amongst people of merit and distinction all over the world, in souvenirs of various kinds; while at home the demand must be very great, as from Finland to Kiaktha, you scarcely see one of the public officers—and almost every gentleman is in the public service—in an uniform, civil or military, without a constellation of orders on his breast. The distinction is therefore not in wearing an order, but in not wearing one. When either of the illustrious pair travels, as in the late visit of the Empress to the waters of Baden Baden, a chest full of jewellery and precious stones forms part of the luggage, and so generous is the distribution, that it is sure to come back empty. The most distinguished of the foreign merchants is Mr. Beart, an Englishman, who has completely outstripped the Emperor as an iron founder. Mr. Beart has several establishments on a colossal scale; they are situated behind the new admiralty, and the principal of them are a sugar refinery, an iron foundry, and saw mills. For the landing and shipping of the raw commodities and the manufactured goods, as also for the ten steam vessels which Mr. Beart possesses besides, and which are employed in the conveyance of passengers between Cronstadt and Petersburg, he has had a dock dug here for his private use. The saw mills work all the year round, the canals in which the timber floats being heated by steam pipes in the winter, so that the water cannot freeze. Mr. Beart's sugar manufactory is not shown to any one, because the great demand for its produce is the result of a secret—the discovery of a substitute for bullock's blood in purifying sugar. During



the fast time, the Russians, through religious scruples, abstain from refined sugar, on account of the small portion of animal matter which may have been left in it when refined by the usual process; at such time therefore no sugar but that which is provided with the stamp of Beart's factory, is brought to table, because it is well known that in his mode of refining no animal substance whatever is employed.—Beart's sugar therefore goes to all parts of Russia, rising in price as it travels, until at last it is sold in the steppes of the south, on the Obi and the Irtisch, and among the thinly scattered villages of the Siberian provinces, at an exorbitant rate. All the great iron works of Petersburg and Moscow are now done by him; but the bell department he leaves to the Emperor and the Mushiks.

A few years ago Baron Stieglitz erected the largest cotton mill in Petersburg. It is worked by an English steam engine of a hundred and ten horse power, and superintended by Mr. Greig, an Englishman. Mr. Kohl visited the establishment, and was struck with the cheerful and healthy looks of the work-people, as contrasted with the wretched, sickly, demoralized artizans of the factories in England, France, Belgium, and Germany. He gives two reasons for the difference. The Russians do not continue long enough in any situation of life (the dreaded army always excepted) to receive from it an injury to their constitution; neither is the tyranny of the masters of factories here carried on to any thing like the extent that prevails in other countries. We may add a third reason, which is, that, when the spindles resume their work, they are accompanied by those lively songs, which never forsake the Russian even in his misery. Amongst the English merchants is Mr. O'Higgins, whom we may recognize as a countryman. He is in partnership with Mr. Curtius, and the firm does an extensive business in wheat, flax, and linseed. The English have a high reputation on change. A foreigner told Mr. Kohl that they "do the prettiest, roundest, and most solid and most pleasant business." Mr. Kohl gives the following humorous sketch of them:—

"The English mercantile body call themselves the Petersburg factory. They have their own chapel; and, despising all other nations, but more especially their protectors, the Russians, they live shut up by themselves, drive English horses and carriages, go bear hunting on the Newa, as they do tiger hunting on the Ganges; disdain to lift the hat to the emperor himself, and proud of their indispensableness and the invincibility of their fleets, defy every

body, find fault with every thing they see ; but are highly thought of by the government and by all, because they think highly of themselves, and reside chiefly on the magnificent quay named after them, where, however, many wealthy Russians have also splendid mansions."

Russia advances in manufactures like steam itself. Ten years ago Petersburg had no private optician's establishment: now telescopes, and the whole variety of scientific instruments, are made every where by Germans and other foreigners, assisted, of course, by the all-capable Mushik. There are furniture factories, boot factories, and clothing factories, all on an immense scale. The adornment of the body and of the mind, is chiefly carried on by German tailors and tutors ; from which, like a true patriot, Mr. Kohl boasts that the civilization of the empire, is in fact, but an extension of German ideas and taste—under a French crust certainly ; and this is rather thick, for there are not in the world, two more different men than the slow meditative awkward German, and the rapid, flighty, polished Russian, who is born almost *au fait* at everything.

Be this as it may, it behoves English manufacturers to watch the strides of Russian artizans. Already they supply a great part of the world with raw materials, as tallow, hemp, cordage, and oil. They will now endeavour to export manufactures. The negative part of this design they have already accomplished ; for nothing that can at all interfere with the home market, can enter without paying an overwhelming duty in customs or bribes. The active part they will now set about. We may have little doubt that their enterprising nobles are already pushing their goods across the Turkish, Persian, and Chinese, and perhaps, too, the Indian frontiers. In 1841, Russia was the fourth exporting country on a large scale to Greece. We have supplied her with English machines and English workmen. Capital, the other great element, she has in abundance, and no market would be considered too remote. As another illustration of the kind of men we have to do with, we present a specimen of the raw and of the manufactured Mushik.

The Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Petersburg, is remarkable for a spire, which pierces the clouds like a mast, to the height of three hundred and twenty feet. Some years ago, when an angel at the top was thought to be in want of assistance from mortal hands, the authorities were much puzzled how to act, as it would be most imprudent to erect a

scaffold against a slender stem that seemed to bend with the wind. On the other hand, the angel, which was twenty feet high, might fall, and send many a Mushik to the other world sooner than he thought of. In this predicament, they offered a splendid reward to any one who would undertake the repair without a scaffold. A Mushik soon offered himself. He set about his ascent, in the presence of a trembling multitude. His plan was to drive a strong hook into the spire a little above his head. Throwing a cord over it, he then hoisted himself up, making use also of the crevices in the wall. Having gained this point, he stood on the hook, and drove another higher up, and raised himself in like manner. Thus he reached the giddy height with a cool head, and having mended the angel, descended as imperturbably as if he were coming down a ladder. Ever after he was a hero amongst the people. Mr. Leitch Ritchie describes this dreadful feat in a very startling manner. The other specimen of the Mushik we take from Mr. Kohl.

“The French Ambassador was one day talking to a prince of the Imperial house of Russia, about the extraordinary dexterity of the Parisian thieves, and relating a variety of anecdotes concerning their feats. The grand duke expressed his opinion that the Russian pickpockets were quite as clever, and to remove all doubt on that point from the mind of the ambassador, he offered to lay him a wager, that if he would dine with him on the following day, before the removal of the dessert, his watch, ring, and everything else belonging to his toilet, that was not firmly fastened to his clothes, should be stolen. The wager was accepted, and the prince obtained a well-known pickpocket from the police, and put him the next day in livery. The dinner commenced; the first course came and was removed; the Greek, Spanish, and French wines, red and white, glistened in turn in the glasses. The new footman was always bustling about, mingling among the other servants, changing plates and handing wine. The dinner was drawing to a conclusion, and the grand duke was still waiting impatiently for the preconcerted sign from the thief, who, however, seemed to be completely taken up in waiting on the company. All at once the grand duke's countenance brightened up; and turning to the ambassador, who was absorbed in conversation with his neighbours, asked him what o'clock it was. The ambassador clapped his hand triumphantly to his pocket, where a few minutes before he had felt that his watch was safe; and to the amusement of the whole company, but especially of the imperial entertainer, he drew from it a neatly trimmed turnip. Universal laughter ensued, and the ambassador was somewhat disconcerted. He would have taken a pinch to compose himself, but having felt in all his pockets, he discovered with horror,



that his gold snuff-box was gone too. The laughter was redoubled. In his embarrassment and mortification, he clapped his hand, as he was in the habit of doing, to his finger, to turn the beautiful gold seal ring which he wore upon it—but that also was gone. The performer of this sleight of hand was then brought forward. The grand duke ordered him to restore the stolen articles, and was not a little surprised to see him produce two watches, and hand one to himself and the other to the ambassador, two rings, one of which he gave in like manner, and two snuff-boxes, one for the grand duke and the other for the ambassador. The prince now felt in amazement in his pockets, as the ambassador had done before, and found that his imperial self had been plundered in the very same manner."

The army and navy of Russia being subjects of European interest, we shall next take a glance at those instruments of defence and conquest. The army is variously estimated from 500,000 to 800,000; but in a population of 65,000,000, where every man is born to serve, it must be vast. The garrison of Petersburg alone is estimated at 60,000 men. These being points of dispute, we shall conjecture at the Arsenal, on the way to which, any time in the day, you will see colours flying, and hear the roll of drums, and the crashing tread of troops without intermission. The old arsenal was built by Count Orloff, and presented to Catherine; the new was built by Alexander. Both are full of implements of war, ancient and modern arms, trophies and antiquities, arranged in a grand and imposing manner. In the midst of edifices of destruction, Mr. Kohl is startled by the genius of Russia.

"There is on the wall of one of the rooms of the new arsenal a great Russian eagle, the neck, body, and legs of which are composed of innumerable muskets, the wings of swords, every feather of the breast and belly a dagger, every tail-feather a yatagan, the eyes the two muzzles of black pistols, the mouth that of a cannon,—an apt symbol of the Russian power, which has raised itself on sword and bayonet wings to its present height. Woe be to them who are struck by the lightnings of those eagle eyes, or roused by the thunders of that throat."

In the embroiderings of the colours of the Strelitzes we see the spirit of Russia again:—

"In the centre of the colours is seated God the Father holding the last judgment: above him is the blue sky of Paradise, beneath him the flaming pit of hell; at his right hand are standing the righteous,—that is, a party of Russian priests, a division of the Strelitzes, and a number of bearded Russians; on his left are the wicked and unbelievers,—that is, a party of Jews, another of Turks and Tartars, a third of black labouring people and negroes, and a fourth West Euro-

peans. Some of these have the names of some crimes under them; the rest, angels with long iron bars are transferring to the devils!"

In another apartment there were sixty pieces of cannon in hand: some of the cannon already made were one hundred and twenty pounders, for the use of the navy. The boring of the cannon took up a month, and was conducted with all the mathematical care that an optician bestows on a telescope. The piles of balls were immense. The visitor could not help every moment asking himself, is this pyramid intended to rain upon Paris? will that depopulate Berlin, or threaten Vienna with ashes? will this bomb burst over London? is that flag to float over Constantinople? are these the bayonets that will glisten at the gates of Pekin?—so vast is the space of time and distance for which the preparations might seem calculated. Meantime, while providing for this awful futurity of destruction, the Russian workman sings on. There is not on earth a more peaceful creature than the Mushik. He never fights with his neighbour; never carries a weapon; war and soldiering are his abhorrence; he would cut off his right hand, if he thought it would save him from joining the army,—but he knows his companions would tell upon him, to save themselves. Even ten years before the time, he contemplates his day of enrolment with terror. But he might as well expect to escape from death as from the emperor. Unless he shall have had three children, or be specially exempted by his lord, he must come forward when the captain of the district, looking at the register, asks for him. He leaves his native village in the midst of the most distressing lamentations, and seems as if he shall never hold up his head again; yet, six weeks after, you will find him merrily marching to the sound of the drum, complete in his exercise. On the field of battle, if told to charge, he will advance with the fury of a whirlwind: if ordered to keep his ranks, he will stand amidst a storm of grape shot, not moving a muscle, and seemingly as insensible as the frozen ox in the market, when its legs have been hewed away! The emperor, perhaps the finest man in his dominions, the *beau idéal* of a "king of men," generally commands on the parade. It is a magnificent sight! Surrounded by a brilliant staff, he gallops along the lines of several thousand men. After the evolutions, the troops, drawn up in rank and file, present arms, while all the spectators uncover their heads. "Good day, my lads!" cries Nicholas; "We thank your majesty," is the simultaneous response. Sometimes, when he compliments them, they cry, "We'll do better the next time, father!" The em-



peror is to be seen wherever the public throng, always affable, and not difficult of access. He is eternally whirling about, not in all the pomp of circumstance, but generally in a common hackney cab, out of which he lights on some post or office, and woe be to them if he finds anything wrong! Yet he cannot see everything. Bribes decide the law in the courts; and, notwithstanding their decorations of honour, all his officers, civil and military, except, perhaps, the very highest, are said never to recommend anything to him, unless the case or the memorial have been accompanied by notes for a few thousand rubles.

The whole naval force of Russia consists of 350 ships of war, with nearly 6,000 guns, and 50,000 sailors, soldiers, and artillerymen. Of these, 40 are ships of the line, of from 60 to 120 guns, 35 frigates, 120 gun boats, which, copying the Swedes, the emperors have built for the protection of the coast of Finland. They have launched ships on all the seas to which they have gained access,—the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Caspian, the White Sea, and the Sea of Ochotzk. Peter the Great appointed an admiral of the fleet in 1694, when he had only a couple of yachts mounting four guns. In 1702 he captured a Swedish frigate on the Lake of Ladoga. In 1715 he captured a Swedish fleet off Angut; and, soon after, these old mariners of the north were driven from the shores and the waters of the Gulf of Finland, where their flag had waved for centuries. In 1769, a Russian fleet sailed from this remote coast to the Levant, their clumsy ships and strange looking crews exciting the laughter of the sailors of the Mediterranean; but when, in 1780, they went on the same cruise, under Admiral O'Dwyer, and cast anchor in the bay of Naples, they were considered to have made a respectable progress in build and seamanship. Danes, English, Dutch, French, Swedish, and American officers were encouraged to join the Russian fleet. Successively they gained many important victories over the Turks; and, though when Catherine sent ships to assist us against the French, they were sent back, as being more an encumbrance than of use, Admiral Codrington had no fault to find with the Russians at Navarino. Mr. Kohl fears the Russian fleet, — it can pounce upon Constantinople any day,—and one day it surely will: but he thinks it much less formidable than Captain Crawford of our navy does, who certainly is a better judge. Our author gives three good reasons for his opinion: first, the Russian crews have spent their youth in agriculture or other pursuits on shore,



and when they enter they are too old to become practised seamen—(but there are about three thousand boys always in a state of training); next, the fleets are locked up in the ice more than half the year, when the men can learn comparatively little; and lastly, they have no mercantile marine, from which to recruit. Having neither commerce nor colonies to protect, the fleet is a dead weight; for which reason Mr. Kohl apprehends that Russia must be the more anxious to precipitate upon coasts where it will find both work and pay.

Mr. Kohl says nothing about the intercourse of Russia with China; but, as that subject is now interesting, we shall devote a few lines to it. At a distance of about a thousand miles from Petersburg the boundary line runs between the Russian and Chinese Empires, leaving to each an illimitable district of Siberia. Kiakhtha is a considerable town within the Chinese lines, and the point of transit between both empires. Through it the caravans pass, and there each government has its custom-house. For ages the boundary line had been a subject of dispute, but in 1728 it was settled, the principal ministers for China being two Jesuit fathers. Then also were settled the extent and terms of the Russian mission in China, which had, however, existed before. Now the Russian mission at Pekin consists of six ecclesiastical and four lay members. They have a church in which they are "permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion," and the laymen being "acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages," the treaty was also drawn up in Latin as well as in the vulgar tongues; they study the Mantchoo and Chinese languages, and endeavour to acquire an accurate knowledge of China. They all reside in a vast building, the convent part being kept in repair by Russia, the lay by China. The mission is relieved nominally every ten years, but frequently it remains much longer. The mission is also maintained by both empires, China paying one thousand rubles and nine thousand pounds of rice, Russia sixteen thousand silver rubles. The journey to Pekin is tedious and distressing, a great part of the way being through the cold and arid steppes of Mongolia and the desert of Gobi. The mission is accompanied a little way by the clergy of Kiakhtha, bearing crucifixes. Through this mission the Czar obtains all his knowledge of the celestial empire. According to Russian authorities, their ambassadors have never been received with distinction at Pekin, and the last plenipotentiary, Count Gollovkin, who left Petersburg in 1805, with a splendid train and

a host of magnificent presents, was obliged, after many months of delay and mortification, to turn back, having only proceeded as far as Ourga; for there the governor insisted that his excellency should prostrate himself before the emperor's picture, while the ambassador had been allowed to believe that he should not be asked to make the ko-to before the emperor himself. The Russians have never yet gained any advantage over China. When the latter were offended, they pursued their Canton policy, and put a stop to the trade at Kiakhta. Whether on account of the great expense of moving an army, or thinking the questions not worth fighting about, we know not, but it is certain, that hitherto Russia has given way in every point; and the Russians are always described as tributaries to the Chinese. In the pandects of the empire there is provision made for the Russian ambassador when he shall come to Pekin; and now that we are about to have one there, the clause is worth extracting: "The ambassador shall be daily supplied with a sheep, a vessel of wine, a pound of tea, a pitcher of milk, two ounces of butter, two fish, two cups of oil for the lamps, a pound of salted cabbage, four ounces of soya, four ounces of vinegar, and an ounce of salt. Every ninth day he is to receive from the emperor's own table, as a mark of special favour, four dishes, and ten teapots full of tea, prepared in the Mantchoo fashion." M. Klaproth says no other ambassador is treated with so much attention. It must be admitted that, whatever may be said of the intrigues of Russia elsewhere, there is no evidence that she has done anything to our prejudice in China. If the Czar had interfered, the cannon balls of the celestial empire would have told another tale amongst our troops.

Here we must take our leave of Mr. Kohl, leaving untouched several other important subjects of which he treats, as education, baths, churches, booksellers, literary men, and other classes of the people; also many others of the resources and institutions of the empire. The reader who desires to investigate these departments, must buy or borrow the book; and we can promise him, that he has seldom read a more amusing and instructive one. Mr. Kohl's lively colloquial style, abounding in poetical Germanisms, carries one through both volumes without suggesting a single pause. Even on matters that have been amply discussed by former writers, he can still supply something worth reading. But his opinion of the Russian intellect is lower than the facts adduced by himself will warrant. There is not another people in the

world who have got on, abroad and at home, at such a rate in so short a time. All that can be said against them is that their civilization has advanced too rapidly to have had time to become consolidated; that you can still discern the brandy-drinking cheating Mushik, through the polished gentleman, dressed in the newest fashion of Paris; and that, even amidst the refinements of the court, there may be perceived an undercurrent of barbarism. But time, study, education, and intercourse with foreigners, will gradually remove these objections. In the mean time, considering the true spirit of Scythian aggression that seems to animate the government, and the immense physical and intellectual instruments at its disposal, it is, and has been apprehended by many of the best informed men all over Europe, that, like the Romans of old, to whom they are fond of comparing themselves, the Russians will sooner or later have established themselves over the greater part of western and southern Europe. Events with which they had nothing to do seem to have been brought about purposely to clear the way for them. In destroying the Danish fleet, England saved Russia a great deal of blood and money in the north; again, in crippling the Turkish fleet at Navarino, we contributed towards the fulfilment of that prophecy which, one thousand years ago, told the Greeks that, in "the last days" the Russians should become the masters of Constantinople. If there was not something more than great in the people, their ambassadors would not be, as they are, objects at once of apprehension and respect in every metropolis that receives diplomatic representatives. It has been a long standing reproach against the English, that they always lose in negotiation what they gain in battle. Certainly no one ever said this of the Russians; whether by words or by blows, they are sure to go on. Strange indeed would it be to see the flag of Russia waving over Paris and London! And yet more marvellous changes have already taken place in history. The Czars will smile and smile, but when the opportunity for a swoop comes, neither oaths nor treaties will stand in the way. It would be interesting to conjecture what would be the fate of this country under Russian dominion. Would the emperor allow her to enjoy her religion? Would he content himself with merely transferring the ukase from Poland, or revive the horrors of Cromwell, and of the first three generations of the house of Hanover? Or would he rather employ the insidious policy of years in slowly submerging Catholicism and Protestantism into the Greek Church?



Would he send half the gentlemen of Ireland to Siberia, to make themselves useful for the first time in their lives; and, depriving the miserable peasant of his homœopathic share of the British constitution, turn him into a well-fed Mushik, and make him incredulous by telling him that he should pay no more rent? If the reader have a fancy for such speculations, we will now leave him to pursue them with what appetite he may.

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*Note.*

The continuation of the article on the Catholic Church in Russia has been delayed, in consequence of the expected publication of new and interesting documents.

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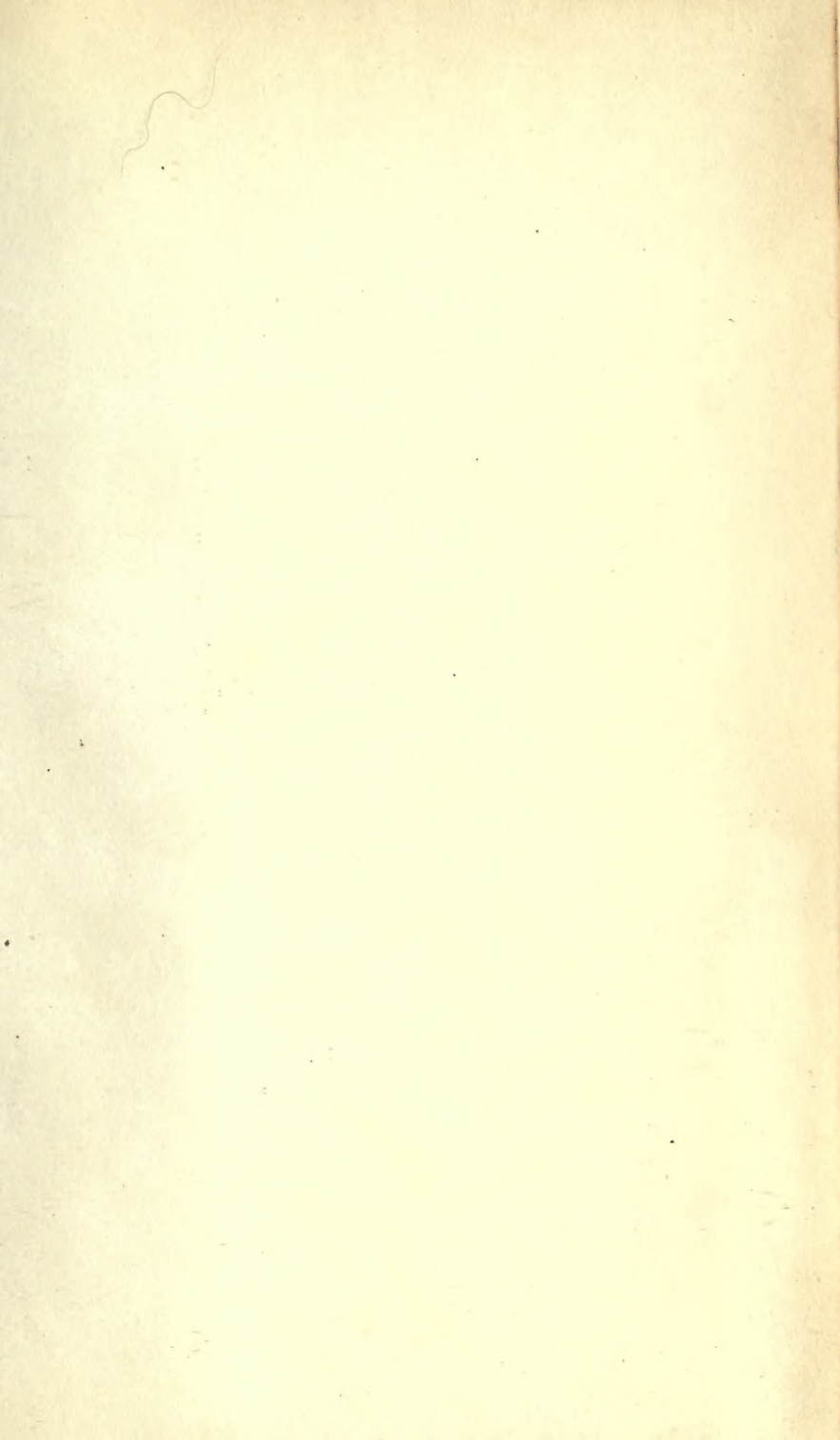














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